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HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

BY

GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

A NEW EDITION CAREFULLY REVISED, AND THE RECORDS COLLATED WITH THE ORIGINALS,

BY

NICHOLAS POCOCK, M.A.

LATE MICHEL FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE.

VOL. V.

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THE JOURNAL

OF

KING EDWARD'S REIGN,

WRITTEN WITH HIS OWN HAND.

The original is in the Cotton Library.

THE year of our Lord 1537, was a prince born to king Harry the 8th, by Jane Seymour then queen; who within few days after the birth of her son, died, and was buried at the castle of Winsore. This child was christened by the duke of Northfolk, the duke of Southfolke, and the arch-bishop of Caunterbury. Afterward was brought up till he came to six years old among the women. At the sixth year of his age he was brought up in learning by Mr. doctour Cox, who was after his amner, and Jhon Chieke M^r^ of art, two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the scripture, of philosophy, and all liberal sciences. Also Jhon Belmaine, Frenchman, did teach him the French language. The tenth year not yet ended, it was appointed he should be created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwal, and count palatine of Chester: at which time, being the year of our Lord 1547, the said king died of a dropsy as it was thought. After whose death incontinent came Edward earl of Hartford, and sir Anthony Browne master of the horse, to convey this prince to Enfild, where the earl of Hertford declared to him, and his younger sister Elizabeth, the death of their father. [Cotton MSS. Nero, C. x. fol. 8.]

Here he begins anew again.

AFTER the death of king Henry the 8th, his son Edward, [fol. 9.]

prince of Wales, was come to at Hartford, by the earl of Hertford, and sir Anthony Brown master of the horse; for whom before was made great preparation that he might be created prince of Wales, and afterward was brought to Enfild, where the death of his father was first shewed him; and the same day the death of his father was shewed in London, where was great lamentation and weeping: and suddenly he proclaimed king. The next day, being the of he was brought to the Tower of London, where he tarried the space of three weeks; and in the mean season the council sat every day for the performance of the will, and at length thought best that the earl of Hartford should be made duke of Somerset, sir Thomas Seimour lord Sudley, the earl of Essex marquis of Northampton, and divers knights should be made barons, as the lord Sheffield, with divers other. Also they thought best to choose the duke of Somerset to be protector of the realm, and governour of the king's person during his minority; to which all the gentlemen and lords did agree, because he was the king's uncle on the mother's side. Also in this time the late king was buried at Windsor with much solemnity, and the officers broke their staves, hurling them into the grave; but 4
they were restored to them again when they came to the Tower. The lord Lisle was made earl of Warwic, and the lord great chamberlainship was given to him; and the lord Sudley made admiral of England: all these things were done, the king being in the Tower. Afterwards all things being prepared for the coronation, the king being then but nine years old, passed through the city of London, as heretofore hath been used, and came to the palace of Westminster; and the next day came into Westminster-hall. And it was asked the people, whether they would have him to be their king? who answered; Yea, yea: then he was crowned king of England, Fraunce, and Irlande, by the archbishop of Caunterbury, and all the rest of the clergy and nobles; and anointed, with all such ceremonies as were accustomed, and took his oath, and gave a general pardon, and so was brought to the hall to dinner Shroft Sunday, where he sat with the crown on his head, with the archbishop of Caunterbury, and the lord protector; and all the lords sat at boards in the hall beneath, and the lord marshal's deputy (for my lord of Somerset was lord

marshal) rode about the hall to make room; then came in sir Jhon Dimoke champion, and made his challenge, and so the king drank to him, and he had the cup. At night the king returned to his palace at Whestmuster, where there were justs and barriers; and afterward order was taken for all his servants being with his father, and him being prince, and the ordinary and unordinary were appointed. In the mean season sir Andrew Dudly, brother to my lord of Warwic, being in the Paunsie, met with the Lion, a principal ship of Scotland, which thought to take the Paunsi without resistance; but the Paunsy approached her, and she shot, but at length they come very near, and then the Paunsi shooting off all one side, burst all the overlop of the Lion, and all her tackling, and at length boarded her and took her; but in the return, by negligence, she was lost at Harwich-haven, with almost all her men.

In the month of May[a] died the French king called Fraunces, and his son called Hary was proclaimed king. There came also out of Scoteland an ambassador, but brought nothing to pass, and an army was prepared into Scoteland. Certain injunctions were set forth, which took away divers ceremonies, and commission sent to take down images, and certain homilies were set forth to be read in the church. Doctour Smith of Oxford recanted at Poulis certain opinions of the mass, and that Christ was not according to the order of Melchisedec. The lord Seimour of Sudley married the queen, whose name was Katarine, with which marriage the lord protector was much offended. [fol. 10.]

[a] Should be March.

There was great preparation made to go into Scoteland, and the lord protector, the earl of Warwic, the lord Dacres, the lord Gray, and Mr. Brian, went with a great number of nobles and gentlemen to Berwic; where the first day after his coming, he mustered all his company, which were to the number of 13000 footmen, and 5000 horsemen. The next day he marched on into Scoteland, and so passed the Pease; then he burnt two castles in Scoteland, and so passed a straight of a bridge, where 300 Scotes light-horsemen set upon him behind him, who were discomfited. So he passed to Musselburough, where the first day after he came, he went up to the hill, and saw the Scottis, thinking them, as they were indeed at least 36000 men; and my lord of Warwic was almost taken, chasing the earl of

Huntley, by an ambush, but he was rescued by one Bertivell, with twelve hagbutiers on horseback, and the ambush ran away.

The 7th day of September, the lord protector thought to get the hill, which the Scottis seeing, passed the bridge over the river of Muselburough, and strove for the higher ground, and almost got it; but our horsemen set upon them, who although they stayed them, yet were put to flight, and gathered together again by the duke of Somerset, lord protector, and the earl of Warwic, and were ready to give a new onset. The Scottis being amazed with this, fled their ways, some to Edenburough, some to the sea, and some to Dalkeith; and there were slain 10000 of them, but of Englishmen 51 horsemen, which were almost all gentlemen, and but one footman. Prisoners were taken, the lord Huntley chancellor of Scoteland, and divers other gentlemen; and slain of lairds a 1000. And Mr. Brian, Sadleir, and Vane, were made barnets.

After this battle Bouchtekrag was given to the Englishmen, and Hume, and Roxborough, and Aymouth; which were fortified, and captains were put in them, and the lord of Somerset rewarded with 500 pound lands. In the mean season, Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester was, for not receiving the injunctions, committed to ward. There was also a parliament called, wherein all chauntries were granted to the king, and an extreme law made for vagabonds, and divers other things. Also the Sottis besieged Bouchtekrag, which was defended against them all, by sir Andrew Dudley knight, and oftentimes their ordnance was taken and marred.

II. Year.

A triumph was, where six gentlemen did challenge all comers, at barriers, justs, and tournay; and also that they would keep a fortress with thirty with them, against an hundred, or under, which was done at Grenwich.

Sir Edward Bellingam being sent into Irland deputy, and sir Anthoni Setlenger revoked, he took O-Canor, and O-More, bringing the lords that rebelled into subjection; and O-Canor and O-Mor leaving their lordships, had apiece a 100*l.* pension.

The Scottis besieged the town of Hadington, where the captain, Mr. Wilford, every day made issues upon them, and

slew divers of them. The thing was very weak, but for the men, who did very manfully. Oftentimes Mr. Holcraft and Mr. Paulmer did victual it by force, passing through the enemies; and at last the ringrave unawares set upon Mr. Paulmer, [fol. 11.] which was there with near a thousand and five hundred horsemen, and discomfited him, taking him, Mr. Bowes warden of the west-marches, and divers other, to the number of 400, and slew a few. (Upon St. Peter's day, the bishop of Winchester was committed to the Tower.) Then they made divers bragges, and they had like made to them. Then went the earl of Shrewesbery general of the army, with 22000 men, and burnt divers towns and fortresses; which the Frenchmen and
6 Scottis hearing, levied their siege in the month of September; in the levying of which, there came came to Tiberio, which as then was in Hadington, and setting forth the weakness of the town, told him, that all honour was due to the defenders, and none to the assailers; so the siege being levied, the earl of Shrewsbery entered it, and victualled, and reinforced it. After his departing by night, there came into the outer court, at Hadinton, 2000 men armed, taking the townsmen in their shirts; who yet defended them, with the help of the watch, and at length, with ordnance, issued out upon them, and slew a marvellous number, bearing divers not assaults, and at length drove them home, and kept the town safe.

A parliament was called, where an uniform order of prayer was institute, before made by a number of bishops and learned men gathered together in Windsore. There was granted a subsidy, and there was a notable disputation of the sacrament in the parliament-house.

Also the lord Sudeley, admiral of England, was condemned to death, and died the March ensuing. Sir Thomas Sharington was also condemned for making false coin, which he himself confessed. Divers also were put in the Tower.

III. Year.

Hume-castle was taken by night, and treason, by the Scots. Mr. Wilford, in a skirmish, was left of his men, sore hurt and taken. There was a skirmish at Bouchtekrage, wherein Mr. Lutrel, captain after Mr. Dudley, did burn certain villages, and took Monsuiour de Toge prisonnier. The Frenchmen by

night assaulted Boulinberg, and were manfully repulsed, after they had made faggots with pitch, tar, tallow, rosin, powder, and wildfire, to burn the ships in the haven of Bolein; but they were driven away by the Boulenois, and their faggots taken.

In Mr. Bowes' place, who was warden of the west-marches, was put the lord Dacre; and in the lord Gray's place, the earl of Rutland; who after his coming entered Scoteland, and burnt divers villages, and took much prey. The people began to rise in Wiltshire, where sir Wiliam Harbert did put them down, over-run, and slay them. Then they rose in Sussex, Hampshier, Kent, Glocitershire, Southfolk, Warwikeshir, Essex, Hartfordshier, a piece of Lecitershier, Worcestershier, and Rutlandshier, where by fair persuasions, partly of honest men among themselves, partly by gentlemen, they were often appeased; and again because certain commissions were sent down to pluck down inclosures, they did arise again. The French king perceiving this, caused war to be proclaimed; and hearing that our ships lay at Jersey, sent a great number of his galleys, and certain ships, to surprise our ships; but they being at
[fol. 12.] anchor, beat the French, that they were fain to retire with the loss of a 1000 of their men.

At the same time the French king passed by Boulein to New-Haven, with his army, and took Blakeness, by treason, and the Almain camp; which done, New-Haven surrendered. There were also in a skirmish, between 300 English footmen, and 300 French horsemen, six noblemen slain. Then the French king came with his army to Bolein, which they seeing, 7
razed Boulinberg; but because of the plague, he was compelled to retire, and Chastilion was left behind, as governor of the army. In the mean season, because there was a rumour that I was dead, I passed through London.

After that they rose in Oxfordshier, Devonshier, Northfolk, and Yorkshier. To Oxfordshier, the lord Gray of Wilton was sent with 1500 horsemen and footmen; whose coming, with the assembling of the gentlemen of the country, did so abash the rebels, that more than half of them ran their ways, and other that tarried, were some slain, some taken, and some hanged. To Devonshier, the lord privy-seal was sent, who with his band, being but small, lay at Honington, whiles the

rebels besieged Exciter, who did use divers pretty feats of war, for after divers skirmishes, when the gates were burnt, they in the city did continue the fire till they had made a ramper within; also afterward when they were underminded, and powder was laid in the mind, they within drowned the powder and the mind, with water they cast in; which the lord privy-seal hearing, thought to a gone to reinforce them a by-way, of which the rebels having spial, cut all the trees betwixt St. Mary Outrie and Exciter; for which cause the lord privy-seal burnt that town, and thought to return home: the rebels kept a bridge behind his back, and so compelled him, with his small band, to set upon them; which he did, and overcame them, killing 600 of them, and returning home without any loss of men. Then the lord Gray, and Spinula, with their bands, came to him, and afterward Gray with 200 of Reding, with which bands he being reinforced, came to raise the siege at Exciter, for because they had scarcity of victual; and as he passed from Hunnington, he came to a little town of his own, whither came but only two ways, which they had reinforced with two bulwarks made of earth, and had put to the defence of the same about 2000 men; and the rest they had laid, some at a bridge called Honnington-bridge, partly at a certain hedge in a high-way, and the most part at the siege of Exciter. The rereward of the horsemen, of which Travers was captain, set upon the one bulwark, the vavard and battail on the tother; Spinula's band kept them occupied at their wall: at length Travers drove them into the town, which the lord privy-seal burnt. Then they ran to a bridge thereby, from whence being driven, there were in a plain about 900 of them slain.

The next day there were met about other 2000 of them, at the entry of a high-way, who first desired to talk, and in the mean season fortified themselves; which being perceived, they ran their ways, and that same night the city of Exciter was delivered of the siege. After that they gathered at Launston, to whom the lord privy-seal and sir William Herbert went and overthrew them, taking their chief heads and executing them. Nevertheless some sailed to Brige-water, and went about sedition, but were quickly repressed. Hitherto of Devonshier. At this time the black gally was taken. Now to Northfolk: the people suddenly gathered together in Norfolk, and in-

creased to a great number, against whom was the lord marquise Northampton sent, with the number of 1060 horsemen, who winning the town of Norwich, kept it one day and one night; and the next day in the morning, with loss of 100 men, departed out of the town, among whom the lord Sheffield was 8
[fol. 13.] slain. There were taken divers gentlemen, and servingmen, to the number of thirty; with which victory, the rebels were very glad; but afterward hearing that the earl of Warwic came against them, they began to stay upon a strong plat of ground upon a hill near to the town of Norwich, having the town confederate with them. The earl of Warwic came with the number of 6000 men and 1500 horsemen, and entered into the town of Norwich; which having won, it was so weak that he could scarcely defend it; and oftentimes the rebels came into the streets, killing divers of his men, and were repulsed again; yea, and the townsmen were given to mischief themselves: so having endured their assaults three days, and stopped their victuals, the rebels were constrained, for lack of meat, to remove; whom the earl of Warwic followed with 1000 Almains, and his horsemen, leaving the English footmen in the town, and overcame them in plain battle, killing 2000 of them, and taking Keit their captain, who in January following was hanged at Norwich, and his head hanged out; Keit's brother was taken also, and punished alike. In the mean season Chastilion besieged the pier of Bolloin made in the haven, and after long battery, of 20000 shot or more, gave assault to it, and were manfully repulsed; nevertheless they continued the siege still, and made often skirmishes, and false assaults, in which they won not much. Therefore seeing they profited little that way, they planted ordnance against the mouth of the haven, that no victual might come to it; which our men seeing, set upon them by night and slew divers Frenchmen, and dismounted many of their pieces; nevertheless the French came another time and planted their ordnance toward the sand-side of the sand-hills, and beat divers ships of victualers at the entry of the haven; but yet the Englishmen, at the king's adventure, came into the haven and refreshed divers times the town. The Frenchmen seeing they could not that way prevail, continued their battery but smally, on which before they had spent 1500 shot in a day, but laded a galley with stones and gravel, which they let

go in the stream to sink it; but or e're it sunk, it came near to one bank, where the Boullenois took it out, and brought the stones to reinforce the pier. Also at Guines was a certain skirmish, in which there was about a 100 Frenchmen slain, of which some were gentlemen and noblemen. In the mean season in Englond rose great stirs, like to increase much if it had not been well foreseen. The council, about nineteen of them, were gathered in London, thinking to meet with the lord protector, and to make him amend some of his disorders. He fearing his state, caused the secretary, in my name, to be sent to the lords, to know for what cause they gathered their powers togethers; and if they meant to talk with him, that they should come in peaceable manner. The next morning, being the 6th of October and Saturday, he commanded the armour to be brought down out of the armoury of Hampton Court, about 500 harnesses, to arm both his and my men, with all the gates of the house to be rempared, people to be raised: people came abundantly to the house. That night, with all the people, at nine or ten a clock at night, I went to Windsore, and there was watch and word kept every night. The lords sat in open places of London,
9 calling for gentlemen before them, and declaring the causes of accusation of the lord protector, and caused the same to be proclaimed. After which time few came to Windsor, but only [fol. 14.] mine own men of the guard, whom they lords willed, fearing the rage of the people so lately quieted. Then began the protector to treat by letters, sending sir Philip Hobbey, lately come from his ambassad in Flaundres, to see to his family, who brought in his return a letter to the protector, very gentle, which he delivered to him, another to me, another to my house, to declare his faults, ambition, vain-glory, entering into rash wars in mine youth, negligent looking on New-Haven, enriching of himself of my treasure, following his own opinion, and doing all by his own authority, etc. Which letters was openly read, and immediately the lords came to Windsore, took him, and brought him through Holborn to the Tower. Afterward I came to Ampton-Court, where they appointed, by my consent, six lords of the council to be attendant on me, at least two, and four knights; lords, the Marches Northampton, the earls of Warwike and Arondel, lords Russel, Seintjone,

and Wentworth; knights, sir Andrew Dudely, sir Edward Rogers, sir Thomas Darcy, and sir Thomas Wroth. After I came through London to Westmuster. The lord of Warwike made admiral of England. Sir Thomas Cheiney sent to the emperor for relief, which he could not obtain. Mr. Wotton made secretary. The lord protector by his own agreement and submission, lost his protectorship, treasurership, marshalship, all his moveables, and near 2000 pound land, by act of parliament. The earl of Arrundel committed to his house, for certain crimes of suspicion against him, as plucking down of bolts and locks at Westmuster, giving of my stuff away, etc. and put to fine of 12,000 pound, to be paid a 1000 pound yearly; of which he was after released.

[fol. 14*.] Also Mr. Southwel committed to the Tower for certain bills of sedition, written with his hand, and put to fine of 500 pound. Likewise sir Thomas Arrundel, and six, then committed to the Tower, for conspiracies in the west parts. A parliament, where was made a manner to consecrate, priests, bishops, and deacons. Mr. Paget surrendering his controlership, was made lord Paget of Beaudesert, and cited into the higher house by a writ of parliament. Sir Anthony Wingfeld, before vice-chamberlain, made controller. Sir Thomas Darcy made vice-chamberlain. I passed ..... Guidotty made divers errands from the constable of Fraunce to make peace with us: upon which were appointed four commissionaires to treat; and they, after long debatement, made a treaty as followeth [1].

Anno Domini 1549. *Mart.*

[fol. 15.] 24. Peace concluded between Englaund, Fraunce, and Scoteland. By our the English side, Jhon earl of Bedford, lord privy seal, lord Paget de Beaudesert, sir William Petre secretary, and sir Jhon Mason. On the French side, monsuir de Rochepot, mons. Chastillon, Guillart de Mortier, and Boucherel de Sarcy, upon conditions; that all titles, tribute, and defences, should remain; that the fault of one man, except he be unpunished, should not break the league. That the ships of merchandize shall pass to and fro: that pirates shall be

[1] [The back of fol. 14* is not written on, and at the top of fol. 15 is the following: "Part of the Chronicle 3° Anno Reg. Regis. E. Sext. ii. charta, 1549."]

10 called back, and ships of war. That prisoners shall be delivered of both sides. That we shall not war with Scotland. That Boulein, with the pieces of new conquest, and two basilisuis, two demy-cannons, three culverins, two demy-culverins, three sacres, six faucons, 94 hagbutes, a crook, with wooden railes, and 21 iron pieces; and Lodres, and Dunglas, with all the ordnance saving that that came from Hadington, shall, within six months after this peace proclaimed, be delivered; and for that the French to pay 200,000 scutes within three days after the delivery of Boullein, and 200,000 scutes on our Lady-Day in harvest next ensuing; and that if the Scottis razed Lodr. etc. we should raze Roxborough and Aymouth. For the performance of which, on the 7th of April, should be delivered at Guisnes and Ard these hostages;

Marquis de Means.	My lord of Southfolke.
Mon. Trimouille.	My lord of Hertford.
Mon. D'Anguien.	My lord Talbot.
Mons. Montmorency.	My lord Fizwarren.
Mons. Henaudiere.	My lord Matravers.
Vicedam de Chartres.	My lord Straunge.

Also that at the delivery of the town, ours should come home, and at the first payment three of theirs; and that if the Scotis raze Lodres and Dunglas, we must raze Haimouth and Roxborough, and none after fortify them, with comprehension of the emperor.

Anno Domini, 1550.

25. This peace, anno 1550, proclaimed at Calus and Boulein.

29. In London bonefires.

30. A sermon in thanksgiving for peace, and *Te Deum* sung.

31. My lord Somerset was delivered of his bonds, and came to court.

April.

2. The parliament prorogued to the second day of the term in October next ensuing.

3. Nicholas Ridley, before of Rochester, made bishop of London, and received his oath.

Thomas Thirlby, before of Whestmuster, made bishop of Norwich, and received his oath.

4. The bishop of Chichestre, before a vehement affirmer of transubstantiation, did preach against at Whestmuster in the preaching place.

Removing to Grenwich from Whestmuster.

6. Our hostages passed the narrow seas between Dover and Cales.

7. Mon. de Fermin, gentleman of the king's privy chamber, passed from the French king by England to the Scottish queen, to tell her of the peace.

An ambassador come from Gostav the Suethin king, called Andre, for a surer amity touching merchandize.

9. The hostages delivered on both the sides, for the ratification of the league with Fraunce and Scoteland; for because some said to monsieur Rochepot, lieutenant, that Mon. de Guyse, father to the marq. of Means, was dead, and therefore the delivery was put over a day.

8. My lord Warwic made general-warden of the north, and 11
Mr. Herbert president of Walis; and the one had granted to him a 1000 mark land, and the other 500; and lord Warwic 100 horsemen at king's charge.

9. Licences signed for the whole council, and certain of the privy chamber to keep among them 2340 retainers.

10. My lord Somerset taken into the council. Guidotti the beginner of the talk for peace, recompensed with knightdom, a thousand crowns reward, a 1000 crowns pension, and his son with 250 crowns pension.

Certain prisoners for light matters dismissed; agreed for delivery of French prisoners taken in the wars. Petre Van sent ambassador to Venice. Letters directed to certain Irish nobles, to take a blind legate coming from the pope, calling himself bishop of Armah. Commissions for the delivery of Boulein, Lodres, and Dunglas.

6. The Flemings men of war would have passed our ships without vailing bonnet; which they seeing, shot at them, and drave them at length to vail bonnet, and so depart.

11. Mon. Trimail, Mon. Vicedam de Char. and Mon. Henaudie, came to Dover, the rest tarried at Cales till they had leave.

[fol. 16.] 13. Order taken, that whosoever had benefices given them should preach before the king in or out of Lent, and every Sunday there should be a sermon.

16. The three hostages aforesaid came to London, being met at Detford by the lord Gray of Wilton, lord Bray, with divers other gentlemen, to the number of twenty, and serving-men an hundred, and so brought into the city, and lodged there, and kept houses every man by themself.

18. Mr. Sidney and Mr. Nevel made gentlemen of the privy chamber.

Commission given to the lord Chobham deputy of Cales, Sir William Petre chief secretary, and sir Jhon Mason French secretary, to see the French king take his oath, with certain instruction; and that sir Jhon Mason should be ambassador ligier.

Commission to sir John Devis, and sir Wiliam Sharrington, to receive the first payment, and deliver the quittance.

19. Sir Jhon Mason taken into the privy-council, and William Thomas made clerk of the same.

Whereas the emperor's ambassador desired leave, by letters patents, that my lady Mary might have mass; it was denied him. And where he said we brake the league with him, by making peace with Scotland; it was answered, That the French king, and not I, did comprehend them, saving that I might not invade them without occasion.

10. Lodres being besieged of the Scots, the captain hearing that the peace was proclaimed in England, delivered it, as the peace did will him, a taking sureties, that all the bargains of the peace should be kept.

18. Monsuir de Guyse died.

20. Order taken for the chamber, that three of the outer privy-chamber gentlemen should always be here, and two lie in the palace, and fill the room of one of the four knights; that the esquires should be diligent in their office; and five grooms
12 should be always present, of which one to watch in the bed-chamber.

21. The marquis du Means, the duc d'Anguien, and the constable's son, arrived at Dover.

23. Mons. Trimouille, and the vicedam of Chartres, and Mons. Henaudiere, came to the court, and saw the order of the garter, and the knights, with the sovereign, receive the communion.

24. Certain articles touching a straighter amity in merchandize, sent to the king of Suethen, being these.

First; *If the king of Suethen sent bullion, he should have our commodities, and pay no toll.*

Secondly, *He should bring bullion to none other prince.*

Thirdly; *If he brought ozymus, and steel, and copper, etc. he should have our commodities, and pay custom as an Englishman.*

Fourthly; *If he brought any other, he should have free intercourse, paying custom as a stranger, etc.*

It was answered, to the duke of Brunswic, that whereas he offered service with 10000 men of his land, that the war was ended; and for the marriage of my lady Mary to him, there was talk for her marriage with the infant of Portungal; which being determined, he should have answer.

25. The lord Clinton captain of Bolein, having sent away before all his men, saving 1800, and all his ordnance, saving that the treaty did reserve, issued out of the town with these 1800, delivering it to Monsr Chastillon, receiving of him the six hostages English, a quittance for delivery of the town, and safe conduct to come to Cales; whither when he came, he placed 1800 in the emperor's frontiers.

27. The marquis du Means, conte d'Anguien, and the constable's son, were received at Blak-heth by my lord of Rutland, my lord Gray of Wilton, my lord Bray, my lord Lisle, and divers gentlemen, with all the pensionaries, to the number of an hundred, beside a great number of serving men.

It was granted, that my lord of Somerset should have all his moveable goods and leases, except those that be already given.

The king's of Suethen ambassador departed home to his master.

29. The conte d'Anguien, brother to the duke of Vendosm, and next heir to the crown after the king's children; the marquis de Means, brother to the Scottish queen; and Mons. Montmorency, the constable's son, came to the court, where they were received with much music at dinner.

[fol. 17.] 26. Certain were taken that went about to have an insurrection in Kent, upon May-day following; and the priest,

who was the chief worker, ran away into Essex, where he was laid for.

30. Dunglas was delivered as the treaty did require.

May.

2. Jhon Bocher, otherwise called Jhon of Kent, was burnt, for holding, *That Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary;* being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion; and the 30th of April, the bishop of London, and the bishop of Elie, were to persuade her; but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death.

13 The first payment was payed at Cales, and received by sir Thomas Dennis, and Mr. Sharington.

4. The lord Clinton, before captain of Bolein, came to the court, where after thanks, he was made admiral of England, upon the surrender of the earl of Warwic patent: he was also taken into the privy-council, and promised further reward. The captain also, and officers of the town, were promised rewards. Mons. de Brisay also passed by the court to Scoteland, where at Grenwich he came to the king, telling him, that the French king would see that if he lacked any commodity that he had, he would give it him; and likewise would the constable of Fraunce, who then bare all the swing.

The marquis du Means departed into Scoteland with Mon. de Brisay, to acquaint the queen of the death of the duke of Guise.

6. The master of Askin, and Mon. Morret's brother, came out of Scotland for the acceptation of the peace, who after had passport to go into Fraunce.

7. The council drew a book for every shire, who should be lieutenants in them, and who should tarry with me; but the lieutenants were appointed to tarry till Chastillon's, Sarcy, and Boucherel's coming, and then to depart.

9. Proclamation was made, that the soldiers should return to their mansions; and the mayor of London had charge to look through all the wards, to take them and send them to their countries.

The debt of 30000*l.* and odd money, was put over an year, and there was bought 2500 cinqtales of powder.

11. Proclamation was made, that all wool-winders should

take an oath that they would make good cloth there, as the lord chancellor would appoint them, according to an act of parliament made by Edward the Third.

7. The lord Cobham, the secretary Petre, and sir Jhon Mason came to the French king to Amyens, going on his journey, where they were received of all the nobles, and so brought to their lodgings, which were well dressed.

10. The French king took the oath for the acceptation of the treaty.

12. Our ambassadors departed from the French court, leaving sir Jhon Mason as legier.

14. The duke of Somerset was taken into the privy-chamber, and likewise was the lord admiral.

15. It was appointed that all the light-horsemen of Bolein, and the men of arms, should be payed their wages, and be led by the lord marquis of Northampton, captain of the pensionaries; and all the guard of Bolein under the lord admiral. Also that the chiefest captains should be sent, with 600 with them, to the strengthening of the frontiers of Scotcland.

The comprehension of peace with Scoteland was accepted so far as the league went, and sealed with the———

16. The master of Eskin departed into Fraunce.

17. Removing to Whestmuster from Grenwich.

18. The French king came to Bolein to visit the pieces lately delivered to him, and to appoint an order, and stay in things there; which done, he departed.

19. Peter Vane went as ambassador to Venice, and departed 14
from the court with his instructions.

20. The lord Cobham and sir Wiliam Petre came home from their journey, delivering both the oath, and the testimonial of the oath, witnessed by divers noblemen of Fraunce; and also the treaty sealed with the great seal of Fraunce: and in the oath was confessed, that I was supreme head of the church of England and Irlan, and also king of Irland.

23. Mon. Chastil., and Mortier, and Boucherel, accompanied with the ringrave, Dandelot the constable's second son, and Chenault the ligier, came to Duresme-place, where in their journey they were met by Mr. Treasurer, and threescore gentlemen, at Whulwhich, and also saluted with great peals, at Whulwich, Dertford, and the Tower.

24. The ambassadors came to me presenting the ligier ; and also delivering letters of credence from the French king. [fol. 18.]

25. The ambassadors came to the court, where they saw me take the oath for the acceptation of the treaty ; and afterward dined with me : and after dinner saw a pastime of ten against ten at the ring, whereof on the one side were the duke of Southfolk, the vicedam, the lord Lisle, and seven other gentlemen apparel'd in yellow. On the other, the lord Stra. Mon. Henady, and the eight other in blue.

26. The ambassadors saw the baiting of the bears and bulls.

27. The ambassadors, after they had hunted, sat with me at supper.

28. The same went to see Hampton-court, where they did hunt, and the same night return to Durasme-place.

25. One that by way have marriage had thought to assemble the people, and so to make an insurrection in Kent, was taken by the gentlemen of the shire, and afterward punished.

29. The ambassadors had a fair supper made them by the duke of Somerset; and afterward went into the Tems and saw both the bear hunted in the river, and also wild fire cast out of boats, and many pretty conceits.

30. The ambassadors took their leave, and the next day departed.

June.

3. The king came to Schein, where was a marriage made between the lord Lisle the earl of Warwic's son, and the lady Anne daughter to the duke of Somerset; which done, and a fair dinner made, and dancing finished, the king and the ladies went into two chambers made of boughs, where first he saw six gentlemen of one side, and six of another, run the course of the field twice over. Their names here do follow.

The lord Edward. Sir John Aplebey[1].

And afterward came three masters of one side, and two of another, which ran four courses apiece. Their names be[2] ;

[1] [There is a space left in the MS. for the names which are not inserted.]

[2] [Another space not filled in.]

Last of all came the count of Ragonne, with three Italians, who ran with all the gentlemen four courses, and afterward fought a tournay; and so after supper he returned to Whestmuster.

4. Sir Robert Dudeley, third son to the earl of Warwic, married sir John Robsarte's daughter; after which marriage, there were certain gentlemen that did strive who should first take away a goose's head which was hanged alive on two cross posts.

5. There was tilt and tournay on foot, with as great staves as they run withal on horseback.

6. Removing to Grenwich.

8. The gestis of my progress were set forth, which were these; from Grenwich to Whestmuster, from Whestmuster to Hampton-court, from Hamp. to Windsore, from Wind. to Guileford, from Guileford to Otland, from Otland to Richemond, etc.

Also the vicedam made a great supper to the duke of Somerset and the marquis of Northampton, with divers masques and other conceits.

9. The duke of Somerset, marquis Northampton, lord treasurer, Bedford, and the secretary Petre, went to the bishop of Winchester to know to what he would stick. He made answer, That he would obey and set forth all things set forth by me and my parliament; and if he were troubled in conscience, he would reveal it to the council, and not reason openly against it.

The first payment of the Frenchmen was laid up in the Tower for all chances.

10. The books of my proceedings was sent to the bishop of Winchestir, to see whether he would set his hand to it, or promise to set it forth to the people.

11. Order was given for fortifying and victualling Cales for four months; and also sir Hary Paulmer and sir —— Alce were sent to the frontiers of Scoteland, to take a view of all the forts there, and to report to the council where they thought best to fortify.

[fol. 19.] 12. The marquis de Means came from Scoteland in post, and went his way into Fraunce.

13. Commissions were signed to sir Wiliam Herbert, and

thirty other, to intreat of certain matters in Wales, and also instructions to the same, how to behave himself in the presidentship.

14. The surveyor of Cales was sent to Cales, first to raze the walls of Risbank toward the sand-hills, and after to make the wall massy again, and the round bulwark to change to a pointed one, which should run twenty foot into the sea, to beat the sand-hills, and to raze the mount. Secondly, To view Newmanbrig, to make an high bulwark in the midst, with flankers, to beat through all the streight; and also four sluces to make Calais haven better. Afterward he was bid to go to Guisnes, where first he should take away the three-cornered bulwark to make the outward wall of the keep, and to fill the space between the keep and the said outward wall with the foresaid bulwark, and to raze the old keep that it might[3] the town. Also he was bid to make Parson's bulwark, where it is now, round, without flankers, both pointed, and also with six flankers to bear hard to the keep.

16 Atwood and Lambert were sent to take view of Aldernay, Syllay, Jersey, Gernsei, and the Isle of Gitto.

The duke of Somerset, with five other of the council, went to the bishop of Winchester: to whom he made this answer; *I having deliberately seen the Book of Common Prayer, although I would not have made it so myself, yet I find such things in it as satisfieth my conscience, and therefore both will I execute it my self, and also see other my parishioners to do it.*

This was subscribed by the foresaid counsellors, that they heard him saying these words.

16. The lord marquis, Mr. Herbert, the vicedam, Henadoy, and divers other gentlemen, went to the earl of Warwike's, where they were honourably received; and the next day they ran at the ring a great number of gentlemen.

19. I went to Detford, being bidden to supper by the lord Clinton: where before supper I saw certain stand upon the end of a boat, without hold of any thing, and ran one at another, till one was cast into the water. At supper Mons. vicedam and

[3] [The word *defend* was here inserted by the author, but does not occur in the MS.]

Henadoy supped with me. After supper was there a fort made upon a great lighter on the Temps, which had three walls, and a watch-tower; in the midst of which Mr. Winter was captain, with forty or fifty other soldiers in yellow and black. To the fort also appertained a gallery of yellow colour, with men and ammunition in it for defence of the castle: wherefore their came four pinnaces with their men in white, handsomely dressed; which intending to give assault to the castle, first drove away the yellow pinnace, and after with clods, squibs, canes of firedarts made for the nonce, and bombards, assaulted the castle; and at length came with their pieces, and burst the outer walls of the castle, beating them off the castle into the second ward; who after issued out and drove away the pinnaces, sinking one of them, out of which, all the men in it, being more than twenty, leaped out and swam in the Temps; then came the admiral of the navy, with three other pinnaces, and won the castle by assault, and burst the top of it down, and took the captain and under captain. Then the admiral went forth to take the yellow ship, and at length clasped with her, took her, and assaulted also her top, and won it by composicion, and so returned home.

20. The mayor of London caused the watches to be increased every night, because of the great frays, and also one alderman to see good rule kept every night.

22. There was a privy search made through all Sussex for all vagabonds, egiptians, conspirators, prophets, all players, and such-like.

24. There were certain in Essex about Romeford, went about a conspiracy, which were taken, and the matter stayed.

25. Removing to Grenwich.

23. Sir Jhon Gatis, sheriff of Essex, went down with letters to see the bishop of London injunctions performed, which touched plucking down of superaltaries, altars, and such like ceremonies and abuses.

29. It was appointed that the Germains should have the Austin-friars for their church to have their service in, for avoiding of all sects of anabaptists, and such-like. 17

[fol. 20.] 17. The French queen was delivered of a third son, called Mons. d'Angoulesme.

13. The emperor departed from Argentin to Augusta.

30. John Poynet made bishop of Rochester, and received his oath.

July.

5. There was money provided to be sent into Irland, for payment of the soldiers there; and also order taken for the despatch of the strangers in London.

7. The master of Erskin passed into Scoteland coming from Fraunce. Also the French ambassador did come before me, first after shewing the birth of Mons. d'Engoulesme; afterward declaring, That whereas the French king had for my sake let go the prisoners at Saint Andrew, who before they were taken had shamefully murdered the cardinal, he desired that all Scottis that were prisoners[4]. It was answered, That all were delivered. Then he moved for one called the archbishop of Glasco; who, since the peace, came disguised without passport, and so was taken. It was answered, That we had no peace with Scoteland, such that they might pass our country; and the master of Erskin affirmed the same.

8. It was agreed that the two hundred that were with me, and 200 with Mr. Herbert, should be sent into Irland; also that the mint should be set a-work that it might coin 24000 pound a year, and so bear all my charges and Irland for this year, and ten thousand pounds to my coffers.

9. The earl of Warwik, the lord treasurer, sir Wiliam Herbert, and the secretary Petre, went to the bishop of Winchester with certain articles signed by me and the council, containing the confessing of his fault, the supremacy, the establishing of holy days, the abolishing of six articles, and divers other, whereof the copy is in the council-chest; whereunto he put his hand, saving to the confession.

10. Sir William Herbert and the secretary Petre were sent unto him, to tell him, I marvelled that he would not put his hand to the confession. To whom he made answer, That he would not put his hand to the confession, for because he was innocent, and also the confession was but the preface of the articles.

[4] [*might be delivered* was added by the author, but does not appear in the MS.]

11. The bishop of London, the secretary Petre, Mr. Cicel, and Goderik, were commanded to make certain articles according to the laws, and to put in the submission.

12. It was appointed, That under the shadow of preparing for the sea-matters, there should be sent 5000 pounds to the protestants to get their good-will.

14. The bishop of Winchester did deny the articles that the bishop of London and the other had made.

13. Sir Jhon Gatis was sent into Essex to stop the going away of the lady Marie, because it was credibly informed that Scipperus should steal her away to Antwerp; divers of her gentlemen were there, and Scipperus a little before came to see the landing-places.

16. It was appointed that the two hundred with the duke of Somerset, and two hundred with the lord privy-seal, and 18
four hundred with Mr. Sentlieger, should be sent to the sea-coast.

17. It was agreed, that on Wednesday next, we should go in one day to Winsore and dine at Sion.

18. It was thought best that the lord Bowes should tarry in his wardenship still, and the earl of Warwic should tarry here and be recompensed.

19. The bishop of Winchester was sequestered from his fruits for three months.

20. Houper was made bishop of Glocestre. The merchants were commanded to stay as much as they could their vent into Flaundres, because the emperor had made many straight laws against them that professed the gospel.

21. A muster was made of the Boulenois, who were wholly payed for all past, and a month to come.

[fol. 21.] Sir John Wallop, Frauncis Hall, and doctor Coke, were appointed commissioners to appoint the limits between me and the French king.

23. Removing to Windsore.

22. The secretary Petre, and the lord chancellor, were appointed to go to the lady Mary, to cause her to come to Oking, or to the court.

25. It was appointed, that half the French king's first payment should be bestowed on paying 10000 pound at Callais, 9000 pound in Irland, 10000 in the north, 2000

in the admiralty, so that every crown might go for one of our nobles.

27. Because the rumour came so much of Scipperus coming, it was appointed that they of the admiralty should set my ships in readiness.

26. The duke of Somerset went to set order in Oxfordshier, Sussex, Wiltshier, and Hampshier.

28. The lady Mary, after long communication, was content to come to Leis to my lord chancellor, and then to Hunsdon; but she utterly denied to come to the court or Oking at that time.

31. The earl of Southampton died.

14. Andrew Dory took the city of ..... Africa ..... from the pirate Draguntia, who in the mean season burnt the country of Genoa.

8. The emperor came to Auspurg.

August.

4. Mr. Setlienger was appointed, by letters patents, to be deputy there; and had his commission, instructions, and letters to the nobles of Irland for the same purpose.

5. The same deputy departed from the castle of Windesor.

6. The duke of Somerset departed to Reding to take an order there.

7. It was appointed, that of the money delivered to me by the French king, there should be taken on 100000 crowns to pay 10000 pound at Callais, 10000 in the north, and 2000 in the admiralty, and 8000 in Irland.

8. Mons. Henadoy took his leave to depart to Callais, and so upon the payment to be delivered home; and Tremouille being sick, went in a horse-litter to Dover.

9. The French ambassador came to Windsore, to sue for a passport for the dowager of Scotteland; which being granted,
19 so she came like a friend; he required 300 horse to pass, with 200 keepers, which was not wholly granted, but only that 200 horse, with 100 keepers in one company, coming into this realm, as should be appointed, should, without let, pass into Fraunce, and not return this way.

11. The vicedam of Chartres shewed his license to tarry here, with a letter written to the same purpose.

10. The ambassador of Fraunce departed not a little contented with his gentle answers.

12. Removing to Guileford.

13. The parliament was prorogued to the 20th of February next following.

Mr. Cok master of requests, and certain other lawyers, were appointed to make a short table of the laws and acts that were not wholly unprofitable, and to present it to the board.

The lord chancellor fell sore sick, with forty more of his house, so that the lady Mary came not thither at that time.

14. There came divers advertisements from Chamberlain, ambassador with the queen of Hungary, that their very intent was to take away the lady Mary, and so to begin an outward war, and an inward conspiracy; insomuch that the queen said Scipperus was but a coward, and for fear of one gentleman that came down, durst not go forth with his enterprise to my lady Mary.

16. The earl of Maxfeild came down to the north-borders with a good power to overthrow the Gremis, who were a certain family that were yelden to me; but the lord Dacre stood before his face with a good band of men, and so put him from his purpose, and the gentlemen, called Gremis, skirmished with the said earl, slaying certain of his men.

17. The council appointed, among themselves, That none of them should speak in any man's behalf for land to be given, reversion of offices, leases of manors, or extraordinary an-
[fol. 22.] nuities, except for certain captains who served at Bolein, their answer being deferred to Michelmas next.

18. A proclamation that till Michelmas all strangers that sued for pensions should go their way.

20. Removing to Oking.

15. The second payment of the French was payed, and Henadoy and Tremouille delivered.

21. Eight thousand pound of the last payment was appointed to be payed to the despatch of Callais, and 5000 at the north.

24. 10000 pound was appointed to be occupied to win money to pay the next year, pay the outward pays; and it was promised that the money should double every month.

26. Removing to Oteland.

27. Andrea Doria gave a hot assault to the town of No——

Africa kept by the pirate called Drogodrayes, but was repulsed by the townsmen.

29. The pirate gave a hot assault to Andrea Doria, by night, and slew the captain of Thunes, with divers other notable men.

31. The duke Maurice made answer to the emperor, That if the council were not free, he would not come at it.

20 *September.*

2. Maclamore in Irland, before a rebel, by the means of Mr. Babirson, surrendered himself and gave pledges.

6. Mr. Wotton gave up his secretaryship, and Mr. Cicil got it of him.

8. Removing to Nonesuch. [fol. 23.]

13. Removing to Oteland.

22. A proclamation was set forth, by the which it was commanded; first, That no kind of victual, no wax, tallow, candles, nor no such thing should be carried over, except to Cales, putting in sureties to go thither. Secondarily, That no man should buy to sell the self-same things again, except broggers, who should not have more than ten quarters of grain at once. Thirdly, That all justices should divide themselves into hundreds, rapes, and wapentakes, to look in their quarters what superfluous corn were in every barn, and appoint it to be sold at a reasonable price. Also that one of them must be in every market to see the corn brought. Furthermore, whosoever shipped over any thing aforesaid to the parts of beyond sea, or Scoteland, after eight days following the publication of the proclamation, should forfeit his ship, and the ware therein, half to the lord of the fraunchez, and half to the finder thereof; whoso bought to sell again after the day aforesaid, should forfeit all his goods, farms, and leases, to the use, one half of the finder, the other of the king; whoso brought not in corn to the market as he was appointed, should forfeit ten pound, except the purveyors took it up, or it were sold to his neighbours.

25. Letters sent out to the justices of peace for the due execution thereof.

18. Andrea Doria had a repulse from the town of [b] Africa, and lost many of his men, and the captain of Thunes, and nevertheless left not yet the siege.

[b] Afrodisium.

24. Order was given for the victualing of Cales.

26. The lord Willoughby, deputy of Cales, departed and took his journey thitherward.

28. The lord treasurer sent to London to give order for the preservation of the city, with the help of the mayor.

5. Whereas the emperor required a council, they were content to receive it, so it were free and ordinary, requiring also that every man might be restored to his right, and a general peace proclaimed. They desired also, that in the mean season no man might be restrained to use his fashion of religion.

18. The emperor made answer, That the council should be to the glory of God, and maintenance of the empire, at Trent; he knew no title to any of his territories; peace he desired, and in the mean season would have them observe the Interim and last council of Trent; he would also that they of Breame and Hamburoughe, with their associates, should leave their seditions, and obey his decrees.

21. George duke of Mechelburg came with 8000 men of war to the city of Madeburg, being protestant; against whom went forth the count of Mansfeld, and his brother, with 6000 men, and eight guns, to drive him from pillage; but the other abiding the battle, put the count to flight, took his brother prisoner, and slew 3000 men, as it is reported.

October. 21

[fol. 24.] 4. Removing to Richemond.

5. The parliament prorouged to the twenty of January.

6. The French king made his entry into Roane.

10. It was agreed that Yorke, master of one of the mints at the Tower, should make his bargain with me, viz. to take the profit of silver rising of the bullion that he himself brought, should pay all my debts, to the sum of 1200,000 pound, or above, and remain accountable for the overplus, paying no more but 6*s.* and 6 pens the ounce, till the exchange were equal in Flanders, and after 6*s.* and 2*d.* Also that he should declare all his bargains to any should be appointed for to oversee him, and leave off when I would: for which I should give him 15000 pound in prest, and leave to carry 8000*l.* over-sea to abase the exchange.

16. Removing to Whestmuster.

19. Prices were set of all kind of grains, butter, cheese, and poultry-ware, by a proclamation.

20. The Frenchmen came to Sangliefield and Fins-wood, to the number of 800, and there on my ground did spoil my subjects that were relieved by the wood.

26. The French ambassador came to excuse the foresaid men, saying, They thought it not meet that that wood should be spoiled of us, being thought and claimed as theirs, and therefore they lay there.

24. There were 1000 men embarqued to go to Cales, and so to Guines, and Hammes, Rishumbee, Neumanbridge, the causie and the bulwarks, with victual for the same.

November.

19. There were letters sent to every bishop to pluck down the altars.

20. There were letters sent down to the gentlemen of every shire, for the observation of the last proclamation touching corn, because there came none to the markets, commanding them to punish the offenders.

29. Upon the letters written back by the same, the second proclamation was abolished.

December.

15. There was letters sent for the taking of certain chaplains of the lady Mary for saying mass, which she denied.

19. Borthwike was sent to the king of Denmarch, with privy instructions for marriage of the lady Elizabeth to his son.

20. There was appointed a band of horsemen divided amongst the nobles.

An 100 to the duke of Somerset.
Fifty to my lord marquis North.
Lord marquis Dorset. To the earl of Warwic.
Earl of Wilt.
Lord Wentworth. Lord privy-seal.
Lord Admiral.
Lord Paget. Mr. Herbert.
Mr. Sadelier.
Mr. Darcy. Mr. Treasurer.

22 24. Removing to Grenewich. [fol. 25.]

26. Peace concluded between the emperor and the Scottes.

January.

6. The earl of Arrundel remitted of 8000*l.* which he ought to have payed for certain faults he had committed within 12 years.

7. There was appointed, for because the Frenchmen did go about practice in Irland, that there should be prepared four ships, four barques, four pinnaces, and twelve victualers, to take three havens; of which two were on the south-side toward France, and one in Jamays Cannes the Scottes country, and also to send and break the foresaid conspiracies.

10. Three ships being sent forth into the narrow seas, took certain pirates, and brought them into England, where the most part was hanged.

27. Mons. de Lansac came from the French king by way of request, to ask that Caumilles, the fishing of the Twede, Edrington, the ground batable, and the Scottische hostages that were put here in the king's my father's days, should be delivered to the Scottes; that they might be suffered to traffique, as though they were in peace; and that all interest of the foresaid houses should be delivered to the Scottes. Also that those prisoners which were bound to pay their ransoms before the peace last concluded, should not enjoy the benefit of the peace.

18. The lord Cobhame was appointed to be general lieutenant of Irland.

30. Letters written to Mr. Setlinger to repair to the south parts of Irland with his force.

February.

3. Mr. Croftis appointed to go into Irlande, and there with Rogers and certain artificers, to take the havens aforesaid, and begin some fortification.

5. Divers merchants of London were spoken withal for provision of corn out of Danske, about 40000 quarters.

10. Mountforde was commanded to go to provide for certain preparations of victual for the ships that should go into Irlande.

11. Also for provision to be sent to Berwike and the north parts.

16. Whalley was examined, for persuading divers nobles of the realm to make the duke of Somerset protector at the next parliament, and stood to the denial, the earl of Rutland affirming it manifestly.

13. The bishop of Winchester, after a long trial, was deposed of his bishoprick.

20. Sir William Pikring knight was despatched to the French king for answer to Mons. de Lansac, to declare, that although I had right in the foresaid places, yet I was content to surrender them, under conditions to be agreed on by commissioners on both sides; and for the last articles I agreed without condition.

25. The lord marcus Dorset appointed to be warden of the north-borders, having three sub-wardens, the lord Ogley and sir ..... in the east, and the lord Coniers in the west. Also Mr. Auger had the charge for victualling of Cales.

28. The learned man Bucerus died at Cambrige; who was [fol. 26.]
23 two days after buried in saint Maries church at Cambrige; all the whole university, with the whole town, bringing him to the grave, to the number 3000 persons. Also there was an oration of Mr. Haddon made very eloquently at his death, and a sermon of[c] ..... After that Mr. Redman made a third sermon; which three sermons made the people wonderfully to lament his death. Last of all, all the learned men of the university made their epitaphs in his praise, laying them on his grave.

[c] Dr. Parker.

March.

3. The lord Wentworth lord chamberlain, died about ten of the clock at night, leaving behind him sixteen children.

1. Sir Jhon Yorke had great loss about 2000 pound weight of silver, by treason of English men which he brought for provision of the mints. Also Judd 1500, and also Tresham 500; so the whole came to 4000 pound.

February.

20. The Frenchmen came with a navy of 160 sails into Scoteland, laden with provision of grain, powder, and ordnance; of which sixteen great ships perished on Irlaund coast, two loaden with artillery, and fourteen with corn.

Also in this month the deputy there set at one certain of the west lords that were at variance.

March.

10. Certain new fortifications were devised to be made at Cales; that at Gravelin the water should be let in in my ground, and so should fetch a compass by the six bulwarks to Guisnes, Hammes, and Newman-bridge; and that there should be a wall of eight foot high, and six broad of earth, to keep out the water, and to make a great marsh about the territories of Calais 37 mile long. Also for flankers at the keep of Guisnes, willed to be made a three-cornered bulwark at the keep to keep it. Furthermore, at Newman-bridg, a massy wall to the French-side there, as was a green. Besides, at the west gitie there should be another gittie, which should defend the victuallers of the town always from shot from the sand-hills.

5. Mr. Aucher had 2000*l.* in money, wherewith he provided out of Flaunders for Calais 2000 quarters of barley, 500 of wheat.

18. The lady Mary, my sister, came to me at Whestmuster, where after salutations, she was called, with my council, into a chamber; where was declared how long I had suffered her mass, in hope of her reconciliation, and how now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendment I could not bear it. She answered, That her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings. It was said I constrained not her faith, but willed her not as a king to rule, but as a subject to obey; and that her example might breed to much inconvenience.

19. The emperor's ambassador came with short message from his master of war, if I would not suffer his cousin, the princess, to use her mass. To this was no answer given at this time.

20. The bishops of Caunterbury, London, Rochester, did consider, to give license to sin, was sin; to suffer and wink at it for a time might be born, so all haste possible might be used.

[fol. 27.] 23. The council having the bishops' answers, seeing my 24
subjects taking their vent in Flaundres, might put the whole realm in danger. The Flemings had cloth enough for a year in their hand, and were kept far under, the danger of the

papists; the 1500 cinqtales of powder I had in Flaundres, the harness they had for preparation of the gendarmery, the goods my merchants had there at the woolfleet, decreed to send an ambassador to the emperor, Mr. Wotton, to deny the matter wholly, and perswade the emperor in it, thinking, by his going, to win some time for a preparation of a mart, conveyance of powder, harness, etc. and for the surety of the realm. In the mean season to punish the offenders, first of my servants that heard mass, next of hers.

24. Sir Antony Broune sent to the Fleet for hearing mass, with serjeaunt Morgan, sir Clement Smith, which a year before heard mass, chidden.

25. The ambassador of the emperor came to have his answer, but had none, saving that one should go to the emperor within a month or two to declare this matter.

22. Sir Wiliam Pikering came with great thanks from the French king.

27. Removing to Grenewich.

31. A challenge made by me, that I, with sixteen of my chamber, should run at base, shoot, and run at ring, with any seventeen of my servants gentlemen in the court.

Mr. Croftes arrived in Irland, and came to Waterford to the deputy, consulting for fortification of the town.

April.

1. The first day of the challenge at base, or running, the king won.

3. Mons. de Lansac came again from the French king to go to Scoteland, for appointing of his commissioners on the Scottisch side, who were the French ambassador in Scoteland, the bishop ———— the master of Erskin, and . . .

4. Sir Thomas Darcy made lord Darcy of Chiche, and lord chamberlain; for maintenance whereof he had given him a 100 merks to his heirs general, and three hundred to his heirs males.

6. I lost the challenge shooting at rounds, and won at rovers.

7. There were appointed commissioners on my side, other the bishop of Lichefeild if he had no impediment, or Norwich, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Bekewith, and sir Thomas Chaloner.

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8. Sir Jhon Gatis made vice-chamberlain, and captain of the guard, and had 120 pound land.

5. Poinet bishop of Rochester received his oath for the bishoprick of Winchester, having 2000 merk land appointed to him for his maintenance.

7. A certain Arrian of the strangers, a Dutchman, being excommunicated by the congregation of his countrymen, was after long disputation condemned to the fire.

9. The earl of Wiltshiere had 50 more in my lord marcus Dorset's place, warden of the north, and my lord of Rutland in my lord Wentworth's place other fifty.

10. Mr. Wotton had his instructions made to go withal to the emperor, to be as ambassador ligier in Mr. Morison's place, and to declare this resolution, That if the emperor would suffer mine ambassador with him, to use his service, then I would his; if he would not suffer mine, I would not suffer his. Likewise, that my sister was my subject, and should use my service [fol. 28.] appointed by act of parliament.

Also it was appointed to make twenty thousand pound weight for necessity somewhat baser, to get gains 16000 pound clear, by which the debt of the realm might be paid, the country defended from any sudden attempt, and the coin amended.

11. Mr. Pikering had his instructions and dispatch to go into Fraunce as ambassador ligier there, in Mr. Mason's place, who desired very much to come home; and Mr. Pikering had instructions to tell the French king of the appointing of my commissioners in Scoteland aforesaid.

2. They of Maideburg having in January last past taken in a conflict the duke of Mekelburg, and three other earls, did give an onset on duke Maurice by boats on the river, when it overflowed the country, and slew divers of his men, and came home safe, receiving a great portion of victual into the town.

15. A conspiracy opened of the Essex-men, who within three days after minded to declare the coming of strangers, and so to bring people together to Chemsford, and then to spoil the rich men's houses if they could[5].

[5] [The word *Wodcok* is written after *could*, and has nothing to do with the next sentence, into which the author inserted it after the word *thought*, placing a note in the margin, saying,] *Here the sense is not perfect.*

16. Also of Londoners who thought to rise on May-day against the strangers of the city, and both the parties committed to ward.

23. This day the French king, and the lord Clinton, chosen into the order of the garter; and appointed that the duke of Somerset, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Wilshier, and the earl of Warwik should peruse and amend the order[6].

24. The lords sat at London, and banqueted one another this day, and three days after, for to shew agreement amongst them, whereas discord was bruited, and somewhat to look to the punishment of tale-bearers, and apprehending of evil persons. [fol. 29.]

25. A bargain made with the Falcare for about 60000 pound, that in May and August should be paid for the differring of it. First, That the Foulcare should put it off for ten in the hundred. Secondly, That I should buy 12000 mark weight, at 6 shillings the ounce, to be delivered at Antwarpe, and so conveyed over. Thirdly, I should pay 100000 crowns for a very fair jewel of his, four rubies marvellous big, one orient and great diamond, and one great pearl.

27. Mallet, the lady Maries chaplain, apprehended and sent to the Tower of London.

30. The lord marcus Northampton appointed to go with the order, and further commission of treaty, and that in post; having joined with him in commission the bishop of Ely, sir Philip Hobby, sir Wiliam Pikering, and sir Jhon Mason, knights, and two other lawyers, Smithe, that was secretary, and . . .

26 *May.*

2. There was appointed to go with my lord marcus, the earls of Rutland, Worcester, and Ormonde; the lords Lisle, Fizwater, and Bray, Burgeiney, and divers other gentlemen, to the number of thirty in all.

3. The challenge at running at ring performed; at the which first came the king, sixteen footmen, and ten horsemen, in black silk coats, pulled out with white taveta; then all lords, having three men likewise apparelled; and all gentlemen

[6] [Here fol. 28 ends, the back of which is not written on. Fol. 29 begins with the words: *Part of April a*° 1551°, 3ª *charta* 5° *regni E.* 6.]

their footmen in white fustian, pulled out with black taveta. The tother side came all in yellow tafta; at length the yellow band took it thrice in 120 courses, and my band tainted often, which was counted as nothing, and took never, which seemed very strange, and so the prize was of my side lost. After that tournay followed, between six of my band and six of theirs.

4. It was appointed that there should be but four men to wait on every earl that went with my lord marcus Northampton, three on every lord, two on every knight or gentleman: also that my lord marcus should in his diet be allowed for the loss in his exchange.

5. The muster of the gendarmery appointed to be the first of June if it were possible, if not, the 8th.

6. The testorne cried down from 12*d.* to 9*d.* and the groat from 4*d.* to 3*d.*

9. One Stuard a Scotishman meaning to poison the young queen of Scoteland, thinking thereby to get favour here, was, after he had been a while in the Tower and Newgate, delivered on my frontiers at Calais to the French, for to have him punished there according to his deserts.

10. Divers lords and knights sent for to furnish the court at the coming of the French ambassador, that brought hither the order of sainct Michel.

12. A proclamation proclaimed, to give warning to all those that keep many farms, multitudes of sheep, above the number limited in the law, viz. 2000; decay tenements and towns, regratters, forestalling men that sell dear, having plenty enough, and put plough ground to pasture, and carriers over-sea of victuals, that if they leave not these enormities, they shall be straightly punished very shortly, so that they should feel the smart of it; and to command execution of laws made for these purposes before.

[fol. 30.] 14. There mustered before me an hundred archers, two arrows apiece; all of the guard afterward shot together, and they shot at an inch board, which some pierced quite, and stuck in the other board; divers pierced it quite thorow with the heads of their arrows, the boards being very well-seasoned timber. So it was appointed there should be ordinary 100 archers, and 100 alberdders, either good wrestlers, or casters of the bar, or leapers, or runners, or tall men of personage.

15. Sir Philip Hobbey departed toward Fraunce, with ten gentlemen of his own, in velvet coats and chains of gold.

16. Likewise did the bishop of Ely depart with a band of men well furnished.

27 20. A proclamation made, That whosoever found a seditious bill, and did not tear and deface it, should be partaker of the bill, and punished as the maker.

21. My lord marcus Northampton had commission to deliver the order, and to treat of all things, and chiefly of marriage for me to the lady Elizabet his daughter. First, to have the dote 12000 mark a year, and the dowry at least 800000 crowns. The forfeiture 100000 crowns at the most if I performed not, and paying that to be delivered; and that this should not impeach the former covenants with Scotlande, with many other branches.

22. He departed himself in post.

24. A earthquake was at Croidon and Blechinglee, and in the most part of Surrey, but no harm was done.

30. Whereas before commandment was given that 160000 pound should be coined of 3 ounces in the pound fine, for discharge of debts, and to get some treasure, to be able to alter all, now was it stopped, saving only 80000*l.* to discharge my debts, and 10000 mark weight that the Foulcare delivered in the last exchange, at four ounces in the pound.

31. The musters deferred till after Midsummer.

June.

2. It was appointed that I should receive the Frenchmen that came hither at Westmuster, the where was made preparation for the purpose, and four garnish of new vessels prepared taken out of church-stuff, as miters, and golden-missals, and primers, and crosses, and reliques of Plessay.

4. Provision made in Flaundres for silver and gold plate, and chains to be given to these strangers.

7. A proclamation set forth, that exchange, or re-change, should be made under the punishment set forth in king Henry the Seventh's time, duly to be executed.

10. Mons. Mareschal departed from the court to Boleingne in post, and so hither by water in his galleys and foistes.

In this month, and the month before, was great business for

the city of Parma, which duke Horatio[7] had delivered to the French king, for the pope ascited him, as holding it *in capite* of him, whereby he could not alienate it without the pope's will; but he came not at his day, for which cause the pope and imperials raised 4000 men, and took a castle on the same river side. Also the French king sent Mons. de Termes, who had been his general in Scoteland, with a great piece of his gendarmery into Italy, to help duke Horatio. Furthermore the Turk made great preparations for war, which some feared would at length burst out.

21. I was elected of the company of St. Michel in Fraunce by the French king and his order.

13. Agreement made with the Scottes for the borders, between the commissioners aforesaid, for both the parties.

In this month Draguttais, a pirate, escaped (Andrew Doria, who had closed him in a creek) by force of his galley-slaves, that digged another way into the sea, and took two of Andrea's galleys that lay far into the sea.

[fol. 31.] 14. Pardon given to those Irish lords that would come in before a certain day limited by the deputy; with advertisement 28
to the deputy to make sharp war with those that would resist; and also should minister my laws everywhere.

18. Because of my charges in fortifications at Calais and Berwike should be payed, it was agreed, that beside the debt of the realm 80000*l.* there should be 40000*l.* coined, three ounces fine, nine of allay; and 5000 pound weight should be coined in a standard of seven ounces fine at the least.

17. Superantio came as ambassador from Venice, in Daniel Barbaro's place.

16. I accepted the order of monsegnieur Micheel by promise to the French ambassador.

17. My lord marcus Northampton came to Naunts with the commissioners, and all those noblemen and gentlemen that came over sea with him.

20. Upon advertisement of Scipperus coming, and rigging of certain ships in Holland; also for to shew the Frenchmen pleasure at their coming, all the navy that lay in Gilingam-water was appointed to be rigged, and furnished with ordnance, and lie in the river of Tamesis, to the intent, that if Scipperus

[7] It should be Octavio.

came afterward, he might be met with, and at least the Frenchmen should see the force of my navy.

22. The lady Marie sent letters to the council, marvelling at the imprisonment of Dr. Mallet, her chaplain, for saying of mass before her household, seeing it was promised the emperor's ambassador she should not be molested in religion, but that she and her household should have the mass said before them continually.

24. They answered, That because of their duties to king, country, and friends, they were compelled to give her answer, That they would see, not only him, but also all other mass-sayers, and breakers of order, straitly punished. And that as for promise they had, nor would give none to make her free from the punishment of the law in that behalf.

18. Chastilion came to my lord marcus, and there banqueted him by the way at two times between Nantes and Chasteau Brian, where the king lay.

15. Mendose, a gentleman of the king's chamber, was sent to him to conduct him to the court.

19. My lord marcus came to Chasteu Brian, where half a mile from the castle there met him ———— with an hundred gentlemen, and brought him to the court and so booted and spur'd, to the French king.

20. The French king was invested with the order of the garter in his bed-chamber, where he gave a chain to the Garter worth 200 pound, and his gown dressed with aglettes worth 25*l.*; the bishop of Ely making an oration, and the cardinal of Lorayne making him answer. At afternoon the lord marcus moved the French king to the marriage of the Scotish queen to be consummate, whose hearing he appointed two commissioners.

21. The cardinal of Loraine, and of Chastilion, the constable, the duke of Guise[8], were appointed commissioners on the part of Fraunce, who absolutely denied the first motion for the Scotish queen, saying, Both they had taken too much
29 pain, and spent too many lives for her. Also a conclusion was [fol. 32.]
made for her marriage to the dolphin. Then was proponed the marriage of the lady Elizabeth, the French king's eldest daughter; to which they did most chearfully assent. So after

[8] [Between *Guise* and *were appointed* there is a space left of two lines.]

they agreed neither party to be bound in conscience nor honour, till she were twelve years of age and upwards. Then they came to the dote, which was first asked 1500000 scutes of Fraunce, at which they make a mock; after for *donatio propter nuptias*, they agreed that it should be as great as hath been given by the king my father to any wife he had.

22. Our commissioners came to 1400000 of crowns, which they refused, then to a million, which they denied; then to 800000 crowns, which they said they would not agree to.

23. Then our commissioners asked what they would offer? First they offered 100000 crowns, then 200000, which they said was the most, and more than ever was given. Then followed great reasonings, and showings of precedents, but no nearer they could come.

24. They went forward unto the penalty if the parties misliked, after that the king's daughter were twelve and upwards, which they French offered 100000, 50000 crowns; or promise then that she should be brought, at her father's charge, three months before she were twelve, sufficiently jewelled and stuffed. Then bonds to be delivered alternatively at London, and at Paris, and so forth.

26. The Frenchmen delivered the foresaid answers written to my commissioners.

July.

1. Whereas certain Flemish ships, twelve sail in all, six tall men of war, looking for eighteen more of men of war, went to Died[9], as it was thought, to take Mons. le mareschal by the way: order was given, that six ships being before prepared, with four pinnaces and a brigandine, should go both to conduct him, and also to defend, if any thing should be attempted against England, by carrying over the lady Marie.

2. A brigandine sent to Diep, to give knowledge to Mon. le mareschal of the Flemminges coming; to whom all the Flemminges vailed their bonnet. Also the French ambassador was advertised; who answered, That he thought him sure enough when he came into our streams, terming it so.

2. There was a proclamation signed for shortening of the fall of the money to that day: in which it should be proclaimed,

[9] [A mistake for Dieppe.]

and devised, that it should be in all places of the realm within one day proclaimed.

3. The lord Clinton and Cobham were appointed to meet [fol 33. the French at Gravisend, and so to convey him to Durasm-place, where he should lie.

4. I was banqueted by the lord Clinton at Detford, where I saw the Primrose and the Marie Willouby launched.

The Frenchmen landed at Rie, as some thought, for fear of the Flemminges lying at the Lands-End, chiefly because they saw our ships were let by the wind that they could not come out.

6. Sir Peter Meutas, at Dover, was commanded to come to Rie to meet Mons. le mareschal, who so did; and after he had delivered his letters, written with mine own hand, and made 30 my recommendations, he took order for horses and carts for Mons. le mareschal, in which he made such provision as was possible to be for the suddain.

7. Mons. le mareschal set forth from Rie, and in his journey Mr. Culpepper, ... and divers other gentlemen, and their men, to the number of 1000 horse, well furnished, met him, and so brought him to Maideston that night.

Removing to Westmuster.

8. Mons. le mareschal came to Mr. Baker's where he was very well feasted and banqueted.

9. The same came to my lord Cobham's to dinner, and at night to Gravesend.

Proclamation made that a testorn should go at 9*d.* and a groat at 3*d.* in all places of the realm at once.

At this time came the sweat into London, which was more vehement than the old sweat; for if one took cold, he died within three hours; and if he escaped, it held him but nine hours or ten at the most: also if he slept the first six hours, as he should be very desirous to do, then he raved, and should die raving.

11. It grew so much, for in London the 10th day there died 70 in the liberties, and this day 120; and also one of my gentlemen, another of my grooms fell sick and died, that I removed to Ampton-Court with very few with me.

The same night came the mareschal, who was saluted with

all my ships being in the Temps, fifty and odd, all with shot well furnished, and so with the ordnance of the Tower. He was met by the lord Clinton lord admiral, with forty gentlemen, at Gravisend, and so brought to Duresme-place.

13. Because of the infection at London, he came this day to Richemond, where he lay with a great band of gentlemen, at least 400, as it was by divers esteemed, where that night he hunted.

14. He came to me at Ampton-Court at nine of the clock, being met by the duke of Somerset at the wall-end, and so conveyed first to me; where after his master's recommendations and letters, he went to his chamber on the queen's-side, all hanged with cloth of arras, and so was the hall, and all my lodging. He dined with me also. After dinner, being brought into an inner-chamber, he told me, he was come, not only for delivery of the order, but also for to declare the great friend-
[fol. 34.] ship the king his master bore me; which he desired I would think to be such to me as a father beareth to his son, or brother to brother. And although there were divers persuasions, as he thought, to dissuade me from the king his master's friendship, and witless men made divers rumours, yet he trusted I would not believe them. Furthermore, that as good ministers on the frontiers do great good, so ill much harm. For which cause he desired no innovation should be made on things had been so long in controversy, by handstrokes, but rather by commissioners' talk. I answered him, That I thanked him for his order, and also his love, etc. and I would shew like love in all points. For rumours, they were not always to be believed, and that I did sometime provide for the worst, but never did any harm upon their hearing. For ministers, I said, I would rather appease these controversies with words, than do any thing by force. So after, he was conveyed to Richemond again.

16. He came to present the order of Mons. Michael; where 31
after with ceremonies accustomed, he had put on the garments, he, and monsieur Gie likewise of the order, came one at my right hand, the other at my left to the chapel, where, after the communion celebrated, each of them kissed my cheek. After they dined with me, and talked after dinner, and saw some pastime, and so went home again.

18. A proclamation made against regratters, and forestallers, and the words of the statute recited, with the punishment of the offenders. Also letters were sent to all officers and sheriffs for the executing thereof.

19. Another proclamation made for punishment of them that would blow rumours of abasing and enhaunsing of the coin to make things dear withal.

The same night Mons. le mareschal St. Andre supped with me; after supper saw a dozen courses, and after I came and made me ready.

20. The next morning he came to me to mine arraying, and saw my bed-chamber, and went a hunting with hounds; and saw me shoot, and saw all my guard shoot together. He dined with me, heard me play on the lute, ride; came to me in my study; supped with me, and so departed to Richemond.

19. The Scots sent an ambassador hither for receiving the treaty, sealed with the great seal of Englaund, which was delivered him. Also I sent sir Thomas Chaloner, clerk of my council, to have the seal of them, for confirmation of the last treaty at Northampton.

17. This day my lord marcus and the commissioners coming to treat of the marriage, offered by later instructions 600000 crowns, after 400000*l.* and so departed for an hour. Then seeing they could get no better, came to the French offer of 200000*l.* half to be paid at the marriage, half six months after that.

Then the French agreed that her dote should be but 10000 mark of lawful money of England.

Thirdly, It was agreed, that if I died, she should not have [fol. 35.] the dote, saying, They did that for friendship's sake without precedent.

19. The lord marcus having received and delivered again the treaty sealed, took his leave, and so did all the rest.

At this time was there a bickering at Parma between the French and the papists, for Monsieur de Termes, Petro Strossy, and Fontenello, with divers others gentlemen, to the number of thirty, with 1500 soldiers, entered Parma; Gonzaga with the emperor's and pope's band, lay near the town. The French made sallies, and overcame, slaying the prince of Macedony, and the Sign. Baptista the pope's nephew.

22. Mr. Sidney made one of the four chief gentlemen.

23. Mons. le mareschal came to me, declaring the king his master's well-taking my readiness to this treaty; and also how much his master was bent that way. He presented Mons. Boisdauphin to be ambassador here, as my lord marcus the 19th day did present Mr. Pikering.

26. Mons. le mareschal dined with me. After dinner saw the strength of the English archers. After he had so done, at his departure I gave him a diamond from my finger, worth, by estimation, 150*l.* both for pains, and also for my memory. Then he took his leave.

27. He came to me a hunting to tell me the news, and shew 32
the letter his master had sent him, and doubles of Monsieur Termes and Marigna's letters, being ambassador with the emperor.

28. Mons. le mareschal came to dinner to Hide-Parke, where there was a fair house made for him, and he saw the coursing there.

30. He came to the earl of Warwik's, lay there one night, and was well received.

29. He had his reward, being worth three thousand pound in gold, of current money, monsieur de Gie 1000 pound, monsieur Chenault a 1000*l.* monsieur Morvillier 500*l.* the secretary 500*l.* and the bishop Perigueux 500*l.*

August.

3. Mons. le mareschal departed to Boleigne, and had certain of my ships to conduct him thither.

9. Four and twenty lords of the council met at Richemond, to commune of my sister's Maries matter; who at length agreed, that it was not meet to be suffered any longer, making thereof an instrument signed with their hands, and sealed, to be of record.

11. The lord marcus, with the most part of his band, came home, and delivered the treaty sealed.

12. Letters sent for Rochester, Inglefield, Walgrave, etc. to come the 13th day, but they came not till another letter was sent to them the 13th day.

14. My lord marcus' reward was delivered at Paris, worth

500 pound, my lord of Ely's 200; Mr. Hobbies 150; the rest all about one scantling.

14. Rochester, etc. had commandment neither to hear nor to suffer any kind of service, but the communion and orders set forth alar[9] by parliament, and had a letter to my lady's house from my council for their credit, another to herself from me. Also appointed that I should come to and sit at [fol. 36.] council when great matters were in debating, or when I would.

This last month Mons. de Termes, with 500 Frenchmen, came to Parma, and entered safely; afterward certain issued out of the town, and were overthrown, as Scipiaro, Dandelot, Petro, and others, were taken, and some slain; after they gave a skirmish, entered the camp of Gonzaga, and spoiled a few tents, and returned.

15. Sir Robert Dudley and Barnabe sworn two of the six ordinary gentlemen. The last month the Turkes navy won a little castle in Siceley.

17. Instructions sent to sir James Croftes for divers purposes, whose copy is in the secretary's hands. The testorne cried down from ninepence to sixpence, the groat from threepence to twopence, the twopence to a penny, the penny to an half-penny, the half-penny to a farthing, etc.

1. Mons. Termes and Scipiero overthrew three ensigns of horsemen at three times; took one despatch sent from domp Fernando to the pope concerning this war, and another from the pope to domp Fernando; discomfited four ensigns of foot-
33 men; took the conte Camillo of Castilion, and slew a captain of the Spaniardes.

22. Removing to Windsore.

23. Rochester, etc. returned, denying to do openly the charge of the lady Mary's house for displeasing her.

26. The lord chancellor, Mr. Comptroller, the secretary Petre, sent to do the same commission.

27. Mr. Coverdal made bishop of Exciter.

28. Rochester, etc. sent to the Fleet.

The lord chancellor, etc. did that they were commanded to do to my sister and her house.

31. Rochester, etc. committed to the Tower.

The duke of Somerset taking certain that began a new

[9] [i.e. *at large*, or perhaps *alat*, meaning *alate, lately*.]

conspiracy for the destruction of the gentlemen at Okingam two days past, executed them with death for their offence.

29. Certain pinnaces were prepared to see that there should be no conveyance over-sea of the lady Mary secretly done. Also appointed that the lord chancellor, the lord chamberlain, the vice-chamberlain, and the secretary Petre should see, by all means they could, whether she used the mass; and if she did, that the laws should be executed on her chaplains. Also that when I came from this progress to Ampton-Court, or Whestmuster, both my sisters should be with me, till further order were taken for this purpose.

September[10].

[fol. 37.] 3. The French ambassador came to declare, first how the emperor wronged divers of his master's subjects and vassals; arrested also his merchants, and did clokedly begin war, for he besieged Mirandola round about with fortis he had made in the French king's country. Also he stayed certain ships French going a fishing to the New-found-land. Furthermore he set a dozen of ships, which bragged they would take the dowager of Scotland, which thing stayed her so long at Diep. Whereupon his master had taken the whole fleet of Antwerp, conveying it to his country into his ports, by a tenne ships he had set forth under baron de la Garde. Also minded to send more help to Piemont and Mirandola. For this cause he desired that on my coasts the dowager might have save passage, and might be soccourid with my servants at the sea-coast if any chance should happen.

He was willed to put it in writing; he shewed how the Turkes navy, having spoiled a piece of Sicile, went to Malta, and there took an isle adjacent called Gozo; from thence they went to Tripoly. In Transilvany, Rosto Bassa was leader of the army, and had spoiled it wholly.

In Hungary the Turkes had made a fort by the mines to get them. Madeburg was freshly victualled, and duke Maurice came his way, being suspected that he had conspired with them there.

4. It was answered, to the French ambassador, That the

[10] [Here begins a new paper headed, *September a° Domini* 1551°. 4ª *charta* 5° *regni E.* 6.]

dowager should in all my ports be defended from enemies, tempest, and likewise also thanks were given for the news.

5. The emperor's ambassador came to require, That my sister Mary's officers should be restored to their liberty, and she should have her mass till the emperor was certified thereof.

It was answered, first, That I needed not to answer except I list, because he spake without commission, which was seen by
34 the shortness of the time since the committing of her officers, of which the emperor could not be advertised. He was willed no more to move these pikes, in which he had been often answered, without commission. He was answered, That the emperor was by this time advertised, although the matter pertained not to him. Also that I had done nothing but according to a king's office herein, in observing the laws that were so godly, and in punishing the offenders. The promise to the emperor was not so made as he pretended, affirmed by sir Phelip Hobbey being at that, their ambassador.

6. Deliberation touching the coin. *Memorandum*, That there were divers standards, nine ounces fine a few, eight ounces fine, as ill as four, because although that was fine, yet a shilling was reckoned for two shillings, six ounces very many, four ounces many also, three ounces, 130000 lib. now a late. Whereupon agreed that the testorne being called to six pence, four with help of six should make ten fine, eight fine with help of nine, being fewer than those of eight, should make ten ounces fine, the two ounces of alay should quit the charges of minting; and those of threepence, being but few, should be turned to a standard of four of farthings, and half-pence, and pence, for to serve for the poor people, because the merchants made no exchange of it, and the sum was not great. Also to [fol. 38.] bear the charges, for because it was thought that few or none were left of nine ounces fine, eight ounces were naught, and six ounces were two ways devised, one without any craft, the other was not fully six, of which kind was not a few.

9. A proclamation set forth touching the prices of cattle, of hogs, pigs, beeves, oxen, muttons, butter, and cheese, after a reasonable price, not fully so good cheap as it was when the coin was at the perfectest, but within a fifth part of it, or thereabouts.

10. I removed to Farneham.

12. A proclamation set forth touching the coin, That whereas it was so that men for gain melted down the ninepence testorne continually, and the six-pence also, there should no person in any wise melt it down, upon pain to incur the penalty of the laws.

13. A letter directed to the lord treasurer, the lord great master, and the master of the horse, to meet at London, for the ordering of my coin, and the payment of my debts; which done, to return, and make report of their proceedings.

11. War proclaimed in Britaine between the emperor and the French, by these terms, *Charles roy d'Espaigne, et duc de Milan*, leaving out emperor.

10. Four towns taken by the French soldiers that were the emperor's in Piemont Guerra and Amiens. Also the emperor's country there was spoiled, and 120 castles or fortresses taken.

Proclamation made in Paris touching the bulls, that no man should go for them to Rome.

Other ships also taken by prior de Capua merchants, to the number of a dozen; prior Capua had 32 gallies.

19. The French ambassador sent this news also, that the Turks had taken Tripoly.

20. The secretary Cicell, and sir Phelip Hobbey sent to 35
London to help the lord treasurer, etc. in the matters of the bishops of Chichester, Worcester, and Duraslme, and examination of my sister's men.

18. Removing to Windesour.

20. The lords at London having tried all kinds of stamping, both of the finesse of nine, eight, six, four, and three, proved that without any loss, but sufferable, the coin might be brought to eleven ounces fine; for whereas it was thought before, that the testorne was, through ill officers and ministers, corrupted, it was tried, that that it had the valuation just, by eight sundry kinds of melting, and four hundred pounds of sterling money, a testorne being but six-pence, made four hundred pound, 11 ounces fine of money sterling.

22. Whereupon they reported the same, and then it was concluded that the testorne should be eleven ounces fine, the proportion of the pecis according to the gold; so that five shillings of silver should be worth five of gold.

23. Removing to Otland.

24. Agreed that the stamp of the shilling and six-pence should be of one side, a king painted to the shoulders in parliament-robes, with a chain of the order. Five shillings of silvers, and half-five shillings, should be a king on horseback armed, with a naked sword hard to his breast. Also that York's mint, and Throkmorton's in the Tower, should go and work the fine standard. In the city of Yorke and Caunterbury should the small money be wrought of a baser state. Officers for the same were appointed.

A piece of Berwike wall fell, because the foundation was shaken by working of a bulwark.

26. The lord marcus Dorset, grieved much with the disorder [fol. 39.] of the marches toward Scoteland, surrendered the wardenship thereof to bestow where I would.

27. The wardenship of the north given to the earl of Warwic.

Removing to Ampton-Court.

28. Commissioners appointed for sitting on the bishop of Chichester and Worcester; three lawyers, and three civilians.

10. The imperials took the suburbs of Heading, and burnt them.

26. The passport of the dowager of Scoteland was made for a longer time, till Christmas; and also if she were driven, to pass by land quietly into Scotland.

20. Monsieur d'Angoulesme was born; and the duke of Vandosme had a son by the princess of Navar his wife.

30. The feast of Michelmas was kept by me in the robes of the order.

October.

1. The commission for the making of five-shillings, half-five-shillings, groats, and six-pences, eleven ounces fine, and pence, with half-pence, and farthings, four ounces fine, was followed and signed.

5. Jarnac came in post for declaration of two things; the one, that the queen had a third son of which she was delivered, called le duc d'Angoulesme, of which the king prayed me to be god-father. I answered, I was glad of the news, and that
36 I thanked him for that I should be god-father, which was a token of good-will he bare me. Also that I would despatch

for the accomplishment thereof, the lord Clinton, the lord admiral of England. He said, he came also to tell a second point of the good success of his master's wars; he told how the last month in Campaigne, beside Sedan, 1000 horse imperials, with divers Hongres, Martin Vanrossi being their captain and leader, entered the country, and the alarm came; the skirmish began so hot, that the French horse, about two or three hundred men of arms, came out and took Vanrossy's brother, and slew divers. Also how in Piemont, since the taking of the last four towns, three other were taken, Monrechio, Saluges, and the town of Burges. The Turkis had come to Naples, and spoiled the country, and taken Ostium in the mouth of Tyberis. Also in Sicile he had taken a good haven and a town.

6. Jarnac departed, having lien in the court under my lodging, the night before. The bishops of Worcester and Chichester were deposed for contempts.

7. There were appointed to go with the lord admiral, Mr. Nevil, Mr. Barnabie, gentlemen of the chamber; sir William Stafford, sir Adrian Poyninges, sir Jhon Norton, sir Jhon Teril, knights; and Mr. Broke.

8. Letters directed to the captains of the gend'armerie, that they should muster the 8th of November, being the Sunday after Alhowen day.

11. Harie marcus Dorset, created duke of Suffolke; Jhon earl of Warwike, created duke of Northumberland; Wiliam earl of Wiltshire, created marcus of Winchester; sir Wiliam Herbert, created earl of Pembroke, and lord of Cardif; Mr. Sidney, Mr. Nevel, Mr. Cheke, all three of the privy chamber, made knights; also Mr. Cicel one of the two chief secretaries.

13. Proclamation signed touching the calling in of testornes and groats, that they that list might come to the mint and have fine silver of twelve pence for two testornes.

3. Prior de Capua departed the French king's service, and went to his order of knights in Malta, partly for displeasure to the conte Villars the constable's brother-in-law, partly for that Malta was assailed often by the Turkis.

7. Sir Thomas Paulmer came to the earl of Warwike, since that time duke of Northumberland, to deliver him his chain, being a very fair one (for every link weighed an ounce) to be

delivered to Jarnac, and so to receive as much; whereupon in my lord's garden he declared a conspiracy, how at St. George's day last, my lord of Somerset, who then was going to the north, if the master of the horse, sir William Harbert, had not assured him on his honour that he should have no hurt, went to raise the people, and the lord Grey [11] before to know who were his friends. Afterward a device was made to call the earl of Warwike to a banquet, with the marq. of Northamton, and divers other, and to cut off their heads. Also if he found a bare company about them by the way to set upon them.

11. He declared also, that Mr. Vane had 2000 men in readiness; sir Thomas Arrondel had assured my lord, that the Tower was safe; Mr. Partrige should raise London, and take the great seal with the apprentices of London; Seymour and
37 Hammon should wait upon him, and all the horse of the gend'armery should be slain.

13. Removing to Westmister, because it was thought this matter might easilier and surelier be despatched there, and likewise all other.

14. The duke sent for the secretary Cicel to tell him he suspected some ill. Mr. Cicel answered, That if he were not guilty, he might be of good courage; if he were, he had nothing to say, but to lament him. Whereupon the duke sent him a letter of defiance, and called Paulmer, who, after denial made of his declaration, was let go.

16. This morning none was at Westmister of the conspirators. The first was the duke, who came later than he was wont of himself. After dinner he was apprehended. Sir Thomas Paulmer on the tarrase walking there, Hammon passing by Mr. Vice-chamberlain's door, was called in by Jhon Piers to make a match at shooting, and so taken. Nidegates was called for as from my lord his master, and taken; likewise were Jhon Seymour and Davy Seimour. Arrondel also was taken, and the lord Grey coming out of the country. Vanne upon two sendings of my lord in the morning, fled at the first sending: he said, My lord was not slow, and if he could get home, he cared for none of them all he was so strong. But after he was found by Jhon Piers in a stable of his man's at

[11] [The word *went* was here supplied by the author.]

Lambeth under the straw. These went with the duke to the Tower this night, saving Paulmer, Arrondel, and Vane, who were kept in chambers here apart.

17. The dutches, Crane and his wife, with the chamber-keeper, were sent to the Tower for devising these treasons. Jaymes Wingfeld also for casting out of bills seditious; also Mr. Partrig was attached, and sir Jaymes Holcroft.

[fol. 41.] 18. Mr. Banister and Mr. Vaughan were attached and sent to the Tower, and so was Mr. Stanhope.

19. Sir Thomas Paulmer confessed that the gendarmerie, on the muster-day, should be assaulted by 2000 footmen of Mr. Vannis, and my lord's hundred horse; besides his friends which stood by, and the idle people which took his part. If he were overthrown, he would run through London, and cry, *Liberty, Liberty,* to raise the prentises, and if he could, he would go to the Isle of Wight, or to Poole.

22. The dowager of Scotelaund was by tempest driven to land at Portesmouthe, and so she sent word she would take the benefit of the save conduit to go by land, and to see me.

23. She came from Portesmouth to Mr. White's house.

24. The lords sat in the star-chamber, and there declared the matters and accusations laid against the duke, meaning to stay the minds of the people.

25. Certains Germans princes, in the beginning of this month, desired aid in cause of religion of 400000 dalers, if they should be driven to make shift by necessity; and offered the like also, if I entered into any war for them; whereupon I called the lords, and considered, as appeareth by a scroll in the board at Westmuster, and thereupon appointed that the secretary Peter, and sir William Cicell another secretary, should talk with the messenger to know the matter precisely, and the names of those that would enter the confederacy. 38

28. The dowager came to sir Richard Cotton's house.

29. She came from sir Richard Cotton's to the earl of Arrondel to dinner, and brought to Mr. Brown's house, where met her the gentlemen of Sussex.

30. She came and was conveyed by the same gentlemen to Gilford, where the lord Wiliam Haward, and the gentlemen of Surrey met her.

All this month the Frenchmen continued spoiling of the emperor's frontiers, and in a skirmish at Ast they slew 100 Spaniardes.

31. A letter directed to sir Arthur Darcy to take the charge of the Tower, and to discharge sir Jhon Mercame upon this, that without making any of the council privy, he suffered the duke to walk abroad, and certain letters to be sent and answered between Davy Seymour and Mrs. Poings, with other divers suspicions.

17. There were letters sent to all emperors, kings, ambassadors, noblemen, men, and chief men, in countries, of the late conspiracy.

31. She came to Ampton-Court, conveyed by the same lord and gentlemen aforesaid; and two mile and a half from thence, in a valley, there met her the lord marcus of Northampton, accompanied with the earl of Wiltshier, son and heir to the lord high treasurer, marcus of Winchester; the lord Fizwater, son to the earl of Sussex; the lord Yvers, the lord Bray, the lord Robart Dudley, the lord Garet, sir Nicolas Throkmorton, sir Edward Rogers, and divers other gentle- [fol. 42.] men, besides all the gentlemen pensioners, men of arms and ushers, sewers and carvers, to the number of 120 gentlemen, and so she was brought to Ampton-Court. At the gate thereof met her the lady marcus of Northamton, the countess of Pembroke, and divers other ladies and gentlewomen, to the number of three score; and so she was brought to her lodging on the queen's side, which was all hanged with arras, and so was the hall, and all the other lodgings of mine in the house very finely dressed; and for this night, and the next day, all was spent in dancing and pastime, as though it were a court, and great presence of gentlemen resorted thither.

26. Letters were written, for because of this business, to differ the musters of gend'armery till the——day of December.

November.

1. The dowager perused the house of Ampton-Court, and saw some coursing of deer.

2. She came to the bishop's palace at London, and there she lay, and all her train lodged about her.

3. The duke of Southfolke, the earl of Warwike, Wiltshier,

and many other lords and gentlemen were sent to her to welcome her, and to say, on my behalf, That if she lacked any thing she should have it for her better furniture; and also I would willingly see her the day following.

The 26th of October.—Crane confessed the most part, even 39
as Paulmir did before, and more also, how that the place where the nobles should have been banqueted, and their heads stricken off, was the lord Paget's house, and how the earl of Arrondel knew of the matter as well as he, by Stanop who was a messenger between them; also some part, how he went to London to get friends once in August last, feigning himself sick. Hammon also confessed the watch he kept in his chamber at night. Bren also confessed much of this matter. The lord Straung confessed how the duke willed him to stir me to marry his third daughter, the lady Jane, and willed him to be his spy in all matters of my doings and sayings, and to know when some of my council spake secretly with me; this he confessed of himself.

November.

4. The duke of Southfolke, the lord Fizwater, the lord Bray, and divers other lords and gentlemen, accompanied with his wife the lady Fraunces, the lady Margaret, the dutchesses of Richmond and of Northumberland, the lady Jane daughter to the duke of Southfolke; the marquesses of Northampton and Winchester; the countesses of Arrondel, Bedford, Huntington, and Rutland; with 100 other ladies and gentlewomen went to her, and brought her through London to Westmyster. At the gate there received her the duke of Northumberland, great master, and the treasurer, and comptroller,
[fol. 43.] and the earl of Pembroke, with all the sewers, and carvers, and cup-bearers, to the number of thirty. In the hall I met her, with all the rest of the lords of my council, as the lord treasurer, the marquis of Northampton, etc. and from the outer-gate up to the presence-chamber, on both sides, stood the guard. The court, the hall, and the stairs, were full of servingmen; the presence-chamber, great-chamber, and her presence-chamber, of gentlemen. And so having brought her to her chamber, I retired to mine. I went to her to dinner; she dined under the same cloth of estate, at my left hand; at her reward dined my cousin Fraunces, and my cousin Magret;

at mine sat the French ambassador. We were served by two services, two sewers, cup-bearers, carvers, and gentlemen. Her maistre d'hostel came before her service, and mine officers before mine. There were two cup-boards, one of gold four stages height, another of massy silver six stages: in her great chamber dined, at three boards, the ladies only. After dinner, when she had heard some music, I brought her to the hall, and so she went away.

5. The duke of Northumberland, the lord treasurer, the lord marquis of Northampton, the lord privy-seal, and divers others, went to see her, and to deliver a ring with a diamond, and two nagges, as a token from me.

6. The duke of Northumberland, with his band of hundred, of which forty were in black velvet, with white and black sleeves, sixty in cloth. The earl of Pembroke with his band, and fifty more. The earl of Wiltshier, with 58 of his father's band, all the pensioners, men of arms, and the cuyrey, with divers ladies, as my cousin Margret, the dutchesses of Richmond and Northumberland, etc. brought the queen to Shor-
40 dech, through Chepesid and Cornehil; and there met her gentlemen of Midelsex 100 horse, and so she was conveyed out of the realm, met in every shire with gentlemen.

8. The earl of Arrondel committed to the tower, with of Straodley, and St. Albon his men, because Crane did more and more confess of him.

7. A Frenchman was sent again into Fraunce, to be delivered again to the Frenchmen at the borders, because of a murder he did at Diep, and thereupon he fled hither.

14. Answer was given to the Germains, which did require 400,000 dalers, if need so required, for maintenance of religion.

First, That I was very well inclined to make peace, amity, or bargain with them I knew to be of mine religion; for because this messenger was sent only to know my inclination and will to enter, and not with full resolution of any matters.

Secondly, I would know whether they could get unto them any such strength of other princes as were able to maintain the war, and to do the reciproke to me again if need should so require; and therefore willed those three princes, duke Maurice [fol. 44.] of Saxon, the duke of Mecelbourough, and the marquis Jhon of Brandenbourg, from which he was sent, to open the matter

to the duke of Prussia, and to all princes about them, and somewhat to get the good-will of Hamborough, Lubeke, Breme etc. shewing them an inkling of the matter.

Thirdly, I would have the matter of religion made more plain, lest when war should be made for other quarrels, they should say it were religion.

Fourthly, He should come with more ample commission from the same states to talk of the sum of money, and other appurtenances. This answer was given, lest if I assented wholly at the first, they would declare mine intent to the stedes and whole senates, and so to come abroad, whereby I should run into danger of breaking the league with the emperor.

16. The lord admiral took his leave to go into Fraunce for christening of the French king's son.

18. Mr. Fossey, secretary to the duke Maurice, who was here for matter above-specified, ...

20. A proclamation appointed to go forth, for that there went one before this time, that set prices of beef, oxen, and muttons, which was meant to continue but to November; whenas the parliament should have been to abrogate that, and to appoint certain commissioners to cause the graziers to bring to the market, and to sell at prices reasonable. And that certain overseers should be besides to certify of the justices' doings.

23. The lord treasurer appointed high-steward for the arraignment of the duke of Somerset.

At this time duke Maurice began to shew himself a friend to the protestants, who before that time had appeared their enemy.

21. The foresaid proclamation proclaimed.

17. The earl of Warwike, sir Harie Sidney, sir Hary Nevel, and sir Harie Gates, did challenge all comers at tilt the 3d of January, and at tournay the 6th of January; and this challenge was proclaimed.

28. News came that Maximilian coming out of Spain, nine 41
of his galleys with his stuff, and 120 genettes, and his treasure, was taken by the French.

24. The lord admiral entered Fraunce, and came to Bollein.

26. The captain of Portesmouth had word and commandment to bring the model of the castle and place, to the intent

it might be fortified, because baron de la Garde had seen it, having an engineer with him, and as it was thought had the platte of it.

30. 22 peers and nobles, besides the council, heard sir Thomas Paulmer, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Crane, and Neudigat, swear that their confessions was true; and they did say, that that was said without any kind of compulsion, force, envy, or displeasure, but as favourably to the duke as they could swear to with sauf conscience.

24. The lord admiral came to Paris.

December [12]. [fol. 45.]

1. The duke of Somerset came to his trial at Westmyster-hall; the lord-treasurer sat as high-steward of England, under the cloth of estate, on a bench between two posts, three degrees high. All the lords to the number of 26, videlicet,

Dukes.	*Erles.*	*Barons.*	*Barons.*
Soutfolke.	Bath.	Wharton.	Windsore.
Northumberland.	Sussex.	Evers.	Crumwell.
Marquese.	Worcetour.	Latimer.	Cobham.
Northampton.	Pembroke.	Bourough.	Bray.
Erlis.	Vi. Hereford.	Souch.	
Derby.		Stafford.	
Bedford.	*Barons.*	Wentworth.	
Huntington.	Burgeiney.	Darcy.	
Rutland.	Audley.	Sturton.	

These sat a degree under, and heard the matter debated.

First, After the indictments read, five in number, the learned council laid to my lord of Somerset, Paulmer's confession. To which he answered, that he never minded to raise the north, and declared all ill he could devise of Paulmer, but he was afraid for bruits, and that moved him to send to sir William Harbert. Replied it was again, that the worse Paulmer was, the more he served his purpose. For the banquet, he sware it was untrue, and required more witnesses. When Crane's confession was read, He would have had him come face to face. For London, he meant nothing for hurt of any lord but for his own defence. For the gendarmery, it were but a mad matter for him to enterprise with his 100 against 900. For having men in his chamber at Grenwich, confessed by Partrege, it

[12] [Fol. 45 is headed *A° Dni* 1551° *a° R. R*is *E* 6i, 5a *charta.*]

seemed he meant no harm, because when he could have done harm he did it not. My lord Straunge's confession, he sware it was untrue, and the lord Straung took his oath it was true. Nidegats, Hammons, and Alexander Seymour's confessions he 42
denied, because they were his men.

The lawyers rehearsed, how to raise men at his house for an ill intent, as to kill the duke of Northumberland, was treason, by an act, *tertio anno* of my reign, against unlawful assemblies, for to devise the death of the lords was felony. To mind resisting his attachment was felony; to raise London was treason, and to assault the lords was felony. He answered, He did not not intend to raise London, and that sware[13] the witnesses were not there. His assembling of men was but for his own defence. He did not determine to kill the duke of Northumberland, the marquis etc. but spake of it, and determined after the contrary, and yet seemed to confess he went about their death.

The lords went together. The duke of Northumberland would not agree that any searching of his death should be treason. So the lords acquitted him of high-treason, and con-
[fol. 46.] demned him of treason felonious, and so he was adjudged to be hanged.

He gave thanks to the lords for their open trial, and cried mercy of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, for his ill-meaning against them, and made suit for his life, wife, children, servants, and debts, and so departed without the ax of the Tower. The people knowing not the matter, shouted half a dozen of times so loud, that from the hall door it was heard at Chairing-Crosse plainly, and rumors went that he was quit of all.

2. The peace concluded by the lord marquis, was ratified by me before the ambassador, and delivered to him signed and sealed.

3. The duke told certain lords that were in the Tower, that he had hired Barteville to kill them; which thing Bartivill examined on, confessed, and so did Hammon that he knew of it.

7. I saw the musters of the new band-men of arms; 100 of my lord treasurer's; 100 of Northumberland; 100 Northampton, 50 Huntington, 50 Rutland, 120 of Pembroke, 50 Darcy, 50 Cobham, 100 sir Thomas Cheiney, and 180 of the

[13] [Mistake for *He did not intend . . . . . and sware that.*]

pensioners and their bands, with the old men of arms, all well-armed men; some with feathers, staves, and pensils of of their colours; some with sleeves and half coats; some with bardes and staves etc. The horses all fair and great, the worst would not have been given for less than 20*l.* there was none under fourteen hand full and a half the most part, and almost all horses with their guidon going before them. They passed twice about St. Jaymis' field, and compassed it round, and so departed.

15. Then were certain devices for laws delivered to my learned council to pen, as by a by a schedule appeareth.

18. It was appointed I should have six chaplains ordinary, of which two ever to be present, and four always absent in preaching: one year two in Walis, two in Lancashier and Derby; next year two in the marches of Scotland, two in York-shier; third year, two in Devonshier, two in Hampshere; fourth year, two in Norfolk, Soutfolk, and Essex, and two in Kent, Sussex, etc. These six to be Bil, Harle,.....Perne, Grindall, Bradford[d].

[d] The other name dashed.

20. The bishop of Duraslme was for concealment of treason written to him, and not disclosed at all till the party did open him, committed to the Tower.

43 21. Richard lord Riche chancellor of England, considering his sickness, did deliver his seal to the lord-treasurer, the lord great master, and the lord chamberlain, sent to him for that purpose during the time of his sickness, and chiefly of the parliament.

5. The lord admiral came to the French king, and after was sent to the queen, and so conveyed to his chamber.

6. The lord admiral christened the French king's child, and called him, by the king's commandment, Edward Alexander. All that day there was music, dancing, and playing with triumph in the court; but the lord admiral was sick of a double quartane, yet he presented Barnabe to the French king, who took him to his chamber.

7. The treaty was delivered to the lord admiral, and the French king read it in open audience at mass, with the ratification of it. The lord admiral took his leave of the French king, and returned to Paris very sick.

The same day the French king shewed the lord admiral [fol. 47.]

letters that came from Parma, how the French-men had gotten two castles of the imperials; and in the defence of the one, the prince of Macedony was slain on the walls, and was buried with triumph at Parma.

22. The great seal of England delivered to the bishop of Ely, to be keeper thereof during the lord Riche's sickness.

The band of 100 men of arms, which my lord of Somerset late had, appointed to the duke of Southfolke.

23. Removing to Grenwich.

24. I began to keep haule this Christmas, and continued till twelf-tyde.

26. Sir Antony Setleinger, for matters laid against him by the bishop of Dublin, was banished my chamber till he had made answer, and had the articles delivered him.

28. The lord admiral came to Grenwich.

30. Commission was made out to the bishop of Ely, the lord privy-seal, sir Jhon Gatis, sir Wiliam Petre, sir Robart Bowes, and sir Walter Mildmay, for calling in my debts.

January.

1. Orders was taken with the chandlers of London, for selling their tallow-candles, which before some denied to do; and some were punished with imprisonment.

3. The challenge that was made in the last month was fulfilled. The challengers were,

Sir Hary Sidney.
Sir Hary Nevel.
Sir Hary Gates.

Defendants. 44

The lord Wiliam.	Mr. Dygby.
The lord Fizwater.	Mr. Warcop.
The lord Ambros.	Mr. Courtney.
The lord Robart.	Mr. Knolls.
The lord Fizwarren.	The lord Bray.
Sir George Howard.	Mr. Paston.
Sir William Stafford.	Mr. Cary.
Sir Jhon Parrat.	Sir Antony Browne.
Mr. Norice.	Mr. Drury.

These eighteen in all, ran six courses a-piece at tilt against

the challengers, and accomplished their courses right well, and so departed again.

5. There were sent to Guysnes sir Richard Cotton, and Mr. Bray, to take view of Cales, Guynes, and the merches; and with advice of the captains and engineers, to devise some amendment, and thereupon to make me certificate, and upon mine answer to go further to the matter.

4. It was appointed, that if Mr. Stanhop left Hull, then that I should no more be charged therewith, but that the town should take it, and should have 40*l.* a year for the repairing of the castle.

2. I received letters out of Irland, which appear in the secretary's hand, and thereupon the earldom of Thommound was by me given from O-Brine's heirs, whose father was dead, and had it for term of life, to Donnas baron of Ebrecan, and his heirs males.

3. Also letters were written of thanks to the earls of Desmond and Clanrikard, and to the baron of Dunganon.

3. The emperor's ambassador moved me severally that my sister Mary might have mass, which with no little reasoning with him was denied him.

6. The foresaid challengers came into the tournay, and the foresaid defendants entered in after, with two more with them, Mr. Terill, and Mr. Robart Hopton, and fought right well, and so the challenge was accomplished.

The same night was first a play, after a talk between one that was called Riches, and the other Youth, whether of them was better. After some pretty reasoning, there came in six champions of either side.

On Youth's side came,	On Riches' side,
My lord Fizwater.	My lord Fizwarren.
My lord Ambros.	Sir Robert Stafford.
Sir Antony Browne.	Mr. Courtney.
Sir Wiliam Cobham.	Digbi.
Mr. Carie.	Hopton.
Warcop.	Hungerforth.

All these fought two to two at barriers in the hall. Then [fol. 4⁸.] came in two apparelled like Almaines, the erle of Ormond and Jaques Granado, and two came in like friars, but the Almaines would not suffer them to pass till they had fought;

the friars were Mr. Drury and Thomas Cobham. After this followed two masks, one of men, another of women. Then a banquet of 120 dishes. This day was the end of Christmas.

7. I went to Detford to dine there, and brake up the hall.

8. Upon a certain contention between the lord Willoughby, and sir Andrew Dudley captain of Guysnes, for their jurisdiction, the lord Willoughby was sent for to come over, to the intent the controversy might cease, and order might be taken.

12. There was a commission granted to the erle of Bedford, to Mr. Vicechamberlain, and certain other, to call in my debts that were owing me, and the days past; and also to call in those that be past when the days be come.

17. There was a match run between six gentlemen of a side at tilt.

Of one side,	Of the other side.
The earl of Warwike.	The lord Ambrose.
The lord Robart.	The lord Fizwater.
Mr. Sidney.	Sir Fraunces Knolis.
Mr. Nevel.	Sir Antony Browne.
Hary Gatis.	Sir Jhon Parrat.
Antony Digby.	Mr. Courtney.
These won by four taintes.	

18. The French ambassador moved, That we should destroy the Scotishe part of the debatable ground as they had done ours. It was answered: 1. The lord Coniers that made the agreement, made it none otherwise but as it should stand with his superior's pleasure: whereupon the same agreement being misliked, because the Scotishe part was much harder to overcome, word was sent to stay the matter. Nevertheless the lord Maxwell did, upon malice to the Englishe debatablers, over-run them; whereupon was concluded, That if the Scottis will agree it, the ground shall be divided; if not, then shall the Scottis waste their debatablers, and we ours, commanding them by proclamation to depart.

This day the stiliard put in their answer to a certain complaint that the merchants adventurers laid against them.

19. The bishop of Ely, *custos sigilli*, was made chancellor, because as *custos sigilli*, he could execute nothing in the parliament that should be done, but only to seal ordinary things.

21. Removing to Westmister.

22. The duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower-hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning.

16. Sir Wiliam Pikering delivered a token to the lady Elizabeth, a fair diamond.

18. The duke of Northumberland having under him 100 men of arms, and 100 light-horse, gave up the keeping of 50 [fol. 49.] men at arms to his son the erle of Warwike.

23. The sessions of parliament began.

46 24. Jhon Gresham was sent over into Flaundres, to shew to the Fulkar, to whom I owed money, that I would differ it; or if I payed it, pay it in Englishe, to make them keep up their French crowns, with which I minded to pay them.

25. The answer of the stiliard was delivered to certain of my learned counsel to look on and oversee.

27. Sir Rafe Vanne was condemned of felony in treason, answering like a ruffian.

Paris arrived with horses, and shewed how the French king had sent me six cortalles, two Turkes, a Barbary, two genettes, a sturring horse, and two little moyles, and shewed them to me.

29. Sir Thomas Arrundel was likewise cast of felony in treason, after long controversy, for the the matter was brought in trial by seven of the clock in the morning.

28 day. At noon the quest went together; they sat shut up together in a house, without meat or drink, because they could not agree all that day and all night.

This 29 day in the morning they did cast him.

February. a° 6° Regni Eduardi 6.

2. There was a king of arms made for Irland, whose name was Ulster, and his province was all Irland; and he was the first forth king of arms, and the first herauld of Irland.

The emperor took, the last month and this, a million of pounds in Flaundres.

6. It was appointed that sir Phelip Hobbey should go to the regent, upon pretence of ordering of quarrels of merchants, bringing with him 63000*l.* in French crowns to be paid in Flaundres at Antwerp, to the Schertz and their family, of debts I owed them, to the intent he might despatch both under one.

5. Sir Miles Partrige was condemned of felony for the duke of Somerset's matter, for he was one of the conspirators.

8. Fifty men at arms appointed to Mr. Sadleir.

9. Jhon Beaumont, master of the rolls, was put in prison for forging a false deed from Charles Brandon duke of Southfolke, to the lady Ann Powes, of certain lands and leases.

10. Commission was granted out to 32 persons, to examine, correct, and set forth the ecclesiastical laws.

The persons names were these :

The bishops.	*The divines.*	*Civilians.*
Caunterbury.	Taylour of Lincolne.	Mr. Secretary Petre.
Ely.	Taylour of Hadlee.	Mr. Secretary Cicel.
London.	Mr. Cox, almoner.	Mr. Traherne.
Winchestir.	Sir Jhon Cheke.	Mr. Rede.
Exciter.	Sir Antony Cooke.	Mr. Coke.
Bath.	Petrus Martyr.	May, dean of Poulis.
Glocister.	Joannes Alasco.	Skinner.
Rochester.	Parcar of Cambrig.	

Lawyers. 47

Justice Bromley.	Staumford.
Justice Halis.	Carel.
Gosnald.	Lucas.
Goodrice.	Gaudy.

10. Sir Phelip Hobbey departed with somewhat more crowns than came to fifty-three thousand five hundred and odd pounds, and had authority to borrow, in my name, of Lazarus Tukar 10000 pounds Flemish, at 7 in the hundred, for six months, to [fol. 50.] make up the pay, and to employ that that was in bullion, to bring over with him ; also to carry 3000 marc weight upon a licence the emperor granted the Scheitz which they did give me. After that to depart to Bruges, where the regent lay, and there to declare to her the griefs my subjects.

11. There was delivered of armour, by Jhon Greshame merchant, 1100 pair of corslets and horsemen-harnesses, very fair.

14. It was appointed that the Jhesus of Lubek, a ship of 800 tun, and the Mary Gonston of 600 tun, should be let out for one voyage to merchantmen for a 1000 pound, they at the

voyage to Levant end to answer the tackling, the ship, the ordnance, munition, and to leave it in that case they took it. Certain other of the worst of my ships was appointed to be sold.

9. Proclamation was made at Paris, that the bands of the dolphin, the duke of Vendosme, the conte d'Anguien, the constable of Fraunce, the duc de Guyse, and d'Aumale, the conte de Sancerres, the mareschal S. Andrieu, monsieur de Jarnacs and Tavennes, should, the 15th day of March, assemble at Troyes in Champaigne to resist the emperor. Also that the French king would go thither in person, with 200 gentlemen of his household, and 400 archers of his guard.

15. The French king sent his secretary de L'ausbespine to declare this voyage to him, [e]and to desire him to take pains to Mr. Pikering with him, and to be a witness of his doings.

[e] This is imperfect.

19. Whereupon it was appointed, that he should have 2000 crowns for his furnishment, besides his diet, and Barnabe 800.

20. The countess of Penbroke died.

18. The merchants-adventurers put in their replication to the stiliard's answer.

23. A decree was made by the board, that upon knowledge and information of their charters, they had found: First, That they were no sufficient corporation. Secondarily, Their number, names, and nation, was unknown. Thirdly, That when they had forfeited their liberties, king Edward the fourth did restore them on this condition, should colour no strangers' goods, which they had done. Also that whereas in the beginning they shipped not past eight clothes, after 100, after 1000, after that 6000; now in their name was shipped 44000 clothes in one year, and but 1100 of all other strangers. For these considerations sentence was given, That they had forfeited their liberties, and were in like case with other strangers.

28. There came ambassadors from Hamburg, and Lubeke, to speak on the behalf of the stiliard merchants.

48 29. A Fleming would have searched the Faucon for Frenchemen, the Faucon turned, shot off, boarded the Fleming, and took him. [fol. 51.]

Payment was made of 63500*l.* Flemishe to the Fulcar, all saving 6000 pound which he borrowed in French crowns by sir Phelip Hobbey.

March.

2. The lord of Burghainey was committed to ward for striking the erl of Oxford in the chamber of presence.

The answer for the ambassadors of the stiliard was committed to the lord chancellor, the two secretaries, sir Robart Bowes, sir Jhon Baker, judge Montigu, Griffith sollicitor, Gosnald, Goodrice, and Broke.

3. It was agreed, that for better despatch of things, certain of the council, with others joined with them, should over-look the penal laws, and put certain of them in execution. Other should answer suitors; other should oversee my revenues, and the order of them; and also the superfluous, and the payments heretofore made. Other should have commission for taking away superfluous bulwarks.

1. Order was given for defence of the merchants, to send four barkes and two pinessis to the sea.

4. The erl of Westmurland, the lord Wharton, the lord Coniers, sir Thomas Paulmer, and sir Thomas Chaloner, were appointed in commission to meet with the Scottish ambassadors, for equal division of the ground that was called the debatable.

6. The French ambassador declared to the duke of Northumberland, how the French king had sent him a letter of credit for his ambassador. After delivery made of the letter, he declared how duke Maurice of Saxony, the duke of Mechelburg, the marques of Brandenberg, the conte of Mansfeld, and divers other princes of Germany, made a league with his master offensive and defensive; the French to go to Strasburg, with 30000 footmen, and 8000 horsemen; the Almaines to meet with them there the 25th of this month, with 15000 footmen, and 5000 horsemen. Also the city of Strasburg had promised them victual, and declared how the French king would send me ambassadors to have me into the same league. Also that the marques of Brandenberg, and counte of Maunsfeld, had been privily conveyed to the French king's presence, and were again departed to levy men; and he thought by this time they were in the field.

10. He declared the same thing to me in the same manner.

9. It was consulted touching the marts, and it was agreed that it was most necessary to have a mart in England for the enriching of the same to make it the more famous, and to be

less in other men's danger, and to make all things better cheap, and more plentiful. The time was thought good to have it now, because of the wars between the French king and the emperor. The places were thought meetest; Hull for the east parts, Southampton for the south parts of Englaund, as appeareth by two bills in my study. London also was thought none [fol. 52.] ill place, but it was appointed to begin with the tother two.

11. The bills put up to the parliament were over-seen, and certain of them were for this time thought meet to pass and to be read, other for avoiding tediousness to be omitted, and no more bills to be taken.

49 15. Those that were appointed commissioners for the requests, or for execution of penal laws, or for overseeing of the courts, received their commissions at my hand.

18. It was appointed, that for the payment of 14000*l.* in the end of April, there should be made an anticipation of the subsidy of London, and of the lords of my council, which should go near to pay the same with good provision.

20. The French ambassador brought me a letter of credit from his master, and thereupon delivered me the articles of the league betwixt the Germains and him, desiring me to take part of the same league; which articles I have also in my study.

23. The merchants of Englaund having been long stayed, departed, in all about a 60 sail, the woolfleet, and all to Antwarp. They were countermanded because of the mart, but it was too late.

24. Forsomuch as the exchange was stayed by the emperor to Lions, the merchants of Antwarp were sore afraid; and that the mart could not be without exchange, liberty was given to the merchants to exchange and rechange money for money.

26. Hari Dudley was sent to the sea with four ships, and [fol. 54. 11] two barks, for defence of the merchants, which were daily before robbed; who, as soon as he came to the sea, took two pirats' ships and brought them to Dover.

28. I did deny, after a sort, the request to enter into war, as appeareth by the copy of mine answer in the study.

11 [Here ends the first page of fol. 52; the back is blank; fol. 53 is entirely blank, except that it is headed 6ª charta aº Dni. 1552, 25º Martii.]

29. To the intent the ambassador might more plainly understand my meaning, I sent Mr. Hobby and Mr. Mason to him, to declare him mine intent more amply.

31. The commissioners for the debatable of the Scotishe side, did deny to meet, except a certain castle or pile might be first razed; whereupon letters were sent to stay our commissioners from the meeting till they had further word.

10. Duke Morice mustered at Arnstat in Saxonie all his own men, and left duke August, the duke of Anhalt, and the conte of Mansfeld, for defence of his country, chiefly for fear of the Bohemians.

The young Lansgrave, Reiffenberg, and other, mustered in Hassen.

14. The marquis Albert of Brandenburg mustered his men two leagues from Erdfort, and after entered the same, receiving of the citizens a gift of 20000 florins; and he borrowed of them 60000 florins, and so came to Steinfurt, where duke Maurice and all the Germain princes were assembled.

April.

2. I fell sick of the measels and small pox.

4. Duke Maurice, with his army, came to to Augusta; which town was at the first yielded to him, and delivered into his hands, where he did change certain officers, restored their preachers, and made the town more free.

5. The constable, with the French army, came to Mets, which was within two days yielded to him, where he found great provision of victual, and that he determined to make the staple of victual for his journey.

8. He came to a fort wherein was an abbey called Gousa, and that fort abide 80 cannon-shot; at length came to a parley, where the Frenchmen got in won it by assault, slew all, saving 115, with the captain, whom he hung. 50

9. He took a fort called Maranges, and razed it.

12. The French king came to Nancy to go to the army, and there found the dutchess and the young duke of Lorraine.

[fol. 55.] 13. The mareschal Saint-Andre, with 200 men of arms and 2000 foot-men, carried away the young duke, accompanied with few of his old men, toward Fraunce, to the dolphin, which lay at Reims, to the no little discontentation of his mother the

dutchess. He fortified also divers towns in Lorraine, and put in French garrisons.

14. He departed from Nancy to the army, which lay at Mets.

7. Monsieur Senarpon gave an overthrow to the captain of Saint Omers, having with him 600 foot-men, and 200 horse-men.

15. The parliament broke up, and because I was sick, and not able to go well abroad as then, I signed a bill containing the names of the acts which I would have pass; which bill was read in the house.

16. Also I gave commission to the lord chancellor, two archbishops, two bishops, two dukes, two marqueses, two erles, and two barons, to dissolve wholly this parliament.

18. The erl of Pembroke surrendered his mastership of the horse, which I bestowed on the erl of Warwike.

19. Also he left 50 of his men of arms, of which 25 were given to sir Phelip Hobbey, and 25 to sir Jhon Gates.

21. It was agreed that commissions should go out for to take certificate of the superfluous church plate to mine use, and to see how it hath been embezzled.

The French ambassador desired, That forasmuch as it was dangerous carrying of victual from Bullein to Ard by land, that I would give license to carry by sea to Calles, and so from Calles to Ard, in my ground.

22. The lord Paget was disgraded from the order of the garter for divers his offences, and chiefly because he was no gentleman of blood, neither of father's-side nor mother-side.

Sir Antony Setlinger, which was accused by the bishop of Dublin for divers brawling matters, was taken again into the privy-chamber, and sat among the knights of the order.

23. Answer was given to the French ambassador, that I could not accomplish his desire, because it was against my league with the emperor.

24. The order of the garter was wholly altered, as appeareth by the new statutes. There were elected sir Andrew Duddeley, and the erle of Westmorland.

26. Monsieur de Courriers came from the regent, to desire that her fleet might safely, upon occasion, take harbour in my [fol. 56.12]

12 [Headed pag. 2ª 6ª cha.]

havens. Also he said, he was come to give order for redressing all complaints of our merchants.

25. Whereas it was appointed that the 14000 pound that I ought in the last of April, should be paid by the anticipation of the subsidy of London, and of the lords, because to change the same over sea, was loss of the sixth part of the money I did so send over; Stay was made thereof, and the payment appointed to be made over of 20000*l.* Flemish, which I took up there 14 per centum and so remained 6000 pound thereof to be paid there the last of May. 51

30. Removing to Grenwich.

28. The charges of the mints were diminished 1400*l.* and there was left 600*l.*

18. King Ferdinando, Maximilian his son, and the duke of Baueir, came to Linz, to treat with duke Maurice for a peace; where Maurice declared his griefs.

16. Duk Maurice's men received an overthrow at Ulmes; whereupon marquis Albert spoiled the country, and gave them a day to answer.

31. A debt of 14000*l.* was paid to the Fulkar.

May.

1. The stiliard-men received their answer; which was, to confirm the former judgment of my council.

2. A letter was sent to the Fulkar from my council to this effect; That I had paid 63000*l.* Flemish in February, and 14000 in April, which came to 87000*l.* Flemish, which was a fair sum of money to be paid in one year, chiefly in this busy world, whereas is most necessary to be had for princes. Besides this, That it was thought money should not now do him so much pleasure as at another time peradventure. Upon these considerations they had advised me to pay but 5000*l.* of the 45 thousand I now ought, and so to put over the rest according to the old interest, 14 pro cent. with which they desired him to take patience.

4. Monsieur de Courriers received his answer, which was, That I had long ago given order that the Flemish ships should not be molested in my havens, as it appeared, because Frenchmen chasing Flemminges into my havens, could not get them because of the rescue they had, but that I thought it not con-

venient to have more ships to come into my havens than I could well rule and govern.

Also a note of divers complaints of my subjects was delivered to him.

10. Letters were sent to my ambassadors, That they should move to the princes of Germany, to the emperor, and to the French king, That if this treaty came to any effect or end, I might be comprehended in the same.

Commission was given to sir John Gatis, sir Robert Bowes, the chancellor of the augmentation, sir Water Mildmay, sir Richard Cotton, to sell some part of the chauntry lands, and [fol. 57.] of the houses, for the payment of my debts, which was 251000*l.* sterling at the least.

Taylour, dean of Lincolne, was made bishop of Lincolne.

Hoper, bishop of Glocester, was made bishop of Worcester and Glocester.

Scorie, bishop of Rochester, was made bishop of Chichester.

Sir Robart Bowes was appointed to be master of the rolls.

Commandment was given to the treasurers, that nothing of the subsidy should be disbursed but by warrant from the board; and likewise for our Lady-day revenues.

14. The baron of the exchequer, upon the surrender made by justice Leciter, was made chief-justice, the attorney chief-
52 baron, the sollicitor-general attorney, and the sollicitor of the augmentation, Gosnald, general-sollicitor, and no more sollicitors to be in the augmentation-court. Also there were appointed eight serjeants of the law against Michelmas next coming.

Gaudy, Staumford, Carrelle, ..., ...

16. The muster was made of all the men at arms saving 50 of Mr. Sadleir's, 25 of Mr. Vicechamberlain, and 25 sir Phelip Hobbey, and also of all the pensioners.

17. The progress was appointed to be by Dorchester to Pole in Dorsetshire, and so through Salisbury homeward to Windsore.

18. It was appointed that money should be cried down in Irland after a pay, which was of money at Midsummer next; in the mean season the thing to be kept secret and close. Also the pirry, the mint-master, taking with him Mr. Brabanzon, chief treasurer of the realm, should go to the mines and see

what profit may be taken of the ore that the Almaines had digged in a mine of silver; and if it would quit cost, or more, to go forward withal, if not, to leave off and discharge all the Almaines.

Also that of 500 of the 2000 soldiers there being, should be cut off, and as many more as would go serve the French king, or the emperor, leaving sufficient at home; no fortifications to be made also yet for a time, in no place unfortified; and many other articles were concluded for Irland.

20. Sir Richard Wingfeld, Rogers, and ———— were appointed to view the state of Portesmouth, and to bring again their opinions touching the fortifying thereof.

4. The French king having passed the straits of Lorraine, came to Saverne, four miles from Strasburg, and was victualled
[fol. 58.13] by the country, but denied of passage through their town.

21. Answer came from the Fulkar, That for the deferring of 30000 pound parcel of 45 troas, and he was content; and likewise for August pay, so he might have paid him 20000*l.* as soon as might be.

22. It was appointed, that forasmuch as there was much disorder on the marches on Scotland-side, both in mine fortifications of some places, and negligent looking to other forts, the duke of Northumberland, general warden thereof, should go down and view it, and take order for it, and return home with speed. Also a pay of 10000*l.* to go before him.

23. It was appointed that these bands of men of arms should go with me this progress.

Lord treasurer,	30	Earl Pembroke,	50	53
Lord great-master,	25	Lord admiral,	15	
Lord privy-seal,	30	Lord Darcy,	30	
Duke of Soffolk,	25	Lord Cobham,	20	
Earl Warwike,	25	Lord Warden,	20	
Earl Rutland,	15	Mr. Vicechamberlain,	15	
Earl Huntington,	25	Mr. Sadler,	10	
		Mr. Sidney,	10	

29. It was appointed that Thomas Gresham should have paid him, out of the money that came of my debts, 7000*l.* for

[13] [Headed 3a pagina, charta 6a.]

to pay 6800*l.* the last of the month, which he received the same night.

28. The same Thomas Gresham had 9000*l.* paid him toward the payment of 20000*l.* which the Fulkar required to be paid at the pasmart, for he had taken by exchange from hence 5000*l.* and odd, and 10000*l.* he borrowed of the Scherz, and ten of Lazarus Tukkar. So there was in the whole 25, of which was paid the last of April 14, so there remained 11000, and 9000*l.* which I now made over by exchange, which made twenty thousand pounds to pay the Fulkar with.

30. I received advertisement from Mr. Pikering, that the French king went from Saverne to Aroumaches, which was yielded to him; from thence to Leimsberg, and so toward Spires, his army to be about 20000 footmen, and 8000 horsemen, well appointed; besides rascalles. He had with him 50 pieces of artillery, of which were 26 cannons, and six organs, and great number of bootes. From Leimsberg, partly doubting duke Maurice's meaning, partly for lack of victual; and also because he had word that the regent's army of which were guides the conte d'Aiguemont, monsieur de Rie, Martin Vanrouse, and the duke of Holest, to the number of 16000 footmen, and 6000 horsemen, had invaded Champaigne, and fortified Aschenay; he retired homeward till he came to Striolph, and there commanded all unprofitable carriage and men should depart to Challons, and sent to the admiral to come to him with 6000 Swissers, 4000 Frenchmen, 1500 horsemen, and 30 pieces of ordnance, meaning, as it was thought, to do [fol. 59.] some enterprise about Luxembourg, or to recover Aschenay which the regent had fortified. There died in this journey 2000 men for lack of good victual; for eight days they had but bread and water, and they had marched 60 Dutch miles at the least, and past many a streight, very painfully and laborsomly.

19. Duke Maurice coming from Augspurg in great haste, came this day to the first passage called the Clouse, which the emperor had caused to be strongly fortified and victualled, a passage through an hill, cut out artificially in the way to Insbruke, and there was a strong bulwark made hard by it, which he won, after a long fight within an hour and an half by assault, and took and slew all that were within. And that night

he marched through that hill into a plain, where he looked for to see twelve ensigns of langsnetes of his enemies, but they retired to the second streight, and yet divers of them were both slain and taken; and so that night he lodged in the plain, at the entry of the second passage, where were five forts and one castle, which with ordnance slew some of duke Maurice's 54 men.

20. This morning the duke of Mekelburg, with three thousand footmen, cast a bridge over a river five mile beneath the sluce, and came and gave assault behind the sluce, and duke Maurice gave assault in the face, and the country-men of Tirole, for hate of the Spaniards, holp duke Maurice, so that the five forts were won by assault, and the castle yielded upon condition to depart, not to serve in three months after the emperor. In this enterprise he slew and took 3500 persons, and 23 pieces of artillery, and 240000 S.

The emperor hearing of this, departed by night from Insbruk, forty mile that night in post; he killed two of his jenettes, and rode continually every night, first to Brixenium; and after for doubt of the cardinal of Ferrare's army, turned to Veillucho in Carinthia. The 30th of May, tarrying for the duke d'Alva, who should come to him with 2000 Spaniards, and 3000 Italians that came from Parma. Also the emperor delivered duke Frederic from captivity, and sent him through Bohemia into Saxony, to raise a power against duke Maurice, his nephew.

22. Duke Maurice, after that Hala and divers other towns about Insbruk in Tirole had yielded, came to Insbruke, and there caused all the stuff to be brought to the market-place, and took all that pertained to imperialists as confiscate, the rest he suffered the townsmen to enjoy. He took there fifty pieces of ordnance, which he conveyed to Auspurg, for that town he fortified, and made it his staple of provision.

[fol. 60.] Certain things which they commissioners for the requests shall not meddle withal.

1. Suits for lands.

2. Suits for forfeits, amounting to more than 40*l.* value.

Thirdly, Suits for pensions.

Fourthly, Reversions of farms, which have more than one year to come.

Fifthly, Leases of manors.

Sixthly, Leases for more than 21 years.

Seventhly, No offices of special trust in reckonings of money, as customers, comptrollers, surveyors, receivers, auditors, treasurers, and chancellors, etc. to be given otherwise than *durante beneplacito*. Also all mint-masters, and others that have a doing in the mint, and such-like. The bishops, judges, and other offices of judgment, *quam diu se bene gesserit*. Baliwicks, stewardships, keeping of parks and houses, etc. to be granted during life.

Eighthly, Suits for forgivement of debts.

Ninthly, Releasing of rent to be paid.

Tenthly, Suits for money, to the intent to pay debts they owe elsewhere.

Eleven, Suits to buy land.

Twelve, Suits for licenses, to carry over gold, silver, lead, leather, corn, wood, &c. that be things unlawful.

Thirteen, Unresidence upon benefices.

55 They shall meddle with baliewicks and stewardships, during leases for 21 years; forfeits under 40*l.* receiverships, woodwardships, surveyorships, etc. during pleasure. Instalments of days for debts. To those gentlemen that have well-served, fee-farms to them and their heirs males of their body, paying the rent, and discharging the annuities due to all officers touching the same. Keeping of houses and parks, ordinary offices, as yeomen of the crown, the houshold offices, &c.

June. [fol. 61.14]

2. Sir Jhon Williams, who was committed to the Fleet for disobeying a commandment given to him for not paying any pensions, without making my council privy, upon his submission was delivered out of prison.

4. Beamont master of the rolls did confess his offences, who in his office of wards he had bought land with my money, had lent it, and kept it from me, to the 9000*l.* and above, more than this twelve month, and 11000 in obligations; who he being judge in the chancery between the duke of Southfolk and the lady Powes, took her title, and went about to get it

14 [The last half of the back of fol. 60 is blank. The next leaf begins with *7a charta a° Dni.* 1552° *mense Junio.*]

into his hands, paying a some money, and letting her have a farm of a manor of his, and caused an indenture to be made falsely, with the old duke's counterfeit hand to it; by which he gave these lands to the lady Powes, and went about to make twelve men perjured. Also how he had concealed the felony of his man to the sum of 200*l.* which he stale from him, taking the money to his own hand again. For these considerations he surrendered into my hands all his offices, lands, and goods, moveable and unmoveable, toward the payment of this debt, and of the fines due to these particular faults by him done.

6. The lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy, confessed how he, without commission, did sell away my lands and great timber-woods; how he had taken great fines of my lands, to his said peculiar profit and advantage, never turning any to my use or commodity; how he made leases in reversion for more than 21 years. For these crimes, and other like recited before, he surrendered his office, and submitted himself to those fines that I or my council would appoint to be be levied of his goods and lands.

7. Whatley, receiver of York-shier, confessed how he lent my money upon gain and lucre; how he payed one year's revenue over, with the arrearages of the last; how he bought mine own land with my money; how in his accompts he had made many false suggestions; how at the time of the fall of money, he borrowed divers sums of money, and had allowance for it after, by which he gained 500 pound at one crying down, the whole sum being 2000*l.* and above. For these and such-like considerations he surrendered his office, and submitted to fines which I or my council should assign him, to be levied of his goods and lands.

8. The lords of the council sat at Gildhaul in London, where in the presence of a thousand people, they declared to the mayor and brethren their slothfulness in suffering unreasonable prices of things, and to craftsmen their wilfulness, etc. telling them, That if upon this admonition they did not amend,
[fol. 62.] I was wholly determined to call in their liberties as confiscate, 56
and to appoint officers that should look to them.

10. It was appointed that the lord Gray of Wilton should be pardoned of his offences, and delivered out of the Tower.

Whereas sir Phelip Hobby should have gone to Cales with

sir Richard Cotton and William Barnes auditor, it was appointed sir Antony Setlinger, sir Richard Cotton, and Thomas Mildmay, should go thither, they carrying with them 10000*l.* to be received out of the exchequer.

Whereas it was agreed that there should be a pay now made to Irland of 5000 pounds, and then the money to be cried down, it was appointed that 3000 weight which I had in the Tower, should be carried thither, and coined at 3 denar. fine; and that incontinent the coin should be cried down.

12. Because Pirry tarried here for the bullion, William Williams assay-master was put in his place, to view the mines with Mr. Brabazon, or him whom the deputy should appoint.

13. Banister and Crane, the one for his large confession, the other because little matter appeared against him, were delivered out of the Tower.

16. The lord Paget was brought into the star-chamber, and there declared effectuously his submission by word of mouth, and delivered it in writing.

Beamont who had before made his confession in writing, began to deny it again; but after being called before my council, he did confess it again, and there acknowledged a fine of his land, and signed an obligation in surrender of all his goods.

17. Monsieur de Couriers took his leave.

2. The French king won the castle of Roudemac.

3. Certain horsemen of the regent's came and set upon the French king's baggage, and slew divers of the carters; but at length, with some loss of the Frenchmen, they were compelled to retire. The French king won mount Saint Jhā.

4. The French king came to Denvillars, which was a strong town, and besieged it, making three breaches.

12. The town was yielded to him, with the captain. He found in it 2500 footmen, 200 horsemen, 63 brass great pieces, 300 hagbuts of croke, much victual, and much ammunition, as he did write to his ambassador.

19. It was appointed that the bishop of Durham's matter should stay till the end of the progress.

20. Beaumont in the star-chamber confessed, after a little [fol. 63.] sticking upon the matter, his faults, to which he had put to his hand.

22. It was agreed that the bands of men of arms, appointed to Mr. Sidney, Mr. Vicechamberlain, Mr. Hobby, and Mr. Sadleir, should not be furnished, but left off.

25. It was agreed that none of my council should move me in any suit of land for forfeits above 20*l.* for reversion of leases, or any other extraordinary suits, till the state of my revenues were further known.

15. The French king came to a town standing on the river 57
of Mosa, called Yvoyre, which gave him many hot skirmishes.

18. The French king began his battery to the walls.

14. The townsmen of Mountmydy gave a hot skirmish to the French, and slew Monsieur de Toge's brother, and many other gentlemen of the camp.

12. The prince of Salerno, who had been with the French king to treat with him touching the matters of Naples, was despatched in post with this answer, That the French king would aid him with 13000 footmen, and 1500 horsemen in the French wages, to recover and conquer the kingdom of Naples; and he should marry, as some said, the French king's sister, Madame Margarite. The cause why this prince rebelled against the emperor, was, partly the uncourteous handling of the viceroy of Naples, partly ambition.

The Flemminges made an invasion into Champaigne, in so much that the dolphin had almost been taken; and the queen lying at Chalons, sent some of her stuff toward Paris.

19. Also another company took the town of Guise, and spoiled the country also.

22. Monsieur de Taille was sent to raise the arrierbans and legionaires of Picardie and Champaigne, to recover Guise, and invade Flaundres.

27. Removing to Ampton-Court.

30. It was appointed that the steedes should have this answer, That those clothes which they had bought to carry over to the sum of 2000 clothes and odd, should be carried at their old custom, so they were carried within six weeks; and likewise all commodities they brought in till our lady-day in term next, in all other points, the old decree to stand, till by a further communication the matter should be ended and concluded.

The lord Paget was licensed to tarry at London, and there-

abouts, till Michelmas, because he had no provision in his country.

26. Certain of the heraulds, Lancaster and Percullis, were committed to ward, for counterfeiting Clarenseaux seal, to get money by giving of arms.

23. The French king having received divers skirmishes of the townsmen, and chiefly two; the one, when they slew the French light-horse, lying in a village by the town; the other, when they entered into the camp, and pulled down tents; which two skirmishes were given by the count of Mansfelt governor of the town. And the duchy of Luxemburg and his three hundred light horse, understanding by the treason of four priests, the weakest part of the town, so affraied the townsmen and the Flemmish soldiers, that they by threatenings, compelled their [fol. 64.] captain the count, that he yielded himself and the gentlemen prisoners, the common soldiers to depart with white wands in their hands. This town was well fortified, victualled, and furnished.

24. The town of Mountmidy yielded to the French king, which before had given him a hot skirmish.

58 *July.*

4. Sir Jhon Gatis vicechamberlain, was made chanceller of the dutchy.

7. Removing to Otlands.

5. The emperor's ambassador delivered the regent's letter, being of this effect; That whereas I was bound by a treaty with the emperor, made anno Dom. 1542, at Dutrect, That if any man did invade the low countries, I should help him with 5000 footmen, or 700 crowns a day during four months, and make war with him within a month after the request made; and now the French king had invaded Luxembourg, desiring me to follow the effect of the treaty.

7. The names of the commissioners was added, and made more, both in the debts, the surveying of the courts, the penal laws, etc. and that because my lord chamberlain, my lord privy-seal, Mr. Vicechamberlain, and Mr. Secretary Peter, went with me this progress.

8. It was appointed that 50 pound weight of gold should be

coined after the new standard, to carry about this progress, which maketh 1500*l.* sterling.

9. The chancellor of the augmentation was willed to surcease his commission, given him the third year of our reign.

3. Monsieur de Bossy, grand escuyer to the emperor, was made general of the army in the Low-Countries, and Monsieur de Prat over the horsemen.

10. It was appointed here, that if the emperor's ambassador did move any more for help or aid, this answer should be sent him by two of my council, That this progress-time my council was dispersed, I would move by their advice, and he must tarry till the matter were concluded, and their opinions heard. Also I had committed the treaty to be considered by divers learned men, etc. And if another time he would press me, then answer to be made, That I trusted the emperor would not wish me, in these young years, having felt them so long, to enter into them; how I had amity sworn with the French king, which I could not well break; and therefore if the emperor thought it so meet, I would be a mean for a peace between them, but not otherwise. And if he did press the treaty, lastly to conclude, That the treaty did not bind me which my father had
[fol. 65.] made, being against the profit of my realm and country; and to desire a new treaty to be made between me and the emperor, which being pressed to the emperor in the last wars, he answered, That he marvelled what we meant, for we are bound, quoth the emperor, and not you. Also the emperor had refused to fulfil it divers times, both in not letting pass horses, armour, munition, etc. which were provided by me for the wars; as also in not sending aid upon the foraging of the low-country of Callis.

12. A letter was written to sir Peter Meutas, captain of the isle of Gersey, both to command him that divine service may there be used as in England; and also that he take heed to the church-plate that it be not stolen away, but kept sauf till further order be taken.

9. The French king came to the town Aveines in Henault, where after he had viewed the town, he left it, and besieged a pile called Tirloc; but the bailiff of the town perceiving his departure, gave the onset on his rereward with 2000 footmen, 59

and 500 horsemen, and slew 500 Frenchmen. After this, and the winning of certain holds of little force, the French king returned into Fraunce, and divided his army into divers good towns to rest them, because divers were sick of the flux, and such other diseases, meaning shortly to increase his power, and so to go forward with his enterprise.

12. Frederick duke of Saxe was released from his imprisonment, and sent by the emperor into his own country, to the great rejoicing of all the protestants.

5. The emperor declared, That he would none of those articles to which duke Maurice agreed, and the king of the Romaines also. The copy of them remaineth with the secretary Cicel.

Marquis Albert of Brandembourg did great harm in the country of Franconie, burnt all towns and villages about Norimberg, and compelled them to pay to the princes of his league 200000 dallers, 10 of the fairest pieces of ordnance, and 150 kintales of powder. After that he went to Frankfort, to distress certain soldiers gathered there for the emperor.

15. Removing to Gildford.

21. Removing to Petworth.

23. The answer was made to the emperor's ambassador, touching the aid he required, by Mr. Wotton and Mr. Hobby, according to the first article *supra*.

24. Because the number of bands that went with me this progress, made the train great, it was thought good they should be sent home, save only 150 which were picked out of all the bands. This was, because the train was thought to be near 4000 horse, which were enough to eat up the country, for there was little meadow nor hay all the way as I went.

25. Removing to Coudrey, sir Antony Broune's house.

27. Removing to Halvenaker.

30. Whereas it had been before devised, that the new fort of Barwike should be made with four bulwarks; and for making of two of them, the wall of the town should be left open on the enemies' side a great way together, (which thing [fol. 66.] had been both dangerous and chargeable,) it was agreed the wall should stand, and two slaughter-houses to be made upon, to scour the outer courtains; a great rampier to be made within the wall, a great ditch within that, another wall within

that, with two other slaughter-houses, and a rampere within that again.

26. The Flemminges entered in great numbers into the country of Terouenne; whereupon 500 men of arms arose of Frenchmen, and gave the onset on the Flemminges, overthrew them, and slew of them 1435, whereof were 150 horsemen.

31. It was appointed, upon my lord of Northumberland's request, that he should give half his fee to the lord Wharton, and make him his deputy-warden there.

August.

2. Removing to Warblington.

3. The duke of Guise was sent into Lorrein, to be the French king's lieutenant there.

4. Removing to Waltham. 60

8. Removing to Portesmouth.

9. In the morning I went to Chaterton's bulwark, and viewed also the town; at afternoon went to see the store-house, and there took a boat and went to the wooden tower, and so to Haselford. Upon viewing of which things, there was devised two forts to be made upon the entry of the haven; one where Ridlei's tower standeth upon the neck that maketh the Camber; the other upon a like neck standing on the tother side the haven, where stood an old bulwark of wood. This was devised for the strength of the haven. It was meant, that that to town-side should be both stronger and larger.

10. Hary Dudley who lay at Portesmouth, with a warlike company of 140 good soldiers, was sent to Guisnes with his men, because the Frenchmen assembled in those frontiers in great numbers.

Removing to Tichfeld, the earl of Southampton's house.

14. Removing to Southampton.

15. The French ambassador came to declare how the French king meant to send one that was his lieutenant in the civil law at Paris to declare which of our merchants' matters have been adjudged on their side, and which against them, and for what consideration.

[fol. 67.] 16. Removing to Beuleu.

The French ambassador brought news how the city of Siena had been taken by the French side on Saint James' day, by

one that was called the conte Perigliano, and other Italian soldiers, by treason of some within the town; and all the garrison of the town, being Spaniards, were either taken or slain. Also how the mareschal Brisac had recovered Saluzzo, and taken Verucca. Also how Villebone had taken Turnaham and Montreville in the low country.

18. Removing to Christ-Church.

21. Removing to Wodlands.

In this month, after long business, duke Maurice and the emperor agreed on a peace, but marquis Albert of Brandenburg would not consent thereto, but went away with his army to Spires and Wormes, Colaine and Treves, taking large sums of money of all cities which he passed, but chiefly of the clergy. Duke Maurice's soldiers perceiving marquis Albert would enter into no peace, went almost all to the marquis' services; among which were principal the count of Mansfelt, baron Haideke, and a colonel of 3000 footmen, and a 1000 horsemen, called Reiffemberg; so that of 7000 which should been sent into Hungrie against the Turces, there remained not 3000. Also the duke of Wirtenberg did secretly let go 2800 of the best soldiers in Germany, to the service of marquis Albert, so that his power was now very great.

Also in this month the emperor departing from Villacha, came to Insbruke, and so to Monaco, and to Augusta, accompanied with 8000 Spaniardes and Italians, and a little band of a few ragged Almains. Also in this month did the Turkes win the city of Tamesino in Transilvany, and give a battle to the Christians, in which was slain count Pallavicino, and 7000 Italians and Spaniardes. Also in this month did the Turkes navy take the cardinal's of Trent two brethren, and seven galleres, and had in chase 39 other. Also in this month did
61 the Turkes navy land at Terracina in the kingdom of Naples; and the prince of Salerno set forward with 4000 Gascoins, and and 6000 Italians; and the conte Perigliano brought to his aid 5000 men of those that were at the enterprise of Siena. Also the mareschal Brisac won a town in Piemont called Bussac.

24. Removing to Salisbury.

26. Upon my lord of Northumberland's return out of the north, it was appointed, for the better strengthening of the

marches, that no one man should have two offices; and there Mr. Sturley, captain of Barwike, should leave the wardenship of the east marches to the lord Evers; and upon the lord
[fol. 68.] Conier's resignation, the captainship of the castle of Carlil was appointed to sir —— Gray, and the wardenship of the west marches to sir Richard Musgrave.

27. Sir Richard Cotton made comptroller of the houshold.

28. Removing to Wilton.

30. Sir Antony Auchar was pointed to be marshal of Callais, and sir Edward Grimston comptroller of Callais.

22. The emperor being at Augusta, did banish two preachers protestants out of Augusta, under pretence that they preached seditiously, and left Mecardus the chief preacher, and six other protestant preachers in the town, giving the magistrates leave to choose other in their place that were banished.

29. The emperor caused eight protestant citizens of the town to be banished, of them that went to the fair at Lintz, under pretence, that they taking marques Albert's part, would not abide his presence.

September.

2. Removing to Wotisfunt, my lord Sandes house.

5. Removing to Winchester.

7. From thence to Basing, my lord treasurer's house.

10. And so to Donnington-castle besides the town of Neubery.

12. And so to Reading.

15. And so to Windsor.

[fol. 70.14] 16. Stucley being lately arrived out of Fraunce, declared, how that the French king being wholly persuaded that he would never return again into Englaund, because he came away without leave, upon the apprehension of the duke of Somerset his old master, declared to him his intent, That upon a peace made with the emperor, he meant to besiege Cales, and thought surely to win it by the way of sand-hilles; for having Ricebank both to famish the town, and also to beat the

[14] [The back of fol. 68 is blank. Then follows fol. 69 and fol. 69* in a more formed hand containing Number 5 of these Remains—and written upon the back *Pro Rege*. Fol. 70 begins thus: 8ª *charta, Med. Septembris* a° *Dni.* 1552° a° *Regni* R^s. *E.* 6^i. 6°.]

market-place; and asked Stuclei's opinion: when Stukley had answered, he thought it impossible. Then he told him that he meant to land in Englaund, in an angle thereof about Falmouth, and said the bulwarks might easily be won, and the people were papistical; also that Monsieur de Guise at the same time should enter into England by Scotland-side, with the aid of the Scottis.

19. After long reasoning it was determined, and a letter was sent in all haste to Mr. Morison, willing him to declare to the emperor, That I having pity, as all other Christian princes should have, on the invasion of Christendome by the Turke, would willingly join with the emperor, and other states
62 of the empire, if the emperor could bring it to pass, in some league against the Turke and his confederates, but not to be aknown of the French king, only to say, That he hath no more commission; but if the emperor would send a man into Englaund, he should know more. This was done on intent to get some friends. The reasonings be in my desk.

21. A letter was sent only to try Stuclei's truth to Mr. Pikering, to know whether Stucley did declare any piece of this matter to him.

Barnabe was sent for home.

23. The lord Gray was chosen deputy of Cales in the lord Willoughby's place, who was thought unmeet for it.

24. Sir Nicolas Wentworth was discharged of the portership of Calles, and one——Cotton was put into it. In consideration of his age, the said sir Nicholas Wentworth had a hundred pound pension.

26. Letters were sent for the discharge of the men of arms at Michelmas next following.

27. The young lords' table was taken away, and the masters' of requests, and the serjeants' of arms, and divers other extraordinary allowances.

26. The duke of Northomberland, the marques of Northampton, the lord chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Petre, and Mr. Secretary Cicel, ended a matter at Eaton-college, between the master and the fellows; and also took order for the amendment of certain superstitious statutes.

28. Removing to Hampton-court. [fol. 71.]

29. Two lawyers came from the French king to declare

what things had passed with the Englishmen in the king's privy-council; what and why against them, and what was now in doing, and with what diligence. Which when they had eloquently declared, they were referred to London, where there should speak with them Mr. Secretary Petre, Mr. Wotton, and sir Thomas Smith; whereby then was declared the griefs of our merchants, which came to the sum of fifty thousand pounds and upwards; to which they gave little answer, but that they would make report when they came home, because they had yet no commission, but only to declare us the causes of things done.

The first day of this month the emperor departed from Augusta toward Ulmes; and thanking the citizens for their stedfast sticking to him in these parellous times, he passed by them to Strasboug, accompanied only with 4000 Spaniards, 5000 Italians, 12000 Almains, and 2000 horsemen, and thanking also them of Strasborg for their good-will they bore him, that they would not let the French king come into their town; he went to Weysumberg, and so to Spires, and came thither the 23d of this month. Of which thing the French king being advertised, summoned an army to Metz, and went thitherward himself; sent a pay of three months to marques Albert, and the Ringrave and his band; also willing him to stop the emperor's passage into these Low Countries, and to fight with him.

27. The matter of the debatable was agreed upon, according to the last instructions.

26. Duke Maurice, with 4000 footmen, and 1000 horsemen, arrived at Vienna against the Turkes.

21. Marques Hans of Brandenburg came with an army of 63 13000 footmen, and 1500 horsemen, to the emperor's army; and many Almaine soldiers increased his army wonderfully, for he refused none.

October.

3. Because I had a pay of 48000*l.* to be paid in December, and had as yet but 14000 beyond seas to pay it withal, the merchants did give me a loan of 40000*l.* to be paid by them the last of December, and to be repayed again by me the last of March. The manner of levying this loan was of the clothes,

after the rate of 20*s.* of a cloth, for they carried out at this shipping 40000 broad clothes. This grant was confirmed the 4th day of this month, by a company assembled of 300 merchants adventurers.

2. The bulwarks of earth and boards in Essex, which had a continual allowance of soldiers in them, were discharged, by which was saved presently 500*l.* and hereafter 700*l.* or more.

4. The duke d'Alva, and the marques of Marigna, set forth with a great part of the emperor's army, having all the Italians and Spaniardes with them, towards Treves, where the marques Albert had set ten ensigns of launce-knights to defend it, and tarried himself with the rest of his army at Landaw besides Spires.

6. Because sir Andrew Dudley, captain of Guisnes, had in- [fol. 72.] debted himself very much by his service at Guisnes; also because it should seem injurious to the lord Willoughby, that for the contention between him and sir Andrew Dudley, he should be put out of his office, therefore it was agreed, That the lord Wiliam Howard should be deputy of Cales, and the lord Gray captain of Guisnes.

Also it was determined that sir Nicholas Sturley should be captain of the new fort at Barwike, and that Alexander Bret should be porter, and one Rokesby should be marshal.

7. Upon report of letters written from Mr. Pikering, how that Stucley had not declared to him, all the while of his being in Fraunce, no one word touching the communication afore specified, and declared; and also how Mr. Pikeringe thought, and certainly advertised, that Stucley never heard the French king speak no such word, nor never was in credit with him, or the constable, save once, when he became an interpreter between the constable and certain English pioneers, he was committed to the Tower of London.

Also the French ambassador was advertised how we had committed him to prison, for that he untruly slandered the king our good brother, as other such runnagates do daily the same. This was told him, to make him suspect the English runnagates that be there. A like letter was sent again to Mr. Pikering.

8. Le seigneur de Villandry came in post from the French king with this message. First, That although Mr. Sidney's

and Mr. Winter's matters were justly condemned; yet the French king, because they both were my servants, and one of them about me, was content *gratuito* to give Mr. Sidney his ship, and all the goods in her; and Mr. Winter his ship, and all his own goods. Which offer was refused, saying, We required nothing *gratuito*, but only justice and expedition. Also Villandry declared, That the king his master wished that an agreement were made between the ordinances and customs of 64
England and Fraunce in marine affairs. To which was answered, that our ordinances were nothing but the civil law, and certain very old additions of the realm; That we thought it reason not to be bound to any other law than their old laws, which had been of long time continued, and no fault found with them. Also Villandry brought forth two new proclamations,
[fol. 73.] which for things to come were very profitable for England, for which he had a letter of thanks to the king his master. He required also pardon and releasement of imprisonment for certain Frenchmen taken on the sea-coast. It was shewed him they were pirates: how some of them should by justice be punished, some by clemency pardoned; and with this despatch he departed.

10. Removing to Westmyster.

11. Horne dean of Durham, declared a secret conspiracy of the earl of Westmurland, the year of the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, how he would have taken out treasure at Middelham, and would have robbed his mother, and sold 200*l.* land; and to please the people, would have made a proclamation for the bringing up of the coin, because he saw them grudge at the fall. He was commanded to keep this matter close.

6. Mr. Morison, ambassador with the emperor, declared to the emperor the matter of the Turkes before specified: whose answer was, He thanked us for our gentle offer, and would cause the regent to send a man for the same purpose, to know our further meaning in that behalf.

11. Mr. Pikering declared to the French king, being then at Reims, Stuklei's matter confession, and the cause of his imprisonment: who after protestation made of his own good meaning in the amity, and of Stuklei's ingratitude toward him, lewdness and ill-demeanour, thanked us much for this so gentile

an uttering of the matter, that we would not be led with false bruits and tales.

The bishop Tunstal of Durham was deprived of his bishoprick.

In this month monsieur de Rue, Martin Rossen, and an army of Flemminges, while the French had assembled his men of war in Lorrain, had sent the constable to the army, which lay four leagues from Verdeun, the duke de Guise with 7000 men to Mets, and the mareschal Saint Andrew at Verdeun, razed and spoiled, between the river of Some and Oise, many towns, as Noyon, Roye, Chamy; and villages, Nelle, Follambray, a new built house of the king's, etc. insomuch that the French king sent the admiral of Fraunce to help the duke of Vendosme against that army.

There was at this time that reigned a great plague in sundry parts of Fraunce, of which many men died.

20. A man of the earl of Tyron's was committed to the Tower, because he had made an untrue suggestion and complaint against the deputy and the whole council of Irland. Also [fol. 74.] he had bruited certain ill bruits in Irland, how the duke of Northomberland, and the earl of Pembroke were fallen out, and one against another in the field.

17. The Flemminges, and the Englishmen that took their parts, assaulted by night Hamleteu; the Englishmen were on
65 the walls, and some of the Flemminges also; but by the cowardice of a great part of the Flemminges, the enterprise was lost, and many men slain. The number of the Flemmings was 4000, the number of the men within Hamleteu 400. The captain of this enterprise was monsieur de Vandeville captain of Gravelin.

6. Monsieur de Boissy entered Treves with a Flemmish army, to the number of 12000 footmen, and 2500 horsemen, Burgignons, without any resistance, because the ensigns there left by marques Albert were departed; and thereupon the duke d'Alva, and the marques of Marion, marched toward Mets; the emperor himself, and the marques Hans of Brandenburg, having with him the rest of his army, the 9 day of this month departed from Landaw towards Mets. Monsieur de Boissy his army also joined with him at a place called Straybrug, or Deuxpont.

23. It was agreed, that because the state of Irland could

not be known without the deputy's presence, that he should, in this dead time of the year, leave the governance of the realm to the council there for the time, and bring with him the whole estate of the realm, whereby such order might be taken, as the superfluous charge might be avoided, and also the realm kept in quietness, and the revenue of the land better and more profitably gathered.

25. Whereas one George Paris Irishman, who had been a practiser between the earl of Desmond and other Irish lords, and the French king, did now, being weary of that matter, practise means to come home, and to have his old lands in Irland again; his pardon was granted him, and a letter written to him from my council, in which he was promised to be considered and holpen.

There fell in this month a great contention among the Skottis, for the Carris slew the lord of Bouclugh, in a fray in Edinborough; and as soon as they had done, they associated to them the lord Hume and all his kin: but the governour thereupon summoned an army to go against them; but at
[fol. 75.] length, because the dowager of Scotland favoured the Carris and Humes, and so did all the French faction, the French king also having sent for 5000 Scotish footmen, and 500 horsemen, for his aid in these wars, the governour agreed the 5000 footmen under the leading of the earl of Cassels; and 500 light horsemen, of which the Carris and Humes should be captains, should go with such haste into Fraunce, that they might be in such place as the French king would point them to serve in, by Christmas, or Candelmas at the furthest. And thus he trusted to be well rid of his most mortal enemies.

27. The Scottis hearing that Georg Paris practised for pardon, committed him to ward in Sterling-castle.

25. Monsieur de Rue having burnt in Fraunce 18 leagues in length, and three leagues in breadth; having burnt, pilled, sacked, and razed the fair towns of Noyon, Roye, Nelle, and Chamy, the king's new house of Follambray, and infinite other villages, bulwarks, and gentlemen's houses in Champaine and Picardy, returned into Flanders.

23. The emperor in his person came to the town of Mets with his army, which was reckoned 45000 footmen, as the bruit went, and 7000 horsemen. The duke d'Alva with a 66

good band went to view the town; upon whom issued out the soldiers of the town, and slew of his men about 2000, and kept him play till the main force of the camp came down, which caused them to retire with loss. On the French party was the duke of Nemours hurt on the thigh. There was in the town as captain, the duke of Guise; and there were many other great lords with him, as the prince of Roussinion, the duke de Nemours, the vicedam of Chartres, Pierro Strossy, Monsieur Chastileon, and many other gentlemen.

November. [fol. 76.]

5. Monsieur de Villandry returned to declare, how the king his master did again offer to deliver four ships against which judgment had passed. He said, The king would appoint men to hear our merchants at Paris, which should be men of the best sort. He said likewise, how the king his master meant to mend the ordinance, of which amendments he had brought articles.

7. These articles were delivered to be considered by the secretaries.

9. Certain were thought to be sought out by several commissions; vid. Whether I were justly answered of the plate, lead, iron, etc. that belonged to abbeys? Whether I were justly answered the profit of alom, copper, fustians, etc. which were pointed to be sold? and of such land as the king my father sold, and such like articles.

12. Monsieur Villandry received answer for the first article, as he did before, How I meant not by taking freely so few, to prejudice the rest. For hearing of our merchants' matters at Paris, by an inferior council, we thought both too dilatory after these long suits, and also unreasonable, because the inferior council could undo nothing (though cause appeared) which had been before judged by the higher council. And as for the new ordinances, we liked in effect as ill as their old, and desired none other but the old accustomed which have been used in France of late time, and to be yet continued between England and the Low-Country. Finally, We desired no more words, but deeds.

4. The duke Domaile being left in Lorrain, both to stop the emperor's provision, to annoy his camp, and to take up the

stragglers of the army, with a band of 400 men of arms, which is 1200 horse, and 800 light horse, hearing how marques Albert began to take the emperor's part, sent first certain light horse to view what they[15]. Those avant-couriers lighted on a troop
[fol. 77.] of 500 horsemen, who drave them back till they came to the duke's person; whereupon the skirmish grew so great, that the marques with 12000 footmen, and 1000 horsemen, came to his men's succours, and so the duke's part was discomfited, the duke himself taken and hurt in many places; Monsieur de Rohan was also slain, and many other gentlemen slain and taken. This fight was before Toul, into which fort escaped a great part of the light horse.

6. Heding town and castle was taken by the Monsieur de Reux; the castle was reckoned too well stored of all things, and rendered either by cowardice or treason. The battery was very small, and not suitable. The most was, that the captain, monsieur Jenlis, was, with one of the first shots of the cannon, 67 slain, and his lieutenant with him.

In this month Ferdinando Gonzaga besieged Saint Martin's in Piemont.

18. There was a commission granted out to sir Richard Cotton, sir Jhon Gatis, sir Robert Bowes, and sir Walter Mildmay, to examine the account of fall of money, by the two proclamations.

20. The lord Ogle leaving the wardenship of the middle marches, because my lord Evers' land lay there, he was made deputy-warden there, with the fee of 600 marc; and sir Thomas Dacres of the east merches, with the fee of 500 marks.

24. Thomas Gresham came from Antwarp hither, to declare how monsieur de Longie, treasurer to the emperor, of Flaunders, was sent to him from the regent with a certain pacquet of letters which the Burgonions had taken in Boulonnois, coming from the dowager of Scotland: the effect whereof was, How she had committed Georg Paris the Irish-man to prison, because she had heard of his meaning to return into England; how she had found the pardon he had, and divers other writings; and how she had sent O-Connors's son into Irland, to comfort the lords of Irland. Also he shewed certain instruc-

[15] [*Intended* was here added by the author, but does not appear in the original. Mr. Nichols conjectures the word *could*.]

tions, anno 1548, upon the admiral's fall, given to a gentleman that came hither, That if there were any here of the admiral's faction, he should do his uttermost to raise an uproar.

29. Hary Knoules was sent post into Irland with a letter, [fol. 78.] to stay the deputy, if he met him, in Irland, because of this business; and that he should seem to stay for his own affairs, and prolong his going from week to week, lest it be perceived. Also he had with him certain articles concerning the whole state of the realm, which the deputy was willed to answer.

30. There was a letter of thanks written to the regent, and sent to Mr. Chamberlain, to deliver her for the gentle overture made to Thomas Gresham by the treasurer Longie. He was also willed to use gentle words in the delivery of the letters, wishing a further amity: and for recompence of her overture, to tell her of the French king's practice, for 5000 Scottish footmen, and 500 horsemen. And also how he taketh up by exchange at Lubek an 100000*l.* whereby appeareth some meaning that way the next spring.

28. The lord Paget was put to his fine of 6000*l.* and 2000*l.* diminished, to pay it within the space of —— years, at days limited.

Here the Journal ends; or if more was written by the king, it is lost.

SOME OTHER PAPERS WRITTEN WITH KING EDWARD THE SIXTH'S OWN HAND. 68

Number I.

A collection of passages of scripture against idolatry, in French, dedicated to the protector.

In Trinity coll. libr. Cambridge. [R. 7. 31.]

Le fervent zele que je vous apperçoy avoir en la réformation de l'ydolatrie, Threscher et bien aymé oncle, m'a incité comme par maniére de Passetemps, en lisant la sainte escriture, de noter plusieurs lieux en icelle qui deffendent de n'adorer n'y faire aucunes ymages, non seullement de dieux estranges, mais aussy de ne former chose, pensant la faire Semblable à la majesté de Dieu le Créateur. Sy mesbahy, Veu que luymesme et son Saint Esprit, par la bouche de ses prophetes, l'a si souvent deffendu, que tant de gens ont osé et osent commettre ydolatrie en faisant et adorant des ymages: Mais je croy que c'estoit pourtant qu'ilz n'avoient ou nentendoient pas ses Parolles, Car comme il dit il ne peut estre Veu en choses qui soient matérielles, mais Veult estre Veu par ses œuvres, ne plus ny moins que quand on voit quelque excellente piece d'ouvrage, sans voir louvrier qui l'a faite, on peut ymaginer son excellence: ainsy regardant et considerant l'excellence du firmament et les choses tant parfaites et merveilleuses, qui y sont comprises, nous pouvons ymaginer quel est le Créateur qui les a formees seullement par sa parolle, et en telle maniere nostre oeil spirituel pourra beaucoup mieux Voir quelle chose c'est que de Dieu, que nostre oeil corporel ne le pourroit voir en chose que creature humane ait faite et formee. Pourtant, cher oncle, apres avoir noté en ma Bible en Anglois plusieurs sentences qui contredisent a toute ydolatrie a celle fin de m'apprendre et exercer en l'escriture Françoise, je me suis amusé à les translater en la dite langue Françoise: puis les ay fait rescire en se petit livret, lequel de tresbon cueur je vous offre. Priant Dieu le Créateur de vous donner grace de continuer en vostre labeur spirituel au salut de vostre ame et à l'honneur et gloire d'iceluy.

Then follow seventy-two passages out of the Old Testament, against worshipping strange gods or images, with little paraphrases of his own. He concludes,

Il y a autres places en la sainte escriture, tant apocriphes qu' autres, desquelles je ne fais nulle mention pour le present, qui toutesfois sont correspondentes a celle dont est faite mention par cy devant. Mais pourtant que quasi tous les prophetes, et autres saintz desquelz la sainte escriture parle, deffendent de ne commetre ydolatrie je desire et exhorte toute la congregation des Chrestiens qu'un chacun d'eux vueille delaisser cest abhominable vice.

[The dedication is as follows:

Edward Sixiesme de ce nom, par la grace de dieu Roy d'angleterre, France, et Irlande, Defendeur de la Foy, et en Terre apres Dieu, Chef Principal de l'Eglise d'angleterre, et Irlande, A son trescher et bien aymé Oncle Edward Duc de Sommreset, Gouerneur de sa personne et Protecteur de ses Roiaumes Pais, et Subiectz[16].]

[16] [This paper is printed exactly from the original, and retains the stops, capitals, accents, omissions and mistakes of the king. There are several erasures and corrections which could not easily be reproduced, which though made by the king's hand, seem to indicate the supervision of a preceptor.]

A DISCOURSE ABOUT THE REFORMATION OF MANY ABUSES. 69

Number II.

The governance of this realm is divided into two parts, one ecclesiastical, the other temporal.

Cotton lib. Nero C. x. [fol. 107.]

THE ecclesiastical consisteth in setting forth the word of God, continuing the people in prayer, and the discipline. The setting forth of the word of God, consisteth in the good discreet doctrine and example of the teachers, and spiritual officers; for as the good husbandman maketh his ground good and plentiful, so doth the true preacher with doctrine and example, print and grafe in the people's mind the word of God, that they at length become plentiful. Prayers to God also must be made continually, of the people, and officers of the church, to assist them with his grace. And those prayers must first, with good consideration, be set forth, and faults therein be amended. Next, being set forth, the people must continually be allured to hear them. For discipline, it were very good that it went forth, and that those that did notably offend in swearing, rioting, neglecting of God's word, or such like vices, were duly punished, so that those that should be the executors of this discipline, were men of tried honesty, wisdom, and judgment. But because those bishops who should execute, some for papistry, some for ignorance, some for age, some for their ill name, some for all these, are men unable to execute discipline; it is therefore a thing unmeet for these men: wherefore it were necessary, that those that were appointed to be bishops, or preachers, were honest in life, and learned in their doctrine; that by rewarding of such men, other might be allured to follow their good life.

As for the prayers, and the divine service, it were meet the faults were drawn out (as it was appointed) by learned men, and so the book to be established, and all men willed to come thereunto to hear the service, as I have put in remembrances in articles touching the statutes of this parliament. But for

discipline, I would wish no authority given generally to all bishops, but that commission be given to those that be of the best sort of them to exercise it in their dioceses.

This much generally for religion.

Temporal Regiment.

The temporal regiment consisteth, in well-ordering, enriching, and defending the whole body politick of the commonwealth, and every part of the whole, to one part, not the other. The example whereof may be best taken of a man's body; for even as the arm defendeth, helpeth, and aideth the whole body, chiefly the head, so ought serving-men, and gentlemen chiefly, and such-like kind of people, be always ready to defence of
70 their country, and chiefly of their superior and governor; and ought in all things be vigilant and painful for the increasing and aiding of their country. And forasmuch as they, in serving their king and country, have divers great and manifold charges, even as the arm doth many times bear great stresses for defence of the head and body, having no kind of way to [fol. 108.] enrich themselves, neither by merchandize, neither by handicraft, neither by husbandry; as the arm doth decoct no meat it self, nor engendereth no blood; therefore even as the stomach, liver, and lights, which parts engender the blood, doth send nourishment to the arms and legs sufficient to strengthen the part, even so must the artificers so use their gain in working, and so truly and justly make that that they work: the merchants must so sell their ware, and so labour to bring in strange commodities: the husbandmen must pay such rent, and so sell things that come of the increase of the ground, that the hands, and the legs, that is to say, the states of gentlemen and of servingmen, may well do the common-wealth that service they ought to do. And as the gentlemen and servingmen ought to be provided for, so ought not they neither to have so much as they have in Fraunce, where the peasantry is of no value, neither yet meddle in other occupations, for the arms and legs doth never draw the whole blood from the liver, but leaveth it sufficient to work on; neither doth meddle in any kind of engendering of blood. No nor no one part of the body doth serve for two occupations; even so neither the gentleman ought to be a farmer, nor the merchant an artificer, but

to have his art particularly. Furthermore, no member in a well-fashioned and whole body, is too big for the proportion of the body: so must there be in a well-ordered common-wealth, no person that shall have more than the proportion of the country will bear. For as it is convenient to enrich the country, so is it hurtful immoderately to enrich any one part. I think this country can bear no merchant to have more land than 100*l.* no husbandman nor farmer worth above 100 or 200*l.* no artifice above 100 marc; no labourer much more than he spendeth. I speak now generally, and in such cases may fail in some one particular; but this is sure, This common-wealth may not bear one man to have more than two farms, than one benefice, than 2000 sheep, and one kind of art to live by. Wherefore as in the body no part hath too much, nor too little; so in a common-wealth ought every part to have *ad victum et non ad saturitatem.* And as there is no part admitted in the body that doth not work and take pain, so ought there no part of the common-wealth to be but laboursome in his vocation. The gentleman ought to labour in service in his country; the servingman ought to wait diligently on his master; the artificer ought to labour in his work; the husbandman in tilling the ground; the merchant in passing the tempest; but the vagabonds ought clearly to be banished, as is the superfluous humour in the body, that is to say, the spittle and filth; which because it is for no use, it is put out by the strength of nature. This is the true ordering of the state of a
[fol. 109.] well-fashioned common-wealth, That every part do obey one head, or governor, one law, as as all parts of the body obey the head, agree among themselves, and one not to eat another up through greediness, but that we see that order, moderation, and reason, bridle the affections. But this is most of all to be had in a common-weal well ordered, That the laws and or- 71
dinances be well executed, duly obeyed, and ministered without corruption. Now having seen how things ought to be, let us first see how now they be ordered, and in what state they stand now, and then go forward to seek a remedy.

The first point in ordering the common-wealth we touched, was, that the gentlemen, noblemen, and servingmen, should stand stoutly to defence of their superior and governor, and should be painful in ordering their country; which thing, al-

though in some part, and the most part, be well (thanks be to God) yet in some parts is not absolutely, which I shall shew hereafter particularly.

But the second point, for maintenance of the state of of landed-men, is ill-looked to; for that state of gentlemen and noblemen, which is truly to be termed the state of noblesse, hath alonely not increased the gain of living: for merchants have enhaunced their ware; farmers have enhaunced their corn and cattle; labourers their wages; artificers the price of their workmanship; and mariners and boatsmen their hire for service, whereby they recompense the loss of things they buy; but the most part of true gentlemen (I mean not these farming gentlemen, nor clarking knights) have little or nothing increased their rents; yet their house-keeping is dearer, their meat is dearer, their liveries dearer, their wages greater; which thing at length, if speedy remedy be not had, will bring that state into utter ruin, *Quod absit.*

The artificers work falsely; the clothiers use deceit in cloth; the masons in building; the clokmakers in their clokkes; the joiner in his working of timber, and so forth all other almost, to the intent they would have men come oftener to them for amending their things, and so have more gain, although at the beginning they take out of measure. The merchants adventure not to bring in strange commodities, but loiter at home, send forth small hoyes with two or three mariners, occupy exchange of money, buy and sell victual, steal out bullion, corn, victual, wood, and such-like things, out of the realm, and sell their ware unreasonably. The husbandmen and farmers take their ground at a small rent, and dwell not on it, but let it to poor men for treble the rent they take it for, and sell their flesh, corn, milk, butter, etc. at unreasonable prices. The gentleman constrained by necessity and poverty, becometh a farmer, a grasier, or a sheep-master. The grasier, the farmer, the mer- [fol. 110.] chant become landed-men, and call themselves gentlemen, though they be churls; yea, the farmer will have ten farms, some 20, and will be a pedlar-merchant. The artificer will leave the town, and for his more passetemps, will live in the country; yea, and more than that, will be a justice of peace, and will think scorn to have it denied him; so lordly be they now-a-days: for now they are not content with 2000 sheep,

but they must have 20000, or else they think themselves not well; they must[17] 20 mile square their own land, or full of their farms, and 4 or 5 crafts to live by is too little, such hell-hounds be they. For idle persons, there were never I think more than be now; the wars, men think, is the cause thereof; which persons can do nothing but rob and steal; but slack execution of the laws hath been the chiefest sore of all; the laws hath 72
been manifestly broken, the offenders punished, and either by bribery, or foolish pity, escaped punishment. The dissention, and disagreement, both for private matters, and also in matters of religion, hath been no little cause, but the principal hath been the disobedient and contentious talking and doing of the foolish and fond people, which for lack of teaching, have wandered, and broken wilfully and disobediently the laws of this realm. The lawyers also, and judges, have much offended in corruption and bribery.

Furthermore, they do now-a-days much use to forestall, not only private markets of corn and victual, whereby they enhaunce the price thereof, but also send to the sea too, aboard ships, and take the wine, sugar, dates, or any other ware, and bring it to London, where they sell double the price. What shall I say of those that buy and sell offices of trust, that impropriate benefices, that destroy timber; that not considering the sustaining of men of their, [18]turn till ground to pasture; that use excess in apparel, in diet, and in building of inclosures of wastes and commons, of those that cast false and seditious bills; but that the thing is so tedious, long, and lamentable to entreat of the particulars, that I am weary to go any further in the particulars; wherefore I will cease, having told the worst, because the best will save it self.

Now I will begin to entreat of a remedy. The ill in this common-wealth, as I have before said, standeth in deceitful working of artificers, using of exchange and usury, making vent with hoys only into Flaundres, conveying of bullion, lead, bell-metal, copper, wood, iron, fish, corn, and cattle, beyond sea; inhauncing of rents; using two arts to live by; keeping of many sheep, and many farms; idleness of people; disobedi-

[17] [*have* was inserted by the author, but does not occur in the original document.]

[18] [*corn* was inserted here by the author, from conjecture.]

ence of the lower sort; buying and selling of offices, impropriating benefices; turning till ground to pasture; exceeding in apparel, diet, and building; enclosing of commons; casting of ill and seditious bills.

These sores must be cured with these medicines or plaisters. [fol. 111.] 1. Good education. 2. Devising of good laws. 3. Executing the laws justly, without respect of persons. 4. Example of rulers. 5. Punishing of vagabonds and idle persons. 6. Encouraging the good. 7. Ordering well the customers. 8. Engendering friendship in all the parts of the common-wealth. These be the chief points that tend to order well the whole common-wealth.

And for the first, as it is in order first, so it seemeth to be in dignity and degree; for Horace saith very wisely,

Quo est imbuta recens servabit odorem, testa diu——

With whatsoever thing the new vessel is imbrued, it will long keep the savour, saith Horace; meaning, That for the most part men be as they be brought up, and that men keep longest the savour of their first bringing up. Wherefore seeing that it seemeth so necessary a thing, we will shew our device herein. Youth must be brought up, some in husbandry, some in work-
73 ing, graving, gilding, joining, printing, making of clothes, even from their tenderest age, to the intent they may not, when they come to man's estate, loiter as they do now-a-days, and neglect, but think their travail sweet and honest. And for this purpose would I wish that artificers and other were either commanded to bring up their sons in like trade, or else had some places appointed them in every good town, where they should be apprentices, and bound to certain kind of conditions. Also that those vagabonds that take children and teach them to beg, should, according to their demerits, be worthily punished. This shall well ease and remedy the deceitful working of things, disobedience of the lower sort, casting of seditious bills, and will clearly take away the idleness of people.

2. Devising of good laws, I have shewed mine opinion heretofore, what statutes I think most necessary to be enacted this sessions; nevertheless I would wish, that beside them hereafter, when time shall serve, the superfluous and tedious statutes were brought into one sum together, and made more plain and

short, to the intent that men might the better understand them; which thing shall much help to advance the profit of the common-weal.

3. Nevertheless when all these laws be made, established, and enacted, they serve to no purpose, except they be fully and duly executed. By whom? By those that have authority to execute; that is to say, the noblemen and the justices of peace. Wherefore I would wish, that after this parliament were ended, they noblemen, except a few that should be with me, went to their countries, and there should see the statutes fully and duly executed; and that those men should be put from being justices of peace, that be touched or blotted with those vices that be against these new laws to be established; for no man that is in fault himself, can punish another for the same offence.

Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

And these justices being put out, there is no doubt for execution of the laws.

Desunt cætera [19].

[19] [It does not appear that any more was written as the following leaf, fol. 112 is entirely blank.]

Number III.

A reformation of the order of the garter; translated out of English into Latin by king Edward.

EDUARDUS sextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, rex, etc. omnibus qui præsentes videbunt literas salutem. Cotton lib. Nero C. x. [fol. 102.]

Serenissimi majores nostri reges Angliæ deliberantes et secum ipsis cogitantes, de eo officio quo uti debeant erga Deum, patriam, et eos qui suæ ditioni erant subjecti, satis facile invenerunt nihil tam ad suum officium pertinere quam ut bonos, pios, fortes, magnanimos, prudentes et claros viros (pro singularibus eorum meritis) honore gloriaque afficerent, et amicitiam, societatem, et consensionem quandam in bonis rebus inter
74 omnes, præcipue vero inter pares foverent. Honorem enim (ut certe est) præmium virtutis judicabant; concordiam vero fundamentum et auctricem rerumpublicarum existimabant. Hæc igitur illis perpendentibus, optimum visum est constituere societatem, cœtum, aut conventum aliquam eorum, qui in domesticis pacis negotiis optime se gesserunt, et in militaribus pugnis fortiter et prudenter se exercuerunt. Hosque voluerunt in signum concordiæ et unitatis tibias fascia quadam circumligare, quasi eo facto divulgantes sese non dubitare patriæ, religionis et Domini causa vitam et bona profundere, eamque ob causam ordinem garterii nominaverunt. Quem quidem ordinem omnium voce celebratum, serpens ille humano generi infestus Satanas conspiciens, tantopere ad virtutem homines incitare, conatus est penitus delere. In quo tantum elaboravit, tam diligenter prædam quæsivit, tam ingeniose et callide homines decepit, ut tandem oppleverit decreta hujus societatis multis ambiguis, superstitiosis, papisticis et inter se contrariis sententiis. Putandum enim erat, quod si evangelii lux non apparuisset, de isto ordine penitus actum fuisset, saltem de his rebus in ordine quæ bonorum nomen meruissent. Indies enim crevit malum; nos autem summopere commoti, antiquitate, magnificentia et pulchritudine hujus ordinis, omnibus viribus elaboravimus ad eum reducendum ad statum pristinum. Quapropter in cœtu quodam celebrato die, anno Dom. 155 , regni

vero nostri ubi permulti milites ejusdem ordinis aderant, constitutum erat a nobis, autoritate eorundem militum, quod hi articuli infra scripti firmissime observabuntur, ut hujus ordinis decreta.

1. Primum conclusum statutumque existit, quod hic ordo posthac appellabitur ordo garterii; non ordo sancti Georgii: nec idem Georgius amplius posthac reputabitur; nec nominabitur patronus ordinis, ne ille honor qui soli Deo debeatur, cuidam creaturæ attribuatur.

2. Item milites circumligabunt tibias garteriis (ut vulgo dicunt) quibus inscribent hæc verba. *Hony soit qui mal y pense;* in collis autem cathenarum more gerent equitem sculptum, altera manu tenentem gladium penetrantem librum, in quem gladium scribetur *Protectio*, in librum vero *Verbum Dei*, altera autem clipeum, in quem inscribetur *Fides*, hac re significantes se concordes protectores verbi divini et fideles existere. Cum enim ab Georgio eodem auferetur honor ille, quod patronus amplius ordinis non erit, milites non amplius gestabunt eundem divum, post festum Michaelis proxime sequentis.

3. Arma tamen ordinis maneant in eodem statu quo antea manere sunt solita, videlicet crux rubea in campo argenteo.

4. Numerus militum erunt viginti quatuor præter præfectum, si enim plures existant tum minori in honore habebitur collegam esse ordinis, hi autem milites jam existunt.

[fol. 103.] 5. Quod rex Angliæ, hæredes et successores ejus, erunt hujus ordinis præfecti quemadmodum et solitus est antehac. Et quia sæpe oriuntur ambiguitates, contentiones et mutationes temporum; propter quas aut tolli, aut definiri, aut adjungi debent aliqua decreta hujus ordinis, sæpe etiam in mortuorum militum locum alii substituantur necesse est: idcirco conclusum est, quod licet eidem regi Angliæ, aliqua tali re mota, advocatis 6 ex sociis ordinis, cum eorum consensu, celebrato in loco aliquo, mutare, definire, addere, aut detrahere ab hoc ordine; ut illis bonum videbitur, et etiam eligere in numerum militum, 75 alios omnes, qui sunt generosi, insignia gestantes, a parte patrum et matrum per tres progenies sive generationes quoscunque arbitrabuntur maxime idoneos.

6. Omnes hi qui rei sunt inventi capitalium criminum, aut ignave a prælio aufugerunt, aut notabili crimine sunt contaminati, quanquam mors illis non infligatur, tamen milites ordinis

esse desinent. Æquum enim qui esse potest, eum qui insigni et fœdo aliquo vitio sit contaminatus, in bonorum societate aut cœtu manere. Capitalia vero sint crimina, pro quibus leges judicant debere mortis pœnam subire.

7. Si autem idem ordinis præfectus intelligat locum aliquem vacuum existere, aut aliquod ordinis decretum esse mutandum, mittet ad milites vicinos et propinquos ut certo quodam die adsint, hasque literas mittet triduum ante diem celebrandi cœtus; nisi forte adsint plus quam sex milites.

8. Qui milites congregati in cœtu quodam vestibus ordinis induti, si locus aliquis sit vacuus, scribent unusquisque nomina trium principum: viz. imperatorum, regum, archiducum, ducum, marchionum, comitum, aut vicecomitum, nomina trium baronum, sive dominorum, et nomina trium militum aureatorum quos baccalaureos milites vulgo dicunt.

9. Cum nomina sint scripta, tum rex Angliæ, ordinis præfectus ex eorum numero eliget quem maxime idoneum arbitrabitur ex antiqua illustrique familia natum, aut qui suis gestis præclaris nomen, famam et honorem summum acquisiverit; nam in electione militum divitias respicere nullo modo oportet, sed virtutem et generis nobilitatem, primo autem in loco virtutem.

10. Miles electus, cum proxime adsit, adducetur in domum ubi cœtus celebratur per duos collegas; ordinis præfectus induet eum cathena sive collario rosarum circumligatarum fasciis cum sculpta equitis imagine, ut prædixi, appendente; duo vero collegæ fascia, sive ut vulgo dicunt, Garterio tibiam circumligabunt: tradetur etiam electo militi liber horum decretorum.

11. Miles vero electus ibit Windesoram, et præfectus ordinis mittet ad illum substitutum suum et duos coadjutores, qui collocabunt eum, si fieri possit, sine aliorum militum detrimento in sede, ejus gradui nobilitatis apta et accommoda, et secundum veterem modum vestes recipiet (quas vulgo dicunt Anglice, *the mantel, the cirtel, and the hood*) et his vestibus indutus audiet preces divinas in sede illi constituta, simul cum substituto et coadjutoribus communionem recipiens.

12. Post preces absolutas recipiet hoc jusjurandum; se pro [fol. 104.] viribus velle sustinere et defendere omnes honores, titulos, querelas et dominia regis Angliæ, ordinis præfecti; velle etiam (quantum in se est) protegere, amare et colere divini verbi

studiosos; velle deponere humanas traditiones et augere gloriam et honorem Dei.

13. Ille ordo qui institutus fuit olim de insignibus, gladiis, galeis et armis reponendis in cellis aut sedibus, maneat in priori forma.

14. Adhæc cum dedicatio ordinis auferatur a divo Georgio, et tempus anni non sit idoneum ad multos homines cogendos, et ex patria accersendos, præsertim vero ne ipsam dedicationem verbis auferentes re videremur retinere, idcirco statutum est cœtum cælebratum fore, ut olim in vigilia et die divi Georgii; sic nunc primo die Sabbati, et primo die Dominico in mense 76
Decembris, nisi forte prima dies mensis Decembris sit dies Dominicus; tunc autem celebrabitur primo die Sabbati, et 2° die Dominico.

15. Primo vero die Sabbathi milites qui adsunt (omnes autem adesse debent nisi forte habeant licitam excusationem) audient preces vespertinas institutas autoritate parliamenti vestibus ordinis induti, sedentes quisque in sede constituta. Miles autem electus non collocatus in sede stabit directe versus eum locum ubi collocabitur.

16. Die Dominico sequenti in aurora audient supra dicti milites preces, et qui se paratos facere possint, communionem recipient, vesperi etiam audient preces vespertinas.

17. Milites autem absentes tenebuntur eadem facere in suis ædibus toto hoc tempore vestibus ordinis induti.

18. Præterea milites qui adsunt vestibus ordinis induti prandebunt omnes, ab uno latere sedentes in eodem gradu quo collocantur Windesoræ, in cellis. In cœtum etiam intrabunt hoc die, ut si quid faciendum sit, perficiant.

19. Cantatores et præbendarii fruentur suis possessionibus durante vita, post mortem autem eorum conferentur in concionatores in castro Windesoræ.

20. Pauperes autem qui in eodem collegio manent, habebunt omnia sua pristino more, loci autem conferentur in milites vulneratos aut admodum senes viros, solum privabuntur superstitiosis et vanis cæremoniis quibus uti sunt soliti, ut oratione pro defunctis, etc. Quemadmodum vero soliti sunt missæ adesse sic jam adsint in præcibus constitutis.

21. Sunt autem certæ summæ argenti quæ solent impendi cum moriantur milites ordinis.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
A rege Angliæ...	8	6	8	A comite	2	10	0
A rege peregrino	6	13	4	A vicecomite.....	2	1	8
A principe.....	5	16	8	A barone	1	13	4
A duce	5	0	0	A milite Baccalaureo ...	0	16	8
A marchione.....	3	13	0				

Adhæc cum milites elegantur solvendæ sunt hæ summæ pecuniæ. [fol. 105.]

	l.	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
A rege Angliæ..	30	0	0	A comite.....	6	13	8
A rege peregrino	20	0	0	A vicecomite.....	5	16	8
A principe.....	13	6	8	A barone.....	5	0	0
A duce	10	0	0	A milite.....	3	6	8
A marchione....	8	6	8				

Hæ prædictæ summæ argenti colligantur et quotannis pauperibus distribuantur ut interdum solitum est fieri.

22. Rex Angliæ exolvat pecuniam quam peregrini principes debebunt propter articulum supra dictum.

23. Sed quia difficile est omnia hæc sine ministris idoneis fieri, igitur constitutum est fore quatuor ordinis hujus ministros.
77 Cancellarius, Annotator sive Register, Præcessor qui nigram virgam gestabit, et præcipuus Rex armorum qui ab ordine nomen obtinebit Garter.

24. Sigillum ordinis habebit ex uno latere arma Angliæ et Franciæ simul cum armis ordinis circumligata hac superscriptione, *Verbum Domini manet in æternum*, ex altera parte equitem sculptum, ut milites gestabunt circumligatum fascia sive garterio.

25. Hoc sigillo cancellarius sigillabit omnia decreta, licentias, constitutiones, literas et reliqua omnia quæ ad ordinem prædictum pertinent aut ullo modo debent pertinere.

26. Annotator in magno libro annotabit Latine quibus temporibus quisque miles fuerit electus, quibus mortuus, quænam sancita erant decreta, quænam dissoluta, et si quæ erunt alia pertinentia ad ordinem supra dictum, hunc autem librum relinquet in castro Windesoræ suo successori in eodem officio.

27. Rex heraoldorum et insignium Garter servabit nomina et cognomina, arma et insignia cujusque militis electi, eundem

librum relinquens suo successori, et si quæ sit ambiguitas de armis, ipse dijudicabit.

28. Præcursor ordinis gestans virgam nigram præibit ordinem et ostium custodiet, et eandem autoritatem habebit, qua antehac usus est. Quod[20] si quis militum contumeliose et graviter offenderit, et ejus criminis in cœtu fuerit convictus, præcursor ordinis cum rege heroaldorum eum exuent cathena et garterio.

29. Adhæc cum aliquis peregrinus rex in militum numerum substituatur et eligatur, cæremoniis hujus ordinis non detinebitur, sed prout placet.

30. Post electionem vero præfectus ordinis mittet duos milites ejusdem ordinis, qui post præces in ejus patria vulgares induent eum vestibus illis quæ solent gestari, videlicet Anglice, *the mantill, the cirtell, and the hode.* In collum etiam imponent cathenam rosarum cum equite sculpto appendente et fascia vulgo dicta garterio.

31. Postea per procuratorem in sede collocabitur, nullum omnino juramentum recipiens, nec præces unquam alias quam solitas audiens.

32. Quod rex Angliæ possit dispensare et veniam dare omittendi ullas cæremonias, si causa postulet.

33. Quod hi articuli ut monumenta, decreta et leges ordinis reponentur in collegio Windesoræ, omnes autem his contrariæ penitus abrogabuntur. Finis. Amen. FINIS[21].

[20] [This paragraph which is omitted here in the MS. occurs on a separate piece of paper pasted on fol. 106, with the following direction, *In vigesimo octavo articulo scribatur*, Quod si quis &c. as in the text.]

[21] [The FINIS in capitals is in a different hand and ink, shakily written.]

78 A PAPER CONCERNING A FREE MART IN ENGLAND.

Number IV.

The reasons and causes why it is now most necessary to have a mart in Englaund. [Cotton MSS. Nero C. x. fol. 85.]

1. Because our vent of clothes might be open in all wars.

2. Because our merchants goods might be out of danger of strangers, without fear of arresting for every light cause.

3. Because it would much enrich the realm; for as a market enricheth a town, so doth a mart enrich a realm.

4. Because for a need, round sums of money might be of them borrowed that haunt the mart.

5. Because we should have a great multitude of ships strangers to serve in the wars.

6. Because all strangers' goods, when war is made, should be in our danger.

7. Because we should buy all things at the first hand of strangers, whereas now the Spaniardes sell to the Fleminges their wares, and the Fleminges to us.

8. Because the towns toward the sea-side should be much more populous.

9. Because whereas now they bring tapestry, points, glasses, and laces, they would then bring in bullion, and other substantial merchandise, to the intent to have our cloth and our tin.

10. Because we should take from our enemies their power, and make that they should borrow no money of merchants but when we list, at least no great sum of money.

The causes why this time is most commodious to erect a mart in.

1. The wars between the French king and the emperor, and the ships of either side, maketh the Italians, Genoais, Por-

tugalles, and Spaniardes, to forbear their trade to Andwarp. 2. The Frenchmen, the Stedis, the Sprusses, and ships of Eastland, being against the emperor, will not come neither. 3. The French king invading Lorrain, and fearing Flaundres. 4. And the Almaines lying on the river of Rhene, stoppeth the course of merchants out of Italy to Antwarp, and also Frankfort mart. 5. The putting of men of war in the town, maketh the merchants to forbear their traffique, and to look to their lives. 6. The breach of the last tempest is like, they say, to make the channel uncertain, and the haven naught. 7. The stop of the exchange to Lions, will make many Fleminges bankrupts. These things will decay the marts of Antwarp and Frankfort. But those nations cannot live without a vent, therefore they will now most willingly come hither if they had a free mart.

2. It were an easier matter to come to Southampton for the 79
Spaniardes, Britains, Vascoins, Lumbardes, Genoies, Normands, and Italians, than to go to Antwarp.

3. It were easier for the merchants of the Eastland, the Sprusses, the Danes, Shwethens, and Norwegians, to come to Hull than to Antwerp.

4. Southampton is a better port than Antwarp.

[fol. 86.] 5. The Fleminges have allured men to make a mart there with their privileges, having but very little commodities; much easilier shall we do it, having cloth, tin, seacoal, lead, bell-metal, and such other commodities, as few realms Christian have the like; nor they when they began had no such opportunity.

How the mart will be brought to pass.

1. Our merchants are to be staid from a mart or two, under pretence that they abstain because of the imposition.

2. Then proclamation must be made in divers places of the realm where merchants resort, That there shall be a free mart kept at Southampton, with these liberties and customs.

1. The time of the mart to begin after Whitsontide, and to hold on five weeks; by which means it shall not let Saint James' fair at Bristoe, nor Bartholomew fair in London.

2. All men coming to the mart, shall have free going and free coming, without arresting, except in cases of treason, murder, or felony.

3. For the time of the mart, all sorts of men shall pay but half the custom they do in other places of the realm.

4. No shipping shall be from any other place from South-Wales to Essex during that time.

5. In the shires of Hampsheir, Wiltshere, Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Dorsetshire, etc. no bargain shall be made of wares during that time but in the mart town.

6. A court to correct offenders, with liberties thereto.

7. Some one commodity must be assigned to the mart, or some one kind of cloth.

8. The merchants of the staple must be bargained withal, and contented with some honest offer, to the intent by their liberties they may not let the mart.

9. Some more liberties must be given to the inhabitants of Southampton; and if money may be spared, some must be lent them to begin their trade withal.

10. Our ships on the sea must look as well as they may, observing the treaties, to the saveguard of the merchants when they come.

11. If this prove well, then may another be made at Hull, to begin after Stourbrige fair, to the intent they may return before the great ices come on their seas [17].

80 *The discommodities and lets to the mart to be kept in Englaund.* [fol. 87.]

1. Because strangers lack access hither by land, which they have at Antwarp.

2. The ill-working of our clothes, which maketh them less esteemed.

3. The abundance of our clothes in Flaundres will make them less sought for here.

4. The merchants have established their dwelling-places at Antwerp.

5. That other nations will stay their coming hither for a while by the emperor's commandment.

6. The denial of the request of the merchants of the stiliard, will somewhat let the mart, if it be not looked to.

7. The poverty and littleness of the town of Southampton.

8. The goodliness of the Rene.

[17] [Here there is an interval of half a page left vacant.]

The remedies and answers thereunto.

To the first point.

1. At this time when the mart should begin at Southampton, the French king and the Almaines shall stop the entercourse by land, so that nothing shall come that way but in great danger.

2. When war shall be made against us, then our navy may defend them.

3. As the town of Southampton lacketh the commodity of access of merchandise by land, so it hath this commodity, that there can be no access of enemies by land, which may be at Antwarp, and men think will be this year, which is a great savety to the merchants.

4. The traffique that cometh by land will not much diminish the mart, for it is only almost the Venetians' traffique, who shall much easilier come hither by sea, than to Antwerp, and with less danger of the seas.

To the second point.

1. The ill-making of our clothes will be meet to be looked on this parliament, and order thereupon to be given. The matter is come to some ripeness already; the upper house hath one bill, and the nether house hath another in good forwardness.

2. As ill as they be made, the Fleminges do at this time desire them wonderfully, offering rather to pay the imposition of the emperor than to lack them.

To the third point.

1. It were very necessary that the ships that shall be hereafter going, were stayed till the mart were come to some ripeness.

2. The clothes hereafter might be bought up with our money here, and conveyed to Southampton, to be there uttered at the 81
mart time, and so it should help the mart very well.

To the fourth.

1. The danger of their lives, which they now fear very

much, will make them will make them seek another harbor to rest in more safely.

2. They came from Bruges to Antwarp only for the English commodities, although they were[18] settled at Bruges. [fol. 88.]

3. They have a great commodity to come to Southampton, and a great fear of spoiling to drive them from Antwerp.

4. The merchants never assign to themselves such a mansion, but for more gain they will leave that, and take another.

To the fifth point.

1. The emperor is so driven at this time to his shifts, that neither he shall be able to attend the stay of many from coming to the mart, neither if he were able to attend, could, I think, do it, now the Flemings being put in such fear as they be of the loss of all they have.

2. The Fleminges and the Spaniardes which be under him, can hardlier be without us than we without them, and therefore they would hardly be brought to forbear our traffique.

To the sixth point.

1. It were good the stiliard-men were for this time gently answered, and that it were seen, whether by any gentle offer of some part of their liberties again, they might be brought to ship their wares to the mart. The Frenchmen also I think would easily be brought to come hither, having now none other traffique but hither. These two nations would suffice to begin a mart for the first part.

To the seventh point.

1. It is not the ability of the Englishe merchants only that maketh the mart, but it is the resort of other nations to some one place when they do exchange their commodities one with another, for the bargaining will be as well amongst the strangers themselves; the Spaniardes with the Almaines, the Italiens with Flemminges, the Venetiens with the Dans, etc. as other nations will bargain with us.

2. The merchants of London, of Bristo, and other places, will come thither for the mart time, and traffique.

[18] [The words *settled at Bruges* cannot now be read, the margin of the paper being quite worn away.]

3. The merchants will make shift enough for their lodging.

4. There may some of these clothes that shall go hereafter, be bought with my mony, and so carried to Southampton to be there uttered.

To the 8 *point.*

1. Bruges, where the mart was before, stood not on the river of Rhene, nor Antwarp doth not neither stand on that river.

2. Franfort mart may well stand for a fair in Almain, 82 although Southampton serve for all nations that lie on the sea-side; for few of those come to Frankfort mart.

Number V[19].

The method in which the council represented matters of state to the king. An original. Written by sir William Cecil, secretary of state. [Cotton MSS. Nero C. x. fol. 69.]

1552
Wyndsore 23 Septemb.
6° Edw. 6i.

Questions.

1. *Whether the king's majesty shall enter into the aid of the emperor?*

Answ. *He shall.*

1. THE king is bound by the treaty; and if he will be helped by that treaty, he must do the reciproque. A pacto.

2. If he do not aid, the emperor is like to ruin, and consequently the house of Burgundy come to the French possession, which is perilous to England; and herein the greatness of the French king is dreadful. A periculo vitando.

3. The French king bringeth the Turk into Christendom, and therefore that exploit to be staied. Religio Christiana.

4. If the emperor, for extremity, should agree now with the French, then our peril were double greater. First, The emperor's offence for lack of aid. The French king's enterprises towards us; and in this peace, the bishop of Roome's devotion towards us. Periculum violati pacti.

5. Merchants be so evil used, that both for the loss of goods and honour, some remedy must be sought. Pro repub. et patria.

6. The French king's proceedings be suspicious to the realm, by breaking and burning of our ships, which be the old strength of this isle. Pericula consequentia.

Declaration of Stukley's tale.

Answer, *He shall not.*

1. The aid is too chargeable for the cost, and almost to be executed impossible. Difficile quasi impossibile.

2. If the emperor should die in this confederacy, we should be left alone in the war. Solitudo in periculis.

[19] [This paper is inserted accidentally in the middle of the Journal, and is written in a very good hand.]

Amicorum suspitio vitanda.

3. It may be the Germane protestants might be more offended with this conjunction with the emperor, doubting their own causes.

Sperandum bene ab amicis.

4. The amity with France is to be hoped will amend and continue; and the commissioners coming may perchance restore.

Corrollarium of a mean way. 83

Judicium.

1. So to help the emperor, as we may also join with other Christian princes, and conspire against the French king, as a common enemy to Christendom[20].

Reasons for the common conjunction.

Auxilia communia.

1. The cause is common, and therefore there will be more parties to it.

Sumptus vitandi.

2. It shall avoid the chargeable entry into aid with the emperor, according to the treaties.

Amicorum copia.

3. If the emperor should die or break off, yet it is most likely some of the other princes and parties will remain, so as the king's majesty shall not be alone.

Dignitas causæ.

4. The friendship shall much advance the king's other causes in Christendom.

Pro fide et religione.

5. It shall be most honourable to break with the French king for this common quarrel of Christendom.

Reasons against this conjunction.

Inter multos nihil secretum.

1. The treaty must be with so many parties, that it can neither be speedily nor secretly concluded.

Amicitiæ irritatæ.

2. If the matter be revealed, and nothing concluded, then consider the French king's offence, and so may he at his leisure be provoked to practise the like conjunction against England with all the papists.

Conclusion.

The king's hand.

1. The treaty to be made with the emperor, and by the emperor's means with other princes.

2. The emperor's acceptation to be understanded, before we treat any thing against the French king.

[20] [Here ends the first page of fol. 69, at the bottom of which is written in the same hand, *Reasons follow. Verte folium.*]

84 Number VI.

A method for the proceedings in the council, written with king Edward's hand.

The names of the whole council. [Nero, C. x. fol. 79.]

1. The bishop of Caunterbury.
2. The bishop of Ely, lord chancellor.
3. The lord treasurer.
4. The duke of Northumberland.
5. The lord privy-seal.
6. The duke of Southfolk.
7. The marques of Northampton.
8. The earl of Shrewesbery.
9. The earl of Westmurlande.
10. The earl of Huntington.
11. The earl of Pembroke.
12. The viscount Hereford.
13. The lord admiral.
14. The lord chamberlain.
15. The lord Cobham.
16. The lord Riche.
17. Mr. Comptroller.
18. Mr. Treasurer.
19. Mr. Vicechamberlain.
20. Mr. Secretary Petre.
21. Mr. Secretary Cicell.
22. Sir Phelip Hobbey.
23. Sir Robert Bowes.
24. Sir Jhon Gage.
25. Sir Jhon Mason.
26. Mr. Rafe Sadleir.
27. Sir Jhon Baker.
28. Judge Bromley.
29. Judge Montigu.
30. Mr. Wotton.
31. Mr. Northe.

Those that be now called into commission.

32. The bishop of London.
33. The bishop of Norwich.
34. Sir Thomas Wrothe.
35. Sir Richard Cotton.
36. Sir Water Mildmay.
37. Mr. Sollicitor.
38. Mr. Gosnald.
39. Mr. Coke.
40. Mr. Lukas.

The counsellors above-named to be thus divided into several commissions and charges.

First, for hearing of those suits which were wont to be brought to the whole board.

The lord privy-seal.
The lord chamberlain.
The bishop of London.
The lord Cobham.
Mr. Hobby.
Sir Jhone Mason.
Sir Rafe Sadleir.
Mr. Wotton.
Mr. Coke, } masters of requests.
Mr. Lucas, }

These persons to hear the suits, to answer the parties, to make certificate what suits they think meet to be granted; and upon answer received of their certificate, to despatch the parties: also to give full answer of denial to those suits that be not reasonable nor convenient: also to despatch all matters of justice, and to send to the common courts those suits that be for them.

For calling of forfeits done against the laws, for punishing 85
the offenders and breakers of proclamations that now stand in force.

The lord privy-seal.
The earl of Pembroke.
The lord chamberlain.
Sir Thomas Wrothe.

Sir Robert Bowes.
Mr. Secretary Petre.
Mr. Hobby.
Mr. Wotton.
Sir Jhon Baker.
Mr. Sollicitor.
Mr. Gosnald.

These shall first see what laws penal, and what proclamations, standing now in force, are most meet to be executed, and shall bring a certificate thereof. Then they shall enquire in the countries how they are disobeyed, and first, shall begin with the greatest offenders, and so afterward punish the rest, according to the pains set forth. They shall receive also the letters out of the shires, of disorders there done, and punish the offenders.

For the state.

The bishop of Caunterbury. [fol. 80.]
The lord chancellor.
The lord treasurer.
The duke of Northumberland.
The duke of Southfolke.
The lord privy-seal.
The marques of Northampton.
The earl of Shrewsbery.
The earl of Pembroke.
The earl of Westmurland.
The lord admiral.
The viscount Hereford.
The lord chamberlain.
Mr. Vicechamberlain.
Mr. Treasurer and Comptroller.
Mr. Cicell.
Mr. Petre.
Mr. Wotton.
Sir Phelip Hobbey.
Sir Robart Bowes.

These to attend the matters of the state. I will sit with them once a week to hear the debating of things of most importance.

These persons under-written shall look to the state of all the courts, specially of the new erected courts, as the augmentation, the first fruits and tenths, the wards, etc.; and shall see the revenues answered at the half year's end, and shall consider with what superfluous charges they be burdened, and thereof shall make a certificate which they shall deliver.

The lord chamberlain.
The bishop of Norwiche.
Sir Thomas Wrothe.
Sir Robert Bowes.
Sir Richard Cotton.
Sir Water Mildmay.
Mr. Gosnald.

I understand it is a member of the commission that followeth, but yet these shall do well to do it for the present, because the other shall have no leisure till they have called in the debts; after which done, they may sit with them.

Those that now be in commission for the debts, to take accompts of all payments since the 35th of the king that dead is, after that they have done this commission they are now in hand with.

Likewise for the bulwarks, the lord chamberlain, Mr. Treasurer, and Mr. Comptroller, to be in commission in their several jurisdictions.

The rest of the council, some go home to their countries straight after the parliament; some be sore sick that they shall not be able to attend any thing, which when they come, shall be admitted of the council. Also that these councils sit apart. Also that those of the council that have these several commissions———

Desunt quædam.

15. Jan. 1552.—R. E. 6ti. 6to.

This seems not to be the king's hand, but is interlined in many places by him.

Certain articles devised and delivered by the king's majesty, for quicker, better, and more orderly despatch of causes, by his majesty's privy-council.

1. First, His majesty willeth, that all suits, petitions, and common warrants delivered to his privy council, be considered by them on the Mondays in the morning, and answered also on the Saturdays at afternoon; and that that day, and none others, be assigned to that purpose. Cott. libr. Nero. C. x. [fol. 81.]

2. Secondarily, That in answering of those suits and bills of petition, heed be taken that so many of them as pertain to any court of his majesty's laws be as much as may be referred to those courts where by order they are triable; such as cannot be ended without them, be with expedition determined.

3. Thirdly, That in making of those warrants for money that pass by them, it be foreseen that those warrants be not such as may already be despacht by warrant *dormant*, lest by means of such warrants, the accompts should be uncertain.

4. Fourthly, His majesty's pleasure is, that on the [a]Sundays[21], they intend the public affairs of this realm; they despatch answers to letters for the good order of the realm, and make full despatches of all things concluded the week before.

[a] Provided that on Sundays they be present at common-prayer.

5. Fifthly, That on the Sunday night, the secretaries, or one of them, shall deliver to his majesty a memorial of such things as are to be debated by his privy council, and then his majesty to point certain of them to be debated on several days, videlicet, Monday afternoon, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday morning.

[21] [The marginal note is in the king's hand.]

6. Sixthly, That on Friday at afternoon, they shall make a 87
collection of such things as have been done the four days past; how many of those articles they have concluded; how many they have debated but not ended; and how many the time suffered not to peruse; and also the principal reasons that moved them to conclude on such matters as seemeth doubtful.

7. Seventhly, That on Saturday morning they shall present this collection to his majesty, and know his pleasure upon such things as they have concluded, and also upon all the private suits.

8. Eighthly, That on Sunday night again, his majesty having received of the secretaries such new matter as hath arisen upon new occasion with such matters as his council have left, some not determined, and some not debated, shall point what matters, and on which days shall be determined, the next week following.

[fol. 82.] 9. Ninthly, That none of them depart his court for longer than two days, without there be left here at the least eight of the council, and that not without giving notice thereof to the king's majesty.

10. That they shall make no manner of assembly or meeting in council, without there be to the number of four at the least.

11. Furthermore, if they be assembled to the number of 4, and under the number of six, then they shall reason and debate things, examine all inconveniences and dangers, and also commodities on each side; make those things plain which seem diffuse at the first opening; and if they agree amongst themselves, then at the next full assembly of six, they shall make a perfect conclusion and end with them.

12. Also if there rise such matter of weight, as it shall please the king's majesty himself to be at the debating of, then warning shall be given, whereby the more may be at the debating of it.

13. If such matter happen to rise as shall require long debating or reasoning, or e're it come to a full conclusion or end, then his majesty's council shall not intermeddle other causes, nor fall to other matters for that day, until they have brought it to some end.

14. When matters for lack of time be only debated, and yet brought to no end, then it shall be be noted how far, and to what point the matter is brought, and which have been the principal reasons on each side, to the intent when the matter is treated or spoken of again, it may the sooner and easilier come to conclusion.

15. In matters that be long, tedious, and busy, there may be pointed or chosen two or three, or more or less, as the case shall seem to require, to prepare, set forth, and make plain those matters, and to bring report thereof, whereby the things being less cumbrous and diffuse, may the easilier be despatcht.

88 Finally; If upon advertisements, letters, or other occasions whatsoever, there arise matters of great importance, that require haste, his majesty's meaning is not, but that such matters be weighed, considered, and determined, notwithstanding the articles pointed to several days, so that nevertheless this order be not generally or commonly broken.

FINIS[22].

17. That all warrants for reward above 40*l.* and for his business or affairs above 100*l.* pass not but under his signature.

[22] [The remainder is a subsequent addition in the king's hand, and the paper is endorsed, 'For the council, 15 Januarii 1552° R. R. E. 6i. 6o.]

18. That no private suit be intermeddled with the great affairs, but heard on the Mondays alone.

19. If there be under 4, and a matter of expedition arise, they shall declare it to the king's majesty, and before him debate it, but not send answer without it require wonderful haste [23].

[23] [The whole of these Remains, together with many others, have been printed in two of the volumes issued by the Roxburghe club; they appear there exactly as they stand in the MS., and have been edited with great accuracy. The editor of this work has followed his usual practice of modernizing the spelling, with the exception that the rule he has usually adhered to of retaining the ancient spelling in all cases when any conceivable advantage could be derived from so doing, has been a little extended in these Remains. It was thought worth while to exhibit the amount of knowledge of grammar that the king actually possessed; this view will account for several mistakes of spelling, as well as a great number of omissions and repetitions of words, which without this notice the reader might be inclined to consider as errors of press.]

A

COLLECTION

OF

RECORDS &c.

Number I. [p. 2.]

The character of Edward the Sixth, as it is given by Cardanus, lib. 12. *de Genituris, de Genitură Edwardi Sexti.*

ADERANT enim illi gratiæ. Linguas enim multas adhuc puer callebat: Latinam, Anglicam patriam, Gallicam; non expers, ut audio, Græcæ, Italicæ et Hispanicæ, et forsan aliarum: non illi dialectica deerat, non naturalis philosophiæ principia, non musica: humanitas, mortalitatis nostræ imago, gravitas regiæ majestatis, indoles tanto principe digna; in universum magno miraculo humanarum rerum, tanti ingenii et tantæ expectationis, puer educabatur. Non hæc rhetorice exornata veritatem excedunt, sed sunt minora. [Cardani Opera Lugd. fol. 1663, tom. v. fol. 503.]

And afterwards.

Fuit in hoc monstrificus puellus: hic linguas jam septem, ut audio, perdidicerat; propriam, Gallicam et Latinam exacte tenebat. Dialecticæ non expers, et ad omnia docilis. Cum illo congressus, decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum, interrogavit, (Latine non minus quam ego polite et prompte loquebatur) quid contineant libri tui de rerum varietate rari? Hos enim nomini M. S. dedicaveram. Tum ego, Cometarum primum causam, diu frustra quæsitam, in primo capite ostendo. Quænam, inquit ille? Concursus, ego aio, luminis, erraticorum syderum. At rex, Quomodo cum diversis motibus astra moveantur, non statim dissipatur aut movetur illorum motu? At ego, Movetur equidem, sed longe celerius illis, ob diversitatem [Ibid. fol. 506.]

aspectûs, velut in crystallo et sole cum iris in pariete relucet. Parva enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiam. At rex, Et quonam pacto absque subjecto illud fieri potest, iridi enim paries subjectum? Tum ego, Velut in lacteâ viâ, et luminum reflexione, cum plures candelæ prope accensæ medium quoddam lucidum et candidum efficiunt. Itaque ex ungue leonem, ut dici solet. Fuit hic in maximâ omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione ob ingenuitatem atque suavitatem mo- 90
rum. Prius ceperat favere artibus quam nosceret, et noscere antequam uti posset. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis quem non solum Anglia, sed orbis, ereptum immature deflere debet. Plurimum educationi debueramus, plus ereptum est hominum dolo, fraudeve. O quam bene dixerat ille,

Immodicis brevis est ætas et rara senectus.

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum.

Flete nefas magnum, sed toto flebitis orbe
Mortales, vester corruit omnis honor;
Nam regum decus, et juvenum flos, spesque bonorum,
Delitiæ sæcli, et gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis, doctæque Minervæ
Flosculus, heu misere concidis ante diem!
Te tumulo dabimus Musæ, supremaque flentes
Munera, Melpomene tristia fata canet.

Ubi gravitas regia requirebatur, senem vidisses, ut blandus erat et comis ætatem referebat. Cheli pulsabat, publicis negotiis admovebatur, liberalis animo atque in his patrem æmulabatur. Qui dum nimium bonus esse studuit, malus videri poterat: sed a filio aberat suspitio criminis, indoles philosophiæ studiis exculta fuit.

Number II. [p. 6.]

The commission which the arch-bishop of Canterbury took out for his arch-bishoprick.

[*Commissio regia directa Domino archiepiscopo Cantuariensi ad exercendam Jurisdictionem suam archiepiscopalem.*]

EDWARDUS Sextus, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, rex, fidei defensor, ac in terrâ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput, reverendissimo in Christo patri, ac perdilecto consiliario nostro, Thomæ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo salutem. Regist. Cran. fol. 28. [b]

Quandoquidem omnis juris dicendi auctoritas, atque etiam jurisdictio omnimoda tam illa quæ ecclesiastica dicitur, quam secularis, a regiâ potestate velut a supremo capite, ac omnium magistratuum infra regnum nostrum, fonte et scaturigine primitus emanaverit; sane illos qui jurisdictionem hujusmodi antehac non nisi precario fungebantur beneficium hujusmodi sic eis ex liberalitate regiâ indultum animis agnoscere, idque regiæ munificentiæ solummodo acceptum referre, eique, quoties ejus majestati videbitur, cedere convenit. Nos tuis in hac parte supplicationibus humilibus inclinati, et nostrorum subditorum commodis consulere cupientes, tibi vices nostras sub modo et formâ inferius descriptis committendas fore; teque licentiandum esse decreverimus. Ad ordinandum igitur quoscumque infra diocesim tuam Cantuariensem ubicumque oriundos, quos, moribus et literaturâ prævio diligenti et rigoroso examine idoneos fore compereris, ac ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratûs ordines promovendum præsentatosque ad beneficia ecclesiastica quæcunque infra diocesim tuam Cantuariensem constituta, si ad curam beneficiis hujusmodi imminentem sustinendum habiles reperti fuerunt et idonei, et non aliter admittendum ac in et de eisdem instituendum et investiendum ac etiamsi res ita exigat, destituendum; Beneficiaque ecclesiastica quæcumque ad tuam collacionem sive disposicionem spectantia et pertinentia personis idoneis conferendum, atque approbandum testamenta et ultimas voluntates. Necnon administraciones committendas bonorum quorumcumque subditorum nostrorum

91

ab intestato decedentium, bona jura sive credita in diversis diocesibus sive jurisdictionibus, aut alibi juxta consuetudinem curiæ prærogativæ Cantuariensis vitæ et mortis suarum tempore habentium calculumque et ratiocinium, et alia in eâ parte expediendum, testamentaque et administraciones quorumcumque tuæ dioceseos ut prius approbandum et committendum causasque lites et negotia coram te aut tuis deputatis pendentes indecisas, necnon alias sive alia quascunque sive quæcunque ad forum ecclesiasticum pertinentia ad te aut tuos deputatos sive
[fol. 29.] deputandos per viam querelæ, aut appellacionis devolvenda sive deducenda quæ citra legum nostrarum et statutorum regni nostri offencionem coram te aut tuis deputatis agitari, aut ad tuam sive alicujus commissariorum per te vigore hujus commissionis nostræ deputandorum cognicione devolvi aut deduci valeant et possunt, examinandum et decidendum ceteraque omnia et singula in præmissis, seu circa ea necessaria, seu quomodolibet oportuna, præter et ultra ea quæ tibi ex sacris literis divinitus commissa esse dinoscuntur, vice, nomine et auctoritate nostris exequendum; Tibi de cujus sanâ doctrinâ, conscientiæ puritate, vitæque et morum integritate, ac in rebus gerundis fide et industriâ plurimum confidimus, vices nostras cum potestate alium vel alios, commissarium vel commissarios, ad præmissa vel eorum aliqua surrogandi et substituendi eosdemque ad placitum revocandi tenore præsentium committimus, ac liberam facultatem concedimus, teque licentiamus per præsentes ad nostrum beneplacitum duntaxat duraturas cum cujuslibet congruæ et ecclesiasticæ coercionis potestate, quâcunque inhibicione ante datum præsentium emanatâ in aliquo non obstante, tuam conscientiam coram Deo strictissime onerantes, et ut summo omnium judici aliquando racionem reddere, et coram nobis tuo sub periculo corporali, respondere intendis te admonentes, ut interim tuum officium juxta evangelii normam pie et sancte exercere studeas, et ne quem ullo tempore unquam ad sacros ordines promoveas; vel ad curam animarum gerendam quovismodo admittas; nisi eos duntaxat quos et tanti et tam venerabilis officii functionem, vitæ et morum integritas notissimis testimoniis approbata, literarum scientiæ et aliæ qualitates requisitæ ad hoc habiles et idoneos clare et luculenter ostenderint et declaraverunt. Nam ut maxime compertum cognitumque habemus morum omnium et

maxime Cristianæ religionis corruptelam, a malis pastoribus in populum emanâsse, sic et veram Christi religionem vitæque et morum emendacionem a bonis pastoribus iterum delectis et assumptis in integrum restitutum iri haud dubie speramus. In cujus rei testimonium præsentes literas nostras inde fieri, et sigilli nostri quo ad causas ecclesiasticas utimur appensione jussimus communiri.

Dat. septimo die mensis Februarii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo sexto et regni nostri anno primo[24].

[24] [This document seems to have been very carelessly copied into Cranmer's Register. It has been printed in Wilkins' Concilia, iv. p. 2. The editor has printed it here with all the mistakes exactly as it stands in the Register, except that as usual in this edition, abbreviated forms have been printed in full. The variations between this copy and that in the Concilia are accounted for by the fact that Wilkins in two or three instances corrected the mistakes of grammar, and in lengthening some of the abbreviated forms appears himself to have mistaken the grammatical construction of the sentence.]

Number III. 92

The council's letter to the justices of peace. An original.

Cotton lib. Titus B. ii. [fol. 53. al. 33.]

AFTER our right hearty commendations: Where the most noble king, of famous memory, our late sovereign lord and master king Henry the Eight, (whom God pardon,) upon the great trust which his majesty had in your virtuous wisdoms and good dispositions to the common-wealth of this realm, did specially name and appoint you, among others, by his commissions under his great seal of Englond, to be conservatours and justices of his peace, within that his county of Norfolk. Forasmuch as the same commissions were dissolved by his decease, it hath pleased the king's majesty, our sovereign lord that now is, by the advice and consent of us, the lord protector and others, executors to our said late sovereign lord, whose names be underwritten; to whom, with others, the government of his most royal person, and the order of his affairs, is by his last will and testament committed, till he shall be of the full age of eighteen years, to cause new commissions again to be made for the conservation of his peace throughout this realm, whereof you shall by this bearer receive one for that county. And for that the good and diligent execution of the charge committed to you and others by the same, shall be a notable surety to the king, our sovereign lord's person that now is, to whom God give increase of virtue, honour, and many years, and a most certain stay to the common-wealth, which must needs prosper where justice hath place and reigneth. We shall desire you, and in his majesty's name charge and command you, upon the receipt hereof, with all diligence, to assemble yourselves together; and calling unto you all such others as be named in the said commission; you shall first cry and call to God to give you grace to execute this charge committed unto you with all truth and uprightness, according to your oaths, which you shall endeavour yourselves to do in all things appertaining to

your office accordingly: in such sort as all private malice, sloth, negligence, displeasure, disdain, corruption, and sinister affections set apart, it may appear that you have God, and the preservation of your sovereign lord, and natural country before your eyes; and that you forget not that by the same, your selves, your wives, and your children, shall surely prosper and be also preserved. For the better doing whereof, you shall at this your first assembly, make a division of yourselves into hundreds or wapentakes; that is to say, two at the least, to have a special eye and regard to the good rule and order of that, or those hundreds, to see the peace duly kept, to see vagabonds and perturbers of the peace punished, and that every man apply himself to do as his calling doth require; and in all things to keep good order, without alteration, innovation, or contempt of any thing that by the laws of our said late sovereign lord is prescribed and set forth unto us, for the better direction and framing of our selves towards God and
93 honest policy. And if any person, or persons, whom ye shall think you cannot rule and order, without trouble to the country, shall presume to do the contrary, upon your information to us thereof, we shall so aid and assist you in the execution of justice, and punishment of all such contemptuous offenders, as the same shall be example to others. And further, his majesty's pleasure, by the advice and consent aforesaid is, That you shall take such order amongst you, as you fail not once in every six weeks, till you shall be otherwise commanded, to write unto us the said lord protector, and others of the privy-council, in what state that shire standeth; and whether any notable things have happened, or were like to happen, in those parts, that you cannot redress, which would be speedily met withal and looked unto; or whether you shall need any advice or counsel, to the intent we may put our hands to the stay and reformation of it in the beginning, as appertaineth: praying you also to take order, that every commissioner in the shire may have a double, or a copy of this letter, both for his own better instruction, and to shew to the gentlemen, and such others as inhabit in the hundreds, specially appointed to them, that every man may the better conform himself to do truth, and help to the advancement of justice according to their most bounden duties,

and as they will answer for the contrary. Thus fare you heartily well. From the Tower of London, the 12th of February.

Your loving friends,

E. Hertford.

T. Cantuarien. Thomas Wriothesley, Cancel. W. Seint John.

J. Russell.
Antony Browne.
Antony Denny.
Cuth. Duresme.
William Paget.
W. Herbert.
Edward North.

[To our very good lord the earl of Sussex, and to our loving friends sir Roger Townsend and sir William Paston, knights, and to others justices of peace within the county of Norfolk.][25]

[25] [In the same volume, fol. 45, al. 25, there is a duplicate copy of these instructions, differing from the original in two or three unimportant particulars. It is endorsed, 'A double of the letters of the lord protector and other the king's majesty's council sent with a new commission of the peace to the justices of peace in the county of Norfolk, A°. 1°. E. VI^ti.']

Number IV.

The order for the coronation of king Edward.
Sunday, the 13th of February, at the Tower, &c.

THIS day the lord protector, and others his executors, whose names be hereunto ascribed, upon mature and deep deliberation had among them, did finally resolve, That forasmuch as divers of the old observances and ceremonies afore-times used at the coronations of the kings of this realm, were by them thought meet, for sundry respects, to be corrected; and namely, for the tedious length of the same, which should weary and be hurtsome peradventure to the king's majesty, being yet of tender age, fully to endure and bide out; and also for that many points of the same were such as by the laws of the realm at this present were not allowable; the king's majesty's coro-
94 nation should be done and celebrated upon Shrove-Sunday next ensuing, in the cathedral church of Westminster, after the form and order ensuing. Ex libro concilii, [p. 48.]

First; The archbishop of Cantourbury shall shew the king to the people at four parts of a great pulpit or stage to be made for the king, and shall say on this wise; *Sirs, Here I present king Edward rightful and undoubted inheritor, by the laws of God and man, to the royal dignity and crown imperial of this realm, whose consecration, inunction, and coronation, is appointed by all the nobles and peers of this land to be this day. Will ye serve at this time, and give your good-wills and assents to the same consecration, inunction, and coronation, as by your duties of allegiance ye be bound to do?* [p. 49.]

The people to answer, *Yea, Yea, Yea; King Edward, King Edward, King Edward.*

This done, the archbishop of Cantourbury, being revested as he should go to mass, with the bishops of London and Wynchestre on both sides, with other bishops, and the dean of Westminster in the bishop's absence, to go in order before the king. The king shall be brought from his seat by them that assisted him to the church to the high altar, where after his prayer made to God for his grace, he shall offer a pall and a

[p. 50.] pound of gold, 24 pound in coin, which shall be to him delivered by the lord great chamberlain. Then shall the king fall groveling before the altar, and over him the archbishop shall say this collect, *Deus humilium*. Then the king shall rise and go to his chair, to be prepared before the altar, his face to the altar, and standing, one shall hold him a book; and the archbishop standing before the king, shall ask him, with a loud and distinct voice, in manner and form following.

Will ye grant to keep to the people of England, and others your realms and dominions, the laws and liberties of this realm, and others your realms and dominions?

I grant and promitt.

You shall keep, to your strength and power, to the church of God, and to all the people, holy peace and concord.

I shall keep.

[p. 51.] *You shall make to be done, after your strength and power, equal and rightful justice in all your dooms and judgments, with mercy and truth.*

I shall do.

Do you grant to make no new laws, but such as shall be to the honour and glory of God, and to the good of the commonwealth; and that the same shall be made by the consent of your people, as hath been accustomed.

I grant and promitt.

Then shall the king rise out of his chair, and by them that before assisted him, be led to the high altar, where he shall make a solemn oath upon the sacrament, laid upon the said altar, in the sight of all the people, to observe the premisses; 95 and laying his hand again on the book, shall say;

The things which I have before promised, I shall observe and keep. So God help me, and these holy evangelists by me bodily touched upon this holy altar.

[p. 52.] That done, the king shall fall again groveling before the high altar, and the said archbishop kneeling before him, shall with a loud voice, begin *Veni Creator Spiritus*, etc.

Which done, the said archbishop standing, shall say over the king, *Te invocamus*; and at the end shall kneel again, and then shall the king rise and be set in the chair again; and after a little pause he shall rise, and assisted with those that did before that office, go again to the high altar, where

he shall be unclothed by his great chamberlain unto his coat of crimson satin; which, and also his shirt, shall be opened before and behind on the shoulders, and the bought of the arms, by the said great chamberlain, to the intent that on those places he be anointed; and whiles he is in the anointing, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, must hold a pall over him. And first, The said archbishop shall anoint the [p. 53.] king, kneeling, in the palms of his hands, saying these words, *Ungas manus;* with this collect, *Respice Omnipotens Deus.* After he shall anoint him in the breast, in the midds of his back, on his two boughts of his arms, and on his head making a cross; and after making another cross on his head, with holy creme, saying as he anointeth the places aforesaid, *Ungatur caput, ungantur scapulæ,* etc. During which time of unction, the quire shall continually sing, *Ungerunt regem,* and the Psalm, *Domine in virtute tuâ lætabitur rex.* And it is to be remembered, that the bishop or dean of Westminster, after the king's inunction, shall dry all the places of his body, where he was anointed, with cotton, or some linen cloth, which is to be burnt. And furthermore the places opened for the same is to be clothed by the lord great chamberlain; and on the king's hands shall be put, by the said archbishop of Canterbury, a [p. 54.] pair of linen gloves, which the lord great chamberlain shall before see prepared.

This done, the king shall rise, and the arch-bishop of Canturbury shall put on the king a tabert of tanterton-white, shaped in manner of a Dalmatick; and he shall put upon the king's head a coife, the same to be brought by the great chamberlain. Then the king shall take the sword he was girt withal, and offer it himself to God, laying it on the altar, in token that his strength and power should first come from God. And the same sword he shall take again from the altar, and deliver to some great earl, to be redeemed of the bishop or dean of Westminster for 100*s.* which sword shall be born naked afterwards before the king.

Then the king being set in his chair before the altar, shall be crowned with St. Edward's crown; and there shall be [p. 55.] brought, by the bishop or dean of Westminster, the royal sandals and spurs to be presently put on by the lord great cham-

berlain; and the spurs again immediately taken off, that they do not encumber him.

Then the arch-bishop, with all the peers and nobles, shall convey the king, sustained as before, again into the pulpit, setting him in his siege royal; and then shall the arch-bishop 96
begin, *Te Deum laudamus;* which done, the arch-bishop shall say unto the king, *Sta et retine omnimodo locum.* And being the king thus set, all the peers of the realm, and bishops, holding up their hands, shall make unto him homage as followeth: first, the lord-protector alone, then the archbishop of Cantourbury, and the lord chancellor, so two and two as they be placed.

[p. 56.] *I. N. become your liege man, of life and limb, and of earthly worship, and faith, and truth, I shall bear unto you, against all manner of folks, as I am bound by my allegiance, and by the laws and statutes of this realm. So help us God and All-hallowes.* And then every[26] shall kiss the king's left cheek[27]; which done, all they holding up their hands together, in token of their fidelity, shall with one voice on their knees say, *We offer to sustain and defend you and your crown, with our lives, lands, and goods, against all the world.* And then with one voice to cry, *God save king Edward;* which the people shall cry accordingly. Then shall the king be led to his travers to hear the high mass, and so depart home crowned in order, as he set forth accordingly.

[p. 58.] E. Hertford.

T. Cantuarien. Thoms. Wriothesley, Cauncel. W. Seint John.
J. Russell. John Lisle. Cuth. Duresme. Antone Browne.
Willm. Paget. Antony Denny. W. Herbert.

[26] [*one* which was printed in the folio, was perhaps omitted here by mistake in the original.]

[27] [*hands* had been written and erased, the words *left cheek* being substituted for it.]

Number V.

The commission for which the lord chancellor was deprived of his office; with the opinion of the judges concerning it.

EDWARDUS Sextus Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, rex, fidei defensor; et in terrâ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput, dilectis et fidelibus consiliariis suis, Roberto Southwel militi, custodi ac magistro rotulorum cancellariæ nostræ, et Johanni Tregonwel armigero uni magistrorum cancellariæ nostræ prædictæ, ac dilectis sibi Johanni Oliver clerico, et Antonio Bellasis clerico, magistris ejusdem cancellariæ nostræ salutem. Ex libro concilii. [p. 96.]

Quia prædilectus et fidelis consanguineus noster Thomas comes Southampton cancellarius noster Angliæ, nostris arduis negotiis ex mandato nostro continue intendens, in eisdem adeo versatur, quod ad ea quæ in curiâ cancellariæ nostræ prædictæ, in causis et materiis inter diversos ligeos et subditos nostros ibidem pendentibus, tractandis, audiendis, discutiendis et terminandis sint et fieri debeant, ad præsens non sufficiat: volentes proinde in ejusdem cancellarii nostri absentiâ omnibus et singulis ligeis et subditis nostris quibuscunque, quascunque materias suas in curiâ cancellariæ nostræ prædictæ prosequentibus, plenam et celerem justitiam exhiberi, ac de fidelitatibus, et providis circumspectionibus vestris plenius confidentes, assignavimus vos tres, et duos vestrûm, ac tenore præsentium damus vobis tribus et duobus vestrûm plenam potestatem et autorita- [p. 97.]
97 tem audiendi et examinandi quascunque materias, causas, et petitiones coram nobis in cancellariâ nostrâ, inter quoscunque ligeos et subditos nostros nunc pendentes, et imposterum ibidem exhibendas et pendendas et easdem materias, causas et petitiones, juxta sanas discretiones vestras, finaliter terminandi et debitæ executioni demandandi partesque in materiis sive causis vel petitionibus illis nominatis et specificatis et testes et alios quoscunque, quos vobis fore videbitur, evocandos, quotiens expedire videbitis coram vobis tribus vel duobus vestrûm evocandi; et ipsos et eorum quemlibet debite examinari compellendi diesque productorios imponendi et assignandi processus-

que quoscunque in eâ parte necessarios concedendi et fieri faciendi contemptus etiam quoscunque ibidem commissos sive perpetratos, debite castigandi et puniendi cæteraque omnia et singula faciendi et exequendi quæ circa præmissa necessaria fuerint; seu quomodolibet oportuna:

Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa præmissa diligenter intendatis, ac ea faciatis, et exequamini cum effectu. Mandamus etiam tenore præsentium omnibus et singulis officiariis et ministris nostris curiæ nostræ prædictæ, quod vobis tribus, et duobus vestrûm in executione præmissorum diligenter intendant, prout decet: volumus enim et per præsentes concedimus, quod omnia et singula judicia sive finalia decreta per vos tres vel
[p. 98.] duos vestrûm super hujusmodi causis, sive materiis reddendis seu fiendis sint et esse debeant, tanti et consimilis valoris, effectûs, efficatiæ, roboris, et virtutis, ac si per dominum cancellarium Angliæ aut curiæ cancellariæ prædictæ, reddita seu reddenda forent,

Proviso semper, quod omnia et singula hujusmodi judicia sive finalia decreta, per vos tres vel duos vestrûm, virtute præsentium reddenda seu fienda manibus vestris trium vel duorum vestrûm, subscribantur et consignentur, et superinde eadem judicia sive decreta præfato cancellario nostro præsententur et liberentur, ut idem cancellarius noster antequam irrotulentur, eadem similiter manu suâ consignet.

In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

Teste memetipso apud Westmonasterium 18 die Februarii anno regni nostri primo.

The said students referring to the consideration of the said protector and council, what the granting out of the said commission without warrant did weigh; forasmuch as the said protector and council minding the surety of the king's majesty, and a direct and upright proceeding in his affairs, and the observation of their duties in all things, as near as they can, to his majesty, with a desire to avoid all things which might
[p. 99.] offend his majesty, or his laws; and considering, that the said commission was none of the things which they in their assemblies in council, at any time since the death of the king's majesty late deceased, did accord to be passed under the great seal, have for their own discharges required us, whose names

be here under written, for the opinion they have of our knowledge and experience in the laws of this realm, to consider the said case of making of the said commission without warrant; and after due consideration thereof, to declare in writing to what the said case doth weigh in law.

We therefore, whose names be here under-written, after mature and advised consultation and deliberation thereupon; do affirm and say, for our knowledges and determinations, That the said chancellor of England having made forth, under
98 the great seal of England, without any warrant, the commission aforesaid hath done, and doth by his so doing offend the king's majesty, hath and doth by the common law, forfeit his office of chancellor, and incurreth the danger, penalty, and payment, of such fine as it shall please the king's majesty, with the advise of the said lord protector and council to set upon him for the same; with also imprisonment of his body at the king's will:

In witness whereof we have set our names to this present, the last day of February, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Edward the 6th, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth of the church of England, and also of Ireland the supreme head; and have likewise, for more ample testimony of this our opinion of, and upon the premisses, put and subscribed our names to this present duplicate of the same here inserted, in this present act of this 6th day of the month of March accordingly.

Number VI.

The duke of Somerset's commission to be protector.

Ex libro concilii. [p. 126.]

EDWARD the sixth, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head.

Whereas our council, and divers of the nobles and prelates of this our realm of England, considering our young and tender age, have thought meet and expedient, as well for our education, and bringing up in knowledge, learning, and exercises of good and godly manners, virtues, and qualities, meet and necessary for a prince of our estate, and whereby we should, and may at our full age be the more able to minister and execute the charge of our kingly estate and office, committed unto us by the goodness of Almighty God, and left, and come unto us, by right inheritance, after and by the decease of our late sovereign lord and father, of most famous memory, king Henry the 8th, whose soul God pardon. As also to the intent, that during the time of our minority, the great and weighty causes of our realms and dominions may be set forth, conducted, passed, applied, and ordered, in such sort, as shall be most to the glory of God, our surety and honour; and for the [p. 127.] weal, benefit, and commodity of us, our said realms and dominions, and of all our loving subjects of the same, have advised us to nominate, appoint, and authorize some one meet and trusty personage, above all others, to take the special care and charge of the same for us, and in our name and behalf; without the which the things before remembered could not, ne can be done so well as appertaineth.

We therefore using their advices and counsels in this behalf, did heretofore assign and appoint our dear and well-beloved uncle Edward, now duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our said realms and dominions, and of our subjects and people of the same. Which thing, albeit we have already declared heretofore, and our pleasure therein published by word of our mouth, in the presence of our said

99 council, nobles, and prelates of our said realm of England, and not by any writing set forth under our seal for that only purpose. Yet for a more perfect and manifest knowledge, and further corroboration and understanding of our determination in that behalf; and considering that no manner of person is so meet to have and occupy the said charge and administration, and to do us service in the same, as is our said uncle Edward, duke of Somerset, eldest brother to our natural most [p. 128.] gracious late mother queen Jane, as well for the proximity of blood, whereby he is the more stirred to have special eye and regard to our surety and good education, in this our said minority; as also for the long and great experience which our said uncle hath had in the life-time of our said dear father, in the affairs of our said realms and dominions, both in time of peace and war; whereby he is more able to order and rule our said realms, dominions, and subjects of the same: and for the special confidence and trust that we have in our said uncle, as well with the advice and consent of our council, and other our nobles and prelates, as also of divers discreet and sage men that served our said late father in his council and weighty affairs; we therefore, by these presents, do not only ratify, approve, confirm and allow, all and every thing and things whatsoever devised, set forth, committed or done by our said uncle, as governor of our person, and protector of our said realms and dominions, and of the subjects of the same, sith the time he was by us named, appointed, and ordained by word governor of our person, and protector of our said realms and dominions, and of the subjects of the same, as is aforesaid, or otherwise [p. 129.] any time before, sithence the death of our said late father. But also by these presents, we for a full and perfect declaration of the authority to our said uncle, given and appointed as is aforesaid, do nominate, appoint, and ordain our said uncle, governor of our said person, and protector of our said realms and dominions, and of the subjects of the same, until such time as we shall have, by the sufferance of God, accomplished the age of eighteen years.

And we do also grant to our said uncle, by these presents, full power and authority, from time to time, until such time as we shall have accomplished the said age of eighteen years, to do, procure, and execute, and cause to be done, procured, and

executed, all and every such thing and things, act and acts, which a governor of the king's person of this realm, during his minority, and a protector of his realms, dominions, and subjects, ought to do, procure, and execute, or cause to be done, procured, and executed; and also all and every other thing and things, which to the office of a governor of a king of this realm, during his minority, and of a protector of his realms, dominions, and subjects, in any wise appertaineth or belongeth.

Willing, authorising, and commanding, our said uncle, by these presents, to take upon him the name, title, and authority
[p. 130.] of governor of our person, and protector of our realms, dominions, and subjects; and to do, procure, and execute, and cause to be done, procured and executed, from time to time, until we shall have accomplished the said age of eighteen years, all and every thing and things, act and acts, of what nature, quality, or effect soever they be or shall be, concerning our affairs, doings, and proceedings, both private and public, as 100 well in outward and foreign causes and matters, as also concerning our affairs, doings, and proceedings within our said realms and dominions, or in any of them, or concerning any manner causes, or matters, of any our subjects of the same, in such like manner and form as shall be thought, by his wisdom and discretion, to be for the honour, surety, prosperity, good order, wealth, or commodity of us, or of any of our said realms and dominions, or of the subjects of any of the same.

And to the intent our said uncle should be furnished with men qualified in wit, knowledge, and experience, for his aid and assistance, in the managing and accomplishment of our said affairs, we have, by the advice and consent of our said uncle, and others, the nobles, prelates, and wise men of our said realm
[p. 131.] of England, chosen, taken, and accepted, and by these presents do choose, take, accept, and ordain to be our counsellors, and of our council, the most reverend father in God, Thomas archbishop of Cantorburye, and our right trusty and well-beloved William, lord St. John, great master of our houshold, and president of our council; John lord Russel keeper of our privy-seal; and our right trusty and right well-beloved cousins, William marquess of Northampton; John earl of Warwike, great chamberlain of England; Henry earl of Arundel, our

lord chamberlain; Thomas lord Seymour of Sudley, high admiral of England; the reverend father in God, Cuthbert bishop of Duresme, and our right trusty and well-beloved Richard lord Ryche; sir Thomas Cheney knight of our order, and treasurer of our houshold; sir John Gage knight of our order, and comptroller of our houshold; sir Anthony Browne knight of our order, master of our horse; sir Anthony Wingfeld knight of our order, our vicechamberlain; sir William Paget knight of our order, our chief secretary; sir William Petre knight, one of our two principal secretaries; sir Raulph Sadleyr knight, master of our great wardrobe; sir John Baker knight, Dr. Wotton dean of Canturbury and York; sir Anthony Denny and sir William Harbert knights, gentlemen of our privy-chamber; sir Edward North knight, chancellor of [p. 132.] our court of augmentations and revenues of our crown; sir Edward Montague knight, chief justice of our common pleas; sir Edward Wotton knight, sir Edmund Pekham knight, cofferer of our houshold; sir Thomas Bromley knight, one of the justices for pleas before us to be holden, and sir Richard Southwell knight.

And furthermore we are contented and pleased, and by
101 these presents do give full power and authority to our said uncle, from time to time, until we shall have accomplished, and be of the full age of eighteen years, to call, ordain, name, appoint, and swear such, and as many other persons of our subjects, as to him our said uncle shall seem meet and requisite to be of our council; and that all and every such person or persons, so by our said uncle, for and during the time aforesaid to be called, named, ordained, and appointed, and sworn of our council, and to be our counsellor or counsellors, we do by these presents name, ordain, accept, and take our counsellor and counsellors, and of our council in like manner and form, as if he, they, and every of them, were in these presents by us appointed, named, and taken to be of our council, and our counsellor or counsellors, by express name or names. And [p. 133.] that also of our forenamed counsellors or of any others which our said uncle shall hereafter at any time take and choose to be our counsellor or counsellors, or of our said council, he our said uncle shall, may, and have authority by these presents, to choose, name, appoint, use, and swear of privy-council, and to

be our privy-counsellor or counsellors, such and so many as he from time to time shall think convenient.

And it is our further pleasure, and also we will and grant by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, That whatsoever cause, matter, deed, thing, or things, of what nature, quality, or condition soever the same be; yea, though the same require, or ought by any manner, law, statute, proclamation, or other ordinance whatsoever, to be specially, or by name, expressed or set forth in this our present grant or letters patents, and be not herein expressed or mentioned, specially which our said uncle, or any of our privy-counsellor, or counsellors, with the advice, consent, or agreement of our said uncle, have thought necessary, meet, expedient, decent, or in any manner-wise convenient to be devised, done, or executed, during our minority, and until we come to the full age of eighteen years, for the surety, honour, profit, health, or education of our person; or for the surety, honour, profit,
[p. 134.] weal, benefit, or commodity of any our realms, dominions, or subjects; and the same have devised, done, or executed, or caused to be devised executed, or done at any time sithens the death of our most noble father of most famous memory: We are contented, and pleased, and will grant, for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents, that the same cause, matter, deed, thing and things, and every of them, shall stand, remain, and be (until such time our said uncle, with such and so many of our foresaid counsellors as he shall think meet to call unto his assistance, shall revoke and annihilate the same) good, sure, stable, vailable, and effectual, to all intents and purposes, without offence of us, or against us, or of or against any of our laws, statutes, proclamations, or other ordinances whatsosoever; and without incurring therefore into any danger, penalty, forfeit, loss, or any other encumbrance, penalty, or vexation of his or their bodies, lands, tenements, goods, or chattels; or of their, or of any of their heirs, executors, or administrators, or of any other person or persons whatsoever, which have done or executed any cause, matter, deed, thing or things, now, or at any time sithens the death of our said father,
[p. 135.] by the commandment or ordinance of our said uncle, or any of our counsellors, with the advice, consent, or agreement of our said uncle.

And further, we are contented and pleased, and will and grant, for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents, that whatsoever cause, matter, deed, thing or things, of what nature, quality, or condition soever the same be, or shall be; yea, though the same require, or ought by any manner law, statute, proclamation, or other whatsoever ordinance to be specially and by name expressed and set forth in this our present grant and letters patents, and be not herein specially named or expressed, which our said uncle shall at any time, during our minority, and until we shall come to the full age of eighteen years, think necessary, meet, expedient, decent, or in
102 any wise convenient to be devised, had, made, executed or done in our name, for the surety, honour, profit, health, or education of our person, or which our said uncle, with the advice and consent of such, and so many of our privy-council, or of our counsellors, as he shall think meet to call unto him from time to time, shall at any time, until we come unto the full age of eighteen years, think necessary, meet, decent, expedient, or in anywise convenient to be devised, had, made, executed, or done in our name, for the surety, honour, profit, weal, benefit, or commodity of any our realms dominions, or [p. 136.] subjects, or any of them, he our said uncle and counsellors, and every of them, and all and every other person and persons, by his our said uncle's commandment, direction, appointment, or order, or by the commandment, appointment, direction, or order of any of our said counsellors, so as our said uncle agree, and be contented, to or with the same, shall and may do, or execute the same without displeasure to us, or any manner of crime or offence to be by us, our heirs or successors, laid or imputed to him our said uncle, or any our said counsellors, or any other person or persons therefore, or in that behalf, and without any offence of or against our laws, statutes, proclamations, or other whatsoever ordinances; and without incurring therefore into any damages, penalty, forfeit, loss, or any other encumbrance, trouble, or vexation of his, or any of their bodies, lands, tenements, goods or chattels; or of his or their, or any their heirs, successors, assigns, executors or administrators. And therefore we will and command, not only all and every our judges, justices, serjeants, attorneys, sollicitors, sheriffs, escheators, bailiffs, and all other our officers,

ministers, and subjects, that now be, or hereafter shall be, in
[p. 137.] no wise to impeach, appeal, arrest, trouble, vex, inquiet, or molest in our name or otherwise, our said uncle, or our said counsellors, or any of them, or any other person, for any cause, matter, deed, thing or things, which he or they, or any of them have done, or shall do, execute, or cause to be executed or done as aforesaid; but also we require, and nevertheless straitly charge and command, by these presents, all and every our officers, ministers, and subjects, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, or shall be, to be obedient, aiding, attendant and assisting to our said uncle and counsellors, and to every of them as behoveth, for the execution of this charge and commission given and committed unto our said uncle and council as aforesaid, as they tender our favour, and their own weals, and as they will answer unto us at their uttermost perils for the contrary.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents [22]; witness our self at Westminster, the 12th day of March, in the first year of our reign.

E. Somerset.

T. Cantuarien. W. Seint John. J. Russell. W. Northt.

T. Cheyne. Willm. Paget.

Antoni Browne.

[22] [These letters patent have been enrolled twice, 1 Edw. VI. par. 4 and 2 Edw. VI. par. 7. They were in force only for a few months; a new patent was made for Somerset to be protector, bearing date Dec. 24 of this year. In the second patent the office is granted only during the king's pleasure. It is alluded to by the author, who gives an erroneous description of it at page 50.]

Number VII.

103 *The king's letter to the arch-bishop of York, concerning the visitation then intended.*

EDWARD.

EDWARDUS SEXTUS Dei gratiâ, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ rex, fidei defensor, et in terrâ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput, reverendissimo in Christo patri, ac prædilecto consiliario nostro Roberto permissione divinâ Eboracensi archiepiscopo Angliæ primati et metropolitano salutem. Cotton lib. Titus B ii. [fol. 89.]

Quum nos, supremâ authoritate nostrâ regiâ, omnia et singula loca ecclesiastica, clerumque et populum infra et per totum nostrum Angliæ regnum constituta, propediem visitare statuerimus, VOBIS tenore præsentium stricte inhibemus atque mandamus et per vos suffraganeis vestris confratribus episcopis, ac per illos suis archidiaconis ac aliis quibuscunque jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam exercentibus, tam exemptis quam non exemptis, infra vestram provinciam Eboracensem ubilibet constitutis sic inhiberi volumus atque præcipimus, quatenus nec vos nec quisquam vestrûm ecclesias, aut alia loca prædicta clerumve aut populum visitare, aut ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis exercere seu quicquam aliud in præjudicium dictæ nostræ visitacionis generalis quovismodo attemptare præsumatis sive præsumat sub pœnâ contemptûs, donec et quousque licentiam et facultatem vobis et eis in ea parte largiendam et impertiendam fore duxerimus.

ET QUIA non solum internum animorum subditorum nostrorum pacem; verum etiam externam eorum concordiam multiplicibus opinionum procellis ex contentione, dissentione et controversiis concionatorum exortis, multum corruptam, violatam ac misere divulsam esse cernimus; idcirco nobis admodum necessarium visum est ad sedandas et componendas hujusmodi opinionum varietates, quatenus inhibeatis, seu inhiberi faciatis omnibus et singulis episcopis, ne alibi quam in ecclesiis suis cathedralibus, et aliis personis ecclesiasticis qui-

buscunque, ne in alio loco quam in suis ecclesiis, collegiatis, sive parochialibus, in quibus intitulati sunt, prædicent, aut subditis nostris quovismodo concionandi munus exerceant, nisi ex gratiâ nostrâ speciali ad id postea licentiati fuerint, sub nostræ indignationis pœnâ.

IN CUJUS rei testimonium, sigillum nostrum, quo ad causas ecclesiasticas utimur, præsentibus apponi mandavimus.

DAT. quarto die mensis Maii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo septimo, et regni nostri anno primo.

E. Somerset.

T. Seymour.

T. Cantuarien. W. Seint John. Willm. Petre Sy.

J. Russell.

John Bakere.

John Gage[23].

[23] [This is an original document on vellum. It has been printed from Burnet, but with a reference to the same MS. in the Cotton Collection, by Wilkins, Conc. iv. p. 10. The corresponding letter to the archbishop of Canterbury is in Cranmer's Register, fol. 31, from which it has been in part printed in the same volume, p. 14, under the head, 'Inhibitio jurisdictionis episcopi Londoniensis pro visitatione regiâ.' The king's letter to the archbishop bears the same date, May 4. The archbishop's letter to the bishop of London, in which it is embodied, is dated May 15, and the *Relaxatio*, which is also printed by Wilkins from Cranmer's Register, is dated June 3, 1547.]

104

Number VIII.

The form of bidding prayer before the reformation.
The bedes on the Sunday.

Out of the Festival, printed an. 1509.[24]

YE shall kneel down on your knees, and lift up your hearts, making your prayers unto Almighty God, for the good state and peace of holy church, that God maintain, save, and keep it. For our holy father the pope, with all his true college of cardinals, that God for his mercy them maintain and keep in the right belief, and it hold and increase, and all misbelief and heresy be less and destroyed. Also ye shall pray for the holy land, and for the holy cross, that Jesus Christ died on for the redemption of man's soul[25], that it may come into the power of Christian men the more to be honoured for our prayers. Also ye shall pray for all archbishops and bishops; and in especial[26] for the archbishop of Canterbury our metropolitan, and for the bishop of N. our diocesan, that God of his mercy give to them grace so to govern and rule holy church, that it may be to the honour and worship of him, and salvation of our souls.

[24] [There is no edition of the Festival bearing this date. As the editor is uncertain what edition the author printed from, he has added the variations which appear in the folio, at the foot of the page. The copy in the text is printed from the Paris edition of the '*Festivalis*' bearing date 1495, from a copy in the British Museum. This copy is without title or date at its commencement, but the date is given on fol. 125. The above form of bidding prayer occupies the last three leaves. The variations are too numerous to allow of the supposition that they are all instances of carelessness in transcribing. Moreover Strype probably had seen an edition much resembling that from which Burnet printed, but which was certainly not that of Paris 1495, as he notices only four errors of Burnet's, and three of his corrections differ from the readings of the Paris edition. Upon the whole it has been thought fit to give at the foot of the page the variations of the folio edition, both those which are due to the author's carelessness, and those which appear to be a true transcript of the edition from which the document was printed. It seems probable that the author copied from 'The Festyuall or Sermons on Sundays and Holidaies taken out of the Golden Legend.' Lond. by Wynkyn de Worde 1508, or else the reprint of 1511.]

[25] [man's souls] [26] [especially]

Ye shall also[27] pray for abbots, priors, monks, canons, friars, and for all men and women of religion, in what order, estate, or degree that they stand in, from the highest estate unto the lowest degree. Ye shall also[28] pray for all them that have charge and cure of Christian men's souls, as curates, parsons[29], vicars, priests and clerks; and in especial for the parson and curate of this church, and for all the priests and ministers that serve therein, or have served therein; and for all them that have taken any order, that God give them grace well to[30] keep and to observe it to the honour and health of their souls. Ye shall also[31] pray for the unity and peace of all Christian realms, and in especial for the good state[32], peace and tranquillity, of this realm of England, for our liege lord the king, that God for his great mercy send him grace so to govern and rule this realm, that God be pleased and worshipped, and profit[33] and salvation of this land. Also ye shall pray for our liege lady the queen, my lord the[34] prince, and all the noble progeny of them; for all dukes, earls, barons, knights, and squires, and all other lords of the king's council, which have any rule and governance in this land, that God give them grace so to council, rule, and govern, that God be pleased, the land defended, and to the profit and salvation of all the realm. Also ye shall pray for the peace, both on land and on the water; that God grant love and charity among all Christian people. Ye[35] shall pray for all our parishes, where[36] they be, on land or on water, that God save them from all manner of perils; and for all the good men of this parish, for their wives, children, and men, that God them maintain, save and keep. Ye shall also[37] pray for all true tithers, that God multiply their goods and increase; for all true tillers that labour for our sustenance, that telye[38] the earth; and also for all the grains and fruits that be sown, set, or done on the earth, or shall be done, that God send such wederynge[39] that they may grow, increase, and multiply, to the 105
help and profit of all mankind. Ye[40] shall pray for all true shipmen and merchants, where that they be, on land or on water, that God keep them from all perils, and bring them home in safety, with their goods, ships, and merchandises, to

[27] [Also ye shall] [28] [Also ye shall] [29] [and parsons] [30] [grace of continuance well for to] [31] [Also ye shall] [32] [estate] [33] [to the profit] [34] [the, om.] [35] [Also ye] [36] [where that] [37] [Also ye shall] [38] [till] [39] [weather] [40] [Also ye shall]

the help, comfort, and profit of this realm. Ye shall also[41] pray for them that find any light in this church, or give any bequest, book, bell, chalice or vestment, surplice, aulter-cloth[42], or towel, lands, rents, lamp or light, or any other adornment[43], whereby God's service is the better served, sustained and maintained in reading and singing, and for all them that thereto have counselled, that God reward and yield it them at their most need. Also ye shall pray for all true pilgrims and palmers, that have taken their way to Rome, to Jerusalem, to Saint Katherines, or Saint James, or to any other holy[44] place, that God of his grace give them time and space, well for to go and to come, to the profit of their lives and souls. Ye shall also[45] pray for all them that be sicked or diseased of this parish, that God send to them health, the rather for our prayers; for all the women that[46] be in our Lady's bonds[47], and with child, in this parish, or in any other, that God send to them fair deliverance, to their children right shape, name, and Christendom, and to the mothers, purification; and for all them that would be here, and may not, for sickness or travail, or any other lawful occupation, that they may have part of all the good deeds that shall be done in this place, or in any other. Also ye[48] shall pray for all them that be in good life, that God[49] them hold long therein; and for them that be in debt, or deadly sin, that Jesus Christ bring them out thereof, the rather for our prayers[50]. Also ye shall pray for him or her that this day gave the holy bread, and for him that first began and longest holdeth on, that God reward it him at the day of doom; and for all them that do well, or say you good, that God yield it them at their need, and for them that other[51] would, that Jesus Christ amend them; for all these[52], and for all Christian men and women, ye shall say a *Pater Noster;* and an[53] *Ave Maria; Deus misereatur nostri; Gloria Patri, Sicut erat*[54]*; Kyrie Eleison, Christe Eleison, Kyrie Eleison; Pater Noster; Et ne nos; Sed libera nos; Ostende nobis Domine*[55]*; Sacerdotes Dni induant*[56]*; Domine salvum fac regem; Salvos fac servos*[57]*; Salvum fac populum; Domine fiat pax; Domine exaudi etc.*[58]*; Dominus vobiscum; Et cum*[59]*. Oremus; Ecclesiæ tuæ quæsumus; Deus in cujus*

41 [behests] 42 [water-cloath] 43 [adornments] 44 [holy, om.] 45 [Also ye shall] 46 [which] 47 [bands] 48 [And ye] 49 [good] 50 [prayer] 51 [otherwise] 52 [those] 53 [and an, om.] 54 [*Sicut erat, om.*] 55 [*libera; Versus; ostende nobis*] 56 [*Dni induant, om.*] 57 [*Salvos fac servos, om.*] 58 [*etc. om.*] 59 [*Et cum, om.*]

manu; Deus a quo sancta, etc.[60] Furthermore, ye shall pray for all Christian souls, for archbishops' and bishops' souls; and in especial, for all that have been bishops of this diocese; and for all curates, parsons and vicars' souls, and in especial, for them that have been curates of this church, and for the souls that have served in this church. Also ye shall pray for the souls of all Christian kings and queens, and in especial for the souls of them that have been kings of this[61] realm of England; and for all those souls that to this church have given book, bell, chalice, or vestment, or any other thing, by the which the service of God is better done, and holy church worshipped. Ye shall also pray for your fathers' souls[62], for your mothers' souls[63]; for your godfathers' souls, for your godmothers' souls; for your brethren and sisters' souls, and for your kindred's souls, and for your friends' souls, and for all the souls we be bound to pray for; and for all the souls that be in the pains of purgatory, there abiding the mercy of Almighty God; and in especial for 106
them that have most need and least help, that God for[64] his endless mercy lessen and minish their pains by the moyen[65] of our prayers, and bring them to his everlasting bliss in heaven. And also of the soul of[66] N. or of them that upon such a day this week we shall have the anniversary; and for all Christian souls ye shall devoutly say a *Pater Noster* and an[67] *Ave.*

Psalmus de profundis clamavi[68] *&c.* with this collect, *Oremus; Absolve quæsumus Domine animas famulorum tuorum pontificum, regum, sacerdotum, parentum, parochianorum, amicorum, benefactorum nostrorum, et omnium fidelium*[69] *defunctorum, ab omni vinculo delictorum; ut in resurrectionis gloriâ inter sanctos*[70] *et electos tuos resuscitati respirent, per*[71] . . .

[60] [This reading *Deus a quo sancta etc.* was corrected by Strype into *Deus qui Sanctorum.* But as this is the reading of Burnet's folio, and also of the Paris edition, it seems to shew that Strype had a copy distinct both from the edition which Burnet used, and that from which the document is here corrected.]

[61] [Strype here inserts the word *noble.*] [62] [soul] [63] [soul] [64] [of] [65] [means] [66] [of, om.] [67] [an, om.] [68] [*clamavi, om.*] [69] [*fidelum*] [70] [*sanitos*] [71] [*per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.* Some of the variations are evidently mere mistakes of the author's; e. g. *fidelum* for *fidelium*, and *sanitos* for *sanctos*, which last however appears so in all the folios, and even in the last Oxford reprint.]

Number IX.

Bishop Tunstall's letter, proving the subjection of Scotland to England. An original.

[*Scotland* 1548. 15 *Oct. Cuthbert Duresme.*]

PLEASE it your grace, my lord protector, and you right honourable lords of the king's majesty's council, understand, that I have received your letter of the 4th of this month, by which ye will me to search all mine old registers, and ancient places to be sought, where any thing may be found for the more clear declaration to the world of the king's majesty's title to the realm of Scotlande, and to advertise you with speed accordingly: and also to signify unto you what ancient charters and munyments for that purpose I have seen, and where the same are to be sought for. Cotton lib. Caligula B. vii. [fol. 329.]

According unto which your letters, I have sought with all diligence all mine old registers, making mention of the superiorities of the kings of Englonde to the realm of Scotlande, and have found in the same of many homages made by the kings of Scotts to the kings of Englonde, as shall appear by the copies which I do send to your grace and to your lordships herewith. Ye shall also find in the said copies the gift of the barony of Coldingham, made to the church of Duresme by Edgare the king of Scotts; which original gift is under seal, which I shewed once to my lord Maxwell at Duresme, in the presence of you my lord protector. I find also a confirmation of the same gift by king William Rufus in an old register, but not under seal, the copy whereof is sent herewith. The homages of kings of Scotlande which I have found in the registers, I have sent in this copy. I send also herewith the copy of a grant made by king Richard the First unto William king of Scotts and his heirs, how as oft as he is summoned to come to the parliament, he shall be received in the confines of the realm of Scotland, and conducted from shire to shire unto his coming to the parliament; and what the king doth allow him for his diet every day unto the court; and also what diet and allowance he hath, being at the parliament, both in bread

and wine, wax and candle, for his time of his abode there; and of his conduct in his return home.

And where king William, king of Scotts, made homage to 107
king Henrye the Second, and granted, that all the nobles of his realm should be his subjects, and make homage to him; and all the bishops of his realm should be under the archbishops of York: and the said king William delivered to the said king Henrye, the castles of Rokesburgh, Edenburgh, and the castle of Berwyk, as is found in my register; and that the king of Englonde should give all abbeys and honours in Scotlande, or at least should not be given without his counsel; I do find, in the confirmation of the same, out of the old registers of the priors of Duresme, homage made by the abbots, priors, and prioresses of Scotlande, to king Edwarde the First, in French, which I do send herewith. Also I do send herewith in French, how king Edwarde the First was received and taken to be the supreme lord in Scotlande, by all those that pretended title to the crown of Scotlande, as next heirs to the king, that was then dead without issue, and the compromise of them all made unto the said king Edwarde the First to stand to his judgment, which of all them that did claim should have the crown of Scotlande: the transcript of which compromise in French, was then sent by the said king Edwarde, under the seal of the king's exchequer in green wax, to the prior of Duresme, to be registred for a perpetual memory, that the supremity of Scotlande belonged to the kings of Englonde, which yet the chapter of Duresme have to shew, which thing he commandeth them to put in their Chronicles.

And touching the second part of your letter, where ye will me to advertise you what I have seen in the premisses; so it is, that I was commanded by mine old master, of famous memory, king Henry the 8th, to make search among the records of his treasury, in the receipt for solemnities to be done at his coronation in most solemn manner; according unto which commandment, I made search in the said treasury, where I fortuned to find many writings for the supremacy of the king to the realm of Scotlande; and among other also, a writing with very many seals of arms of Scotts, confessing the right of the supremacy to the king of Englonde; which writings I doubt not may be found there.

I have also sent a copy of a book myself of homages made [fol. 330.] to the kings of Englonde by the kings of Scotlande, which the chancellor of Englonde in king Henry the Seventh's days had gathered out of the king's records, which I doubt not, but out of the king's records and ancient books, the same may be found again by my lord chancellor and the judges.

Furthermore your grace, and you the right honourable lords of the council, shall understand, that in making much search for the premisses, at the last we found, out of the registers of the chapters of Duresme, when it was a priory, the copy of a writing, by which king Edwarde the Second doth renounce such superiority as he had in the realm of Scotlande, for him and his heirs, to Robert king of Scotts then being, as will appear by a copy of the same, which I do send you herewith, making mention, in the end of the said writing, of a commission that he gave to Henry the lord Percye, and to William the lord Souche, under his letters patents, to give his oath upon the same. And after the said writing, we found also in the said book, a renunciation of the said king Edwarde, of a process that he had commenced before the bishop of Rome, against Robert king of Scotts and his subjects, for breaking their oath to him, as will appear by the copy thereof, which I do send
108 also herewith. And touching the said renunciation of king Edwarde the Second, of the superiority to the realm of Scotlande, I have often heard it spoken of by Scotts, but I never see the form of it in writing, unto I see it now; which thing it is not unlike but the Scots have under the seal of the said king Edwarde. Whereunto answer is to be made, That a king renouncing the right of his crown, cannot prejudice his successors, who have at the time of their entry, the same whole right that their predecessors had at their first entry, as men learned in civil can by their learning shew.

And furthermore, search is to be made in the king's records in the treasury, whether homages have been made sithens king Edward the Second's time; that is to say, in the times of king Edwarde the Third, king Richarde the Second, king Henry the Fourth, king Henry the Fifth, and king Henry the Sixth. In which times, if any homage can be found to be made, it shall appear the said renunciation to have taken none effect in the successors, and the ancient right to be continued again.

For after king Edward the Fourth and king Henry the Sixth strove for the crown, I think none homage of Scotlande will be found, for then was also lost Gascoigne and Guyen in Fraunce. It is also to be remembered, that when the body of king Henry the Fifth was brought out of Fraunce to be buried at Westminster, the king of Scotts then being, came with him, and was the chief mourner at his burial; which king of Scotts, whether he made any homage to king Henry the Fifth in his life-time, or to king Henry the Sixth at his coronation, is to be searched by the records of that time.

This is all can be found hitherto, by all most diligent search that I could make in my records here; and if any more can be found, it shall be sent with all speed.

And thus Almighty preserve your grace, and your honourable lordships, to his pleasure and yours.

Your grace's most humble
orator at commandment,
Cuth. Duresme.

From Aukland the 15th of October, 1548.

109

Number X.

A letter from the Scottish nobility to the pope, concerning their being an independent kingdom. An original.

Literæ directæ ad dominum summum pontificem per communitatem Scotiæ. 1320.

Ex autogr. apud ill. com. de H.

Sanctissimo patri in Christo, ac domino, Domino Johanni divinâ providenciâ sacrosanctæ Romanæ et universalis ecclesiæ summo pontifici, filii sui humiles et devoti, Duncanus comes de Fyf, Thomas Ranulphi comes Moraviæ, Dominus Manniæ et Vallis Anandiæ, Patricius de Dumbar, comes Marchiæ, Malisius comes de Straheryne, Malcolmus comes de Levenax, Willelmus comes de Ross, Magnus comes Cathaniæ et Orkadiæ, et Willelmus comes Suthirlandiæ, Walterus senescallus Scociæ, Willelmus de Soules buttelarius Scociæ, Jacobus dominus de Duglas, Rogerus de Moubray, David Dominus de Brechyn, David de Graham, Ingeramus de Umfravill, Johannes de Meneteth custos comitatûs de Meneteth, Alexander Frazer, Gilbertus de Haya constabularius Scociæ, Robertus de Keth marescallus Scociæ, Henricus de Sancto Claro, Johannes de Graham, David de Lindesay, Willielmus Olifaunt, Patricius de Graham, Johannes de Fenton, Willelmus de Abirnithy, David de Wemys, Willelmus de Monte Fixo, Fergusius de Ardrossane, Eutstachius de Maxwell, Willelmus de Ramesay, Willelmus de Monte alto, Alanus de Moraviâ, Dovenaldus Cambell, Johannes Cambroun, Reginaldus de Chen, Alexander de Seton, Andreas de Lescelyn, et Alexander de Stratoun, cæterique barones et liberetenentes, ac tota communitas regni Scociæ, omnimodam reverenciam filialem, cum devotis pedum osculis beatorum;

Scimus, sanctissime pater, et domine, et ex antiquorum gestis et libris collegimus, quod inter cæteras naciones egregias, nostra scilicet Scottorum nacio multis præconiis fuerit insignita; quæ de majori Schithiâ per mare Tirenum et columpnas Herculis transiens, et in Hispaniâ inter ferocissimos per multa temporum curricula residens, a nullis quantumcunque barbaricis poterat allicubi subjugari; indeque veniens post mille et ducentos annos

a transitu populi Israelitici sibi sedes in occidente, quas nunc optinet, expulsis Britonibus, et Pictis omnino deletis; licet per Norwagienses, Dacos et Anglicos sæpius impugnata fuerit, multis sibi victoriis et laboribus quamplurimis adquisivit; ipsasque ab omni servitute liberas (ut priscorum testantur historiæ) semper tenuit: in quorum regno centum et tres decim reges de ipsorum regali prosapiâ, nullo alienigenâ interveniente, regnaverunt; quorum nobilitates et merita (licet ex aliis non clarerent) satis patenter effulgent ex eo, quod Rex regum D. Jesus Christus post passionem et resurrectionem suam ipsos in ultimis terræ finibus constitutos, quasi primos ad suam fidem sanctissimam convocavit, nec eos per quemlibet in dictâ fide confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum apostolum, quamvis ordine secundum vel tertium, scilicet Andream mitissimum beati Petri germanum, quem semper ipsis præesse voluit ut 110
patronum. Hæc autem santissimi patres et prædecessores vestri sollicitâ mente pensantes, ipsum regnum et populum, ut beati Petri germani peculium multis favoribus et privilegiis quam plurimis munierunt. Itaque gens nostra sub ipsorum protectione libera hactenus deguit et quieta; donec ille princeps magnificus rex Anglorum Edwardus, pater istius, (qui nunc est) regnum nostrum acephalum, populumque nullius mali aut doli conscium, nec bellis aut insultibus tunc assuetum sub amici et confederati specie inimicabiliter infestavit. Cujus injurias, cædes, et violentias, prædationes, incendia, prælatorum incarcerationes, monasteriorum combustiones, religiosorum spoliationes et occisiones, alia quoque enormia, quæ in dicto populo exercuit, nulli parcens ætati aut sexui, religioni aut ordini, nullus scriberet nec ad plenum intelligeret nisi quem experiencia informaret: a quibus malis innumeris (ipso juvante qui post vulnera medetur et sanat) liberati sumus per strenuissimum principem regem et dominum nostrum, Robertum, qui pro populo et hæreditate suis de manibus inimicorum liberandis, quasi alter Machabeus aut Josue, labores et tædia, inedias et pericula, læto sustinuit animo; quem etiam divina disposicio, et juxta leges et consuetudines nostras, quas usque ad mortem sustinere volumus, juris successio, et debitus nostrorum omnium consensus et assensus, nostrum fecerunt principem atque regem: cui, tanquam illi, per quem salus in populo facta est, pro nostrâ libertate tuendâ tam jure quam meritis

tenemur et volumus in omnibus adhærere; quem (si ab inceptis desisteret, regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos, aut regnum nostrum, volens subjicere) tanquam inimicum nostrum, et sui nostrique juris subversorem, statim expellere niteremur; et alium regem nostrum, qui ad defensionem nostram sufficeret, faceremus: quia, quamdiu centum vivi remanserint nuncquam Anglorum dominio aliquatenus volumus subjugari. Non enim propter gloriam, divicias, aut honores, pugnamus; set propter libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum vitâ amittit. Hinc est, reverende pater et domine, quod sanctitatem vestram cum omni precum instanciâ genuflexis cordibus exoramus, quatenus sincero corde menteque piâ recensentes, quod apud eum, cujus vices in terris geritis non sit pondus et pondus, nec distinctio Judæi et Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes et angustias nobis et ecclesiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis, paternis oculis intuentes regem Anglorum, cui sufficere debet quod possidet (cum olim Anglia septem aut pluribus solebat sufficere regibus) monere et exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes Scocia (ultra quam habitatio non est) nichilque nisi nostrum cupientes in pace dimittat: cui pro nostrâ procurandâ quiete, quicquid possumus (ad statum nostrum respectu habito) facere volumus cum effectu. Vestrâ enim interest, sancte Pater, hoc facere, qui paganorum feritatem Christianorum culpis exigentibus in Christianos sævientem aspicitis, et Christianorum terminos arctari indies[72] [quantumque vestræ] Sanctitatis memoriæ derogat, si (quod absit) ecclesia in aliquâ sui parte vestris temporibus paciatur ecclipsin aut scandalum, vos videritis: excitet igitur Christianos principes, qui non causam ut causam ponentes se fingunt in subsidium terræ sanctæ propter guerras, quas habent cum proximis ire non posse; cujus impedimenti causa est verior, quod in minoribus proximis debellandis utilitas propior, et resistencia
111 debilior estimantur. Set quam læto corde dictus Dominus rex noster et nos; si rex Anglorum nos in pace demitteret, illic iremus; qui nihil ignorat satis novit: quod Christi vicario totique Christianitati ostendimus et testamur. Quibus, si sanctitas vestra Anglorum relatibus nimis credula, fidem sinceram non adhibet, aut ipsis in nostram confusionem favere non

[72] [The words *quantumque vestræ* were omitted by the author as illegible, and the marginal note added] *Quædam sunt deleta.*

desinat, corporum excidia, animarum exicia, et cætera quæ sequentur incommoda, quæ ipsi in nobis et nos in ipsis fecerimus, vobis ab Altissimo credimus imputanda; ex quo sumus et erimus in hiis quæ tenemur, tanquam obedienciæ filii, vobis tanquam ipsius vicario, in omnibus complacere; ipsique tanquam summo Regi et Judici causam nostram tuendam committimus, cogitatum nostrum jactantes in ipso, sperantesque firmiter quod in nobis virtutem faciet, et ad nichilum rediget hostes nostros sanctitatem et sanitatem vestram conservet Altissimus, ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ per tempora diuturna.

Datum apud monasterium de Abirbrothoc in Scociâ, sexto die Aprilis, anno graciæ millessimo trescentesimo vicesimo. Anno vero regni regis nostri supra dicti quintodecimo [73].

[73] [There is a facsimile of this document in Anderson's Diplomata Scotiæ, from which it has been corrected. It is there accompanied by a reprint which is not in all respects an exact representation of the original. Another copy of it, with a few variations of spelling, appears in Fordun's Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 275, ed. Lond. 1759.]

Number XI. [p. 35.]

The oath given to the Scots, who submitted to the protector.

You shall bear your faith to the king's majesty, our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, etc. till such time as you shall be discharged of your oath by special license. And you shall, to the uttermost of your power, serve his majesty, truly and faithfully, against all other realms, dominions, and potentates, as well Scottes as others. You shall hear nothing that may be prejudicial to his majesty, or any of his realms or dominions, but with as much diligence as you may, shall cause the same to be opened, so as the same come to his majesty's knowledge, or to the knowledge of the lord protector, or some of his majesty's privy-council. You shall, to the uttermost of your possible power, set forwards and advance the king's majesty's affairs in Scotland, for the marriage and peace. Ex libro concilii. [p. 279.]

Number XII. [p. 36.] 112

The protestation of the bishop of London made to the visitors, when he received the king's majesty's Injunctions and Homilies.

Ex libro concilii. [p. 221.]

I DO receive these Injunctions and Homilies, with this protestation, That I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's law, and the statutes and ordinances of this church.

The submission and revocation of the same bishop, made before the lords of the king's majesty's council, presently attending upon his majesty's person; with the subscription of his name thereunto.

[p. 222.]

WHERE I Edmund bishop of London, have at such time as I received the king's majesty's, my most dread sovereign lord's Injunctions and Homilies at the hands of his highness' visitors, did unadvisedly make such protestation, as now, upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the ill example that may ensue to others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the duty of an humble subject; forasmuch as the same protestation, at my request, was then by the register of that visitation enacted and put in record; I have thought it my bounden duty, not only to declare before your lordships, That I do now, upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said protestation, but also most humbly beseech your lordships, that this my revocation of the same may be likewise put in the same records for a perpetual memory of the truth; most humbly beseeching your good lordships, both to [74] take effect, and also that my former unadvised doings may, by your good mediations, be pardoned of the king's majesty.

Edmund London.

[74] [The author supplied here the words *take order that it may*; but they do not appear in the Council Book.]

Number XIII. [p. 36.]

Gardiner's letter to sir John Godsalve concerning the Injunctions.

MR. GODSALVE, after my right hearty commendations, with like thanks for the declaration of your good mind towards me (as ye mean it) although it appeareth not with mine accompt, such as I have had leisure to make in this time of liberty, since the death of my late sovereign lord, (whose soul Jesu pardon). For thus have I reckoned, that I was called to this bishoprick without the offence of God's law, or the king's, in the attaining of it. I have kept my bishoprick these sixteen years, accomplished this very day, that I wrote these my letters unto you, without offending God's law, or the king's, in the retaining of it, howsoever I have of frailty otherwise sinned. Now if I may play the third part well, to depart from the bishoprick without the offence of God's law, or the king's, I shall think the tragedy of my life well passed over: and in this part to be well handled is all my care and study now, how to finish this third act well; for so I offend not God's law, nor the king's, I will no more care to see my bishoprick taken from me, than myself to be taken from the bishoprick. I am by nature already condemned to die, which sentence no man can pardon, ne assure me of delay in the execution of it; and so see that of necessity I shall leave my bishoprick to the disposition of the crown from whence I had it, my houshold also to break up, and my bringing up of youth to cease, the remembrance whereof troubleth me nothing. I made in my house at London a pleasant study that delighted me much, and yet I was glad to come into the country and leave it; and as I have left the use of somewhat, so can I leave the use of all to obtain a more quiet; it is not loss to change for the better. Honesty and truth are more leefe to me than all the possessions of the realm, and in these two to say and do frankly, as I must, I never forbare yet; and in these two, honesty and truth, I take such pleasure and comfort, as I will never leave them for no respect, for they will abide by a man,

Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab. [cxxvii. p. 9.]

113

and so will nothing else. No man can take them away from me but myself; and if myself do them away from me, then myself dó undo myself, and make myself worthy to lose my bishoprick, whereat, such as gape, might take more sport than they are like to have at my hands. What other men have said or done in the Homilies I cannot tell, and what Homilies or Injunctions shall be brought hither, I know not; such as the printers have sold abroad, I have read and considered, and am therefore the better instruct how to use myself to the visitors at their repair hither, to whom I will use no manner of protestation but a plain allegation, as the matter serveth, and as honesty and truth shall bind me to speak; for I will never yield to do that should not beseem a Christian.
[p. 10.] Bishops ne [75] lose the inheritance of the king's laws due to every English man for want of petition. I will shew myself a true subject, humble and obedient, which repugneth not with the preservation of my duty to God, and my right in the realm, not to be enjoined against an act of parliament: which mine intent I have signified to the council, with request of redress in the matter, and not to compel me to such an allegation, which, without I were a beast, I cannot pretermit: and more than a beast, if after I had signified to the council truth and reason in words, I should then seem in my deeds not to care for it. My lord protector, in one of such letters as he wrote unto me, willed me not to fear too much; and indeed I know him so well, and divers other of my lords of the council, that I cannot fear any hurt at their hands, in the allegation of God's law and the king's, and I will never defame them so much to be seen to fear it. And of what strength an act of parliament is, the realm was taught in the case of her that we called queen Anne, where all such as spake against her in 114
the parliament-house, although they did it by special commandment of the king, and spake that was truth, yet they were fain to have a pardon, because that speaking was against an act of parliament. Did ye never know, or hear tell of any man, that for doing that the king our late sovereign lord willed, devised, and required to be done, he that took pains, and was commanded to do it, was fain to sue for his pardon,

[75] [The author altered this into *bishops ought never to lose.*]

and such other also as were doers in it: and I could tell who it were. Sure there hath been such a case, and I have been present when it hath been reasoned, that the doing against an act of parliament, excuseth not a man, even from the case of treason, although a man did it by the king's commandment. Ye can tell this to your remembrance, when ye think further of it, and when it cometh to your remembrance, ye will not be best content with yourself, I believe, to have advised me to enter the breach of an act of parliament, without surety of pardon, although the king commanded it, and were such indeed as it were no matter to do it at all. And thus I answer your letters with worldly civil reasons, and take your mind and zeal towards me to be as tender as may be; and yet ye see that the following of your advice might make me lose my bishoprick by mine own act, which I am sure ye would I should keep, and so would I, as might stand with my truth and honesty, and none otherwise, as knoweth God, who send you heartily well to fare.

Number XIV. [p. 38.]

The conclusion of Gardiner's letter to the protector, against the lawfulness of the Injunctions.

Cott. libr. Vesp.D. xviii. [fol. 145.]

WHETHER the king may command against the common law, or an act of parliament, there is never a judge, or other man in the realm, ought to know more by experience, of that the lawyers hath said, than I.

First, My lord cardinal hath obtained his legacy by our late sovereign lord's request at Rome; yet be it was against the laws of the realm, the judges counselled the offence of premunire; which matter I bare away, and took it for a law of the realm, because the lawyers said so, but my reason digested not.

The lawyers, for the confirmation of their doings, brought in a case of my lord Typteft, an earl he was, and learned in civil laws; who being chancellor, because in execution of the king's commission he offended the laws of the realm, he suffered in Tower Hill: they brought in examples of many judges that had fines set on their heads in like case, for transgression of the laws by the king's commandment; and this I learned in this case.

Since that time being of the council, when many proclamations were devised against the carriers out of corn; when it came to punishing the offenders, the judges would answer, it might not be by the laws, because the act of parliament gave liberty, wheat being under a price: whereupon at the last followed the act of proclamation, in the passing whereof were 115
many large words.

When the bishop of Exetor and his chancellor were by one Baye brought in a premunire, I reasoned with the lord Audley, then chancellor, so far, as he bad me hold my peace, for fear of entering a premunire myself; but I concluded, that although I must take it as of their authority that it is common law, yet I could not see how a man authorised by the king, as since the king's majesty hath taken upon him the supremacy,
[fol. 46.] every bishop is, that man could fall in a premunire.

I reasoned once in the parliament-house, where was free speech without danger; and there the lord Audley chancellor, then to satisfy me, because I was in some secret estimation as he knew; Thou art a good fellow, bishop, (quoth he,) look the act of the supremacy, and there the king's doings be restrained to spiritual jurisdiction: and in an other act, no spiritual law shall have place contrary to a common law, or an act of parliament. And if this were not (quoth he) the bishops would enter in with the king, and by means of his supremacy order the law as you listed; but we will provide (quoth he) that the premunire shall never go off your heads. This I bare away here, and held my peace.

Since that time, in a case of jewels, I was fain, with the emperor's ambassador Chapnis when he was here, and in the emperor's court also, defend and maintain by commandment, that the king's majesty was not above his laws, and therefore the jeweller, although he had the king's bill signed, yet it would not serve, because it was not obtained after the order of the law, in which matter I was very much troubled. Even this time twelve-month, when I was in commission with my lord great master, and the earl of Southampton, for the altering of the court of Augmentations, there was my lord Mountague, and other of the king's learned council, of whom I learned what the king might do against an act of parliament, and danger it was to them that meddled. It is fresh in my memory, and they can tell whether I say true or no; and therefore being learned in so notable causes, I wrote in your absence therein, as I had learned by hearing the common lawyers speak (whose judgments rule those matters) howsoever my reason can digest them. When I wrote thereof, the matter was so reasonable, as I have been learned by the lawyers of the realm, that I trusted my lords would have stayed till your grace's return.

Number XV. [p. 39.]

A letter from the duke of Somerset to the lady Mary, in the beginning of king Edward's reign.

[*A answere by the Counsell to the Lady Mary touching the state of religion in the kingdom to be established.*]

Madam, my humble commendations to your grace premised;

Cotton lib. Faustin. C. ii. [fol. 64.]

THESE may be to signify unto the same, that I have received your letters of the second of this present, by Jent your servant, reknowledging myself thereby much bound unto your grace; nevertheless I am very sorry to perceive that your grace should have or conceive any sinister or wrong opinion in me and others, 116 which were by the king, your late father, and our most gracious master, put in trust as executors of his will, albeit the truth of our doings being known to your grace, as it seemeth by your said letter not to be. I trust there shall be no such fault found in us, as in the same your grace hath alleged; and for my part, I know none of us that will willingly neglect the full execution of every jot of his said will, as far as shall and may stand with the king our master's honour and surety that now is: otherwise I am sure that your grace, nor none other his faithful subjects, would have it take place; not doubting but our doings and proceedings therein, and in all things committed to our charge, shall be such as shall be hable to answer the whole world, both in honour and discharge of our duty. And where your grace writeth, that the most part of the realm, through a naughty liberty and presumption, are now brought into such a division, as if we executors go not about to bring them to that stay that our late master left them; they will forsake all obedience, unless they have their own wills and fantasies, and then it must follow that the king shall not be well served, and that all other realms shall have us in an obloquy and derision, and not

[fol. 64 b.]

without just cause; Madam, as these words written or spoken by you soundeth not well, so can I not persuade myself, that they have proceeded from the sincere mind of so virtuous and wise a lady, but rather by the setting on and procurement of

some uncharitable and malicious persons, of which sort there are too many in these days, the more pity: but yet we must not be so simple so to weigh and regard the sayings of ill-disposed people, and the doings of other realms and countries, as for that report we should neglect our duty to God, and to our sovereign lord and native country, for then we might be justly called evil servants and ministers; and thanks be given unto the Lord, such hath been the king's majesty's proceedings, our young noble master that now is, that all his faithful subjects have more cause to render their hearty thanks for the manifold benefits shewed unto his grace, and to his people and realm, sithence the first day of his reign until this hour, than to be offended with it; and thereby rather to judge and think, that God, who knoweth the hearts of all men, is contented and pleased with his ministers, who seeketh nothing but the true glory of God, and the surety of the king's person, with the quietness and wealth of his subjects. And where your grace writeth also, That there was a godly order and quietness left by the king our late master, your grace's father, in this realm at the time of his death; and that the spiritualty and the tem- [fol. 65.]
poralty of the whole realm, did not only, without compulsion, fully assent to his doings and proceedings, especially in matters of religion, but also in all kind of talk, whereof, as your grace wrote, ye can partly be witness yourself; at which your grace's sayings I do something marvel: for if it may please you to call to your remembrance what great labours, travails, and pains, his grace had, before he could reform some of those stiff-necked Romanists or papists: yea, and did not they cause his subjects to rise and rebel against him, and constrained him to take the sword in his hand, not without danger to his person and realm? Alas, why should your grace so shortly forget
117 that great outrage done by those generations of vipers unto his noble person only for God's cause? Did not some of the same ill kind also, I mean that Romanist sect, as well within his own realm as without, conspire oftentimes his death, which was manifestly and oftentimes proved, to the confusion of some of their privy assisters. Then was it not that all the spiritualty, nor yet the temporalty, did so fully assent to his godly orders as your grace writeth of? Did not his grace also depart from this life before he had fully finished such godly orders as he

minded to have established to all his people, if death had not prevented him? Is it not most true, that no kind of religion was perfected at his death, but left all uncertain, most like to have brought us into parties and divisions, if God had not only
[fol. 65 b.] helped us? And doth your grace think it convenient it should so remain? God forbid. What regret and sorrow our late master had, the time he saw he must depart, for that he knew the religion was not established as he purposed to have done, I and others can be witness and testify; and what he would have done further in it, if he had lived, a great many knoweth, and also I can testify: and doth your grace, who is learned, and should know God's word, esteem true religion, and the verity of the scriptures, to be new-fangleness and fantasie? For the Lord's sake turn the leaf, and look an other while upon the other side, I mean, with another judgment, which must pass by an humble spirit through the peace of the living God, who of his infinite goodness and mercy grant unto your grace plenty thereof, to the satisfying of your sovereign, and your most noble heart's continual desire.

Number XVI. [p. 47.]

Certain petitions and requests made by the clergy of the lower house of the convocation, to the most reverend father in God the archbishop of Canterbury his grace, and the residue of the prelates of the higher house, for the furtherance of certain articles following.

FIRST; That ecclesiastical laws may be made and established in this realm by thirty-two persons, or so many as shall please the king's majesty to name and appoint, according to the effect of a late statute made in the 35th year of the most noble king, and of most famous memory, king Henry the 8th. So that all judges ecclesiastical, proceeding after those laws, may be without danger and peril. Ex MS. Dr. Stillingfleet. [Lambeth MSS. 1108 fol. 2.]

Also that according to the ancient custom of this realm, and the tenor of the king's writ for the summoning of the parliament, which be now, and ever have been, directed to the bishops of every diocese, the clergy of the lower house of the convocation may be adjoined, and associate with the lower house of the parliament; or else, That all such statutes and ordinances as shall be made concerning all matters of religion and causes ecclesiastical, may not pass without the sight and assent of the said clergy.

118 Also that whereas by the commandment of king Henry the 8th, certain prelates and other learned men were appointed to alter the service in the church, and to devise other convenient and uniform order therein; who according to the same appointment, did make certain books, as they be informed: their request is, That the said books may be seen and perused by them, for a better expedition of divine service to be set forth accordingly.

Also that men being called to spiritual promotions, or benefices, may have some allowance for their necessary living, and other charges to be sustained and born, concerning the same benefices, in the first year wherein they pay the first fruits.

Whether the clergy of the convocation may liberally speak their minds without danger of statute or law?

Number XVII. [p. 47.]

A second petition to the same purpose.

Ex MS. Dr. Stillingfleet. [Lambeth MSS. 1108. fol. 3.]

WHERE the clergy, in this present convocation assembled, have made humble suit unto the most reverend father in God, my lord archbishop of Canterbury, and all the other bishops, That it may please them to be a mean to the king's majesty, and the lord protector's grace, that the said clergy, according to the tenor of the king's writ, and the ancient laws and customs of this noble realm, might have their room and place, and be associated with the commons in the nether house of this present parliament, as members of the commonwealth, and the king's most humble subjects. And if this may not be permitted and granted unto them, that then no statutes or laws concerning the Christian religion, or which shall concern especially the persons, possessions, rooms, livings, jurisdictions, goods or chattels of the said clergy, may pass nor be enacted, the said clergy not being made privy thereunto, and their answers and reasons not heard. The said clergy do most humbly beseech an answer and declaration to be made unto them, what the said most reverend father in God, and all other the bishops, have done in this their humble suit and request, to the end that the said clergy, if need be, may choose of themselves such able and discreet persons, which shall effectually follow the same suit in the name of them all.

And where in a statute ordained and established by authority of parliament at Westminster, in the 25th year of the reign of the most excellent prince king Henry the 8th; the clergy of this realm submitting themselves to the king's highness, did knowledge and confess, according to the truth, that the convocations of the same clergy hath been, and ought to be assembled by the king's writ, and did promise farther, *in verbo sacerdotii*, that they never from thenceforth would presume to attempt, allege, claim, or put in ure, or enact, promulge, or execute any new canons, constitutions, ordinances, provincials, or other, or by whatsoever other name they shall 119
be called in the convocation, unless the king's most royal

assent and license may to them be had to make, promulge, and execute the same. And his majesty to give his most royal assent and authority in that behalf, upon pain of every one of the clergy doing the contrary, and being thereof convict, to suffer imprisonment, and make fine at the king's will. And that no canons, constitutions, or ordinances shall be made or put in execution within this realm, by authority of the convocation of the clergy, which shall be repugnant to the king's prerogative royal, or the customs, laws, or statutes of this realm; which statute is eft-soons renewed and established in [fol. 3. b.] the 27th year of the reign of the said most noble king, as by the tenor of both statutes more at large will appear. The said clergy being presently assembled in convocation, by authority of the king's writ, do desire that the king's majesty's license in writing, may be for them obtained and granted, according to the effect of the said statutes arthorising them to attempt, entreat, and commune of such matters, and therein freely to give their consents, which otherwise they may not do upon pain and peril premised.

Also the said clergy desireth, that such matters as concerneth religion, which be disputable, may be quietly and in good order reasoned and disputed amongst them in this house, whereby the verities of such matters shall the better appear, and the doubts being opened, and resolutely discussed, men may be fully persuaded with the quietness of their consciences, and the time well spent[76].

[76] [Both these petitions have been printed with the omission of the last two lines of the first petition, by Wilkins, in the middle of an extract from Cranmer's Register fol. 12., which gives an account of the proceedings.]

Number XVIII. [p. 48.]

A paper offered to Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards to King James, concerning the inferior clergy's being brought to the house of commons.

Reasons to induce her majesty, that deans, arch-deacons, and some other of her grave and wise clergy, may be admitted into the lower house of parliament.

Ex MS. Dr. Borlace.

1. In former times, when causes ecclesiastical were either not at all, or else very rarely treated of in that assembly, the clergy were thought men most meet to consult and determine of the civil affairs of this realm.

2. The supreme authority in church-causes, is not newly granted, but reunited and restored to the crown; and an order is by law already established, how all abuses in the church are to be reformed: so as no cause concerning religion may be handled in that house, without her majesty's special leave, but with the manifest impeaching of her prerogative royal, and contempt of the said order.

3. If it shall please her highness to give way to this course, that church-matters be there debated, and in part concluded: how much more necessary is it now, than it was in former times, that some of the clergy should be there present at the same?

4. [77]It doth not appear why they were excluded, but as it 120
is thought either the king offended with some of them, did so grievously punish the whole body, or else the ambition of one

[77] In the same paper, written over, "To be presented to King James," this article is thus varied: *It is thought the clergy falling into a premunire, and so not in the king's protection, it did afterwards please the king to pardon them, but not to restore them. So began this separation, as far forth as can be collected; then the wisdom of a great politician, meeting with the ambition of as great a prelate, wrought the continuance of the said separation; under this pretence, That it should be most for the honour of him and his clergy, to be still by themselves in two assemblies of convocation, answerable in proportion to the two houses of parliament.* There are many other inconsiderable amendments made by bishop Ravis' own hand.

of them meeting with the subtilty of an undermining politick, did occasion this causeless separation.

5. They are yet to this day called by several writs, directed into their several dioceses under the great seal, to assist the prince in that high court of parliament.

6. Though the clergy and the universities be not the worst members of this common-wealth, yet in that respect they are of all other in worst condition; for in that assembly every shire hath their knights, and every incorporate town their burgesses, only the clergy and the universities are excluded.

7. The wisdom and justice of this realm doth intend, that no subject should be bound to that law, whereunto he himself (after a sort) hath not yielded his consent; but the clergy and the universities may now be concluded by law, without their consent, without their just defence, without their privity.

8. The many motions made so prejudicial to the state and being of the clergy and universities, followed now with so great eagerness in that house, would then be utterly silenced, or soon repressed, with the sober and sufficient answers of the clergy present.

9. It would much repair the reputation and credit of the clergy, which now is exposed to great contumely and contempt, as generally abroad in this land, so particularly in that house. And whoso is religious and wise may observe, that the contempt of the clergy is the high way to atheism and all profaneness. Men are flesh and not spirit, led by ordinary outward means, and not usually overwrought by extraordinary inspirations; and therefore do easily despise their doctrine, whose persons they have in contempt.

10. Look into the whole world, Christian or unchristian, and see if the civil state in every place be not supported and maintained by the dignity and authority of their clergies, subordinate and subjected unto them: as on the contrary, where the clergy is base and contemptible, there grows an anarchy and confusion. It is conscience that works obedience to the temporal magistrate, not constitutions, nor constraint; the one may command it, the other may correct the breach of it, only religion effects a peaceable subjection.

11. It concerneth the clergy, most of all men in England, that the present state be continued, as now it is happily esta-

blished without any alteration. Whereas some other in that house may think it would be good for them to fish in troubled waters, or that any change would be better to them, than their 121
present estate wherein they live so malcontent, through their own unthriftiness or malignity of nature, or perverseness of opinion.

12. If hereafter God in justice should plague us for our sins, by taking away the joy of our hearts, yet how greatly would it tend to his glory, the good of this land, and the honour of her blessed memory; if it shall please her majesty, to leave a portion of the clergy interessed in that house, where they may stand for the godly government established in her days, against all innovation of popery or puritanism?

13. In the mean time (which God in mercy grant may be for many generations) her majesty shall be sure of a number more in that assembly, that ever will be most ready to maintain her prerogative, and to enact whatsoever may make most for her highness' safety and contentment, as the men that next under God's goodness do most depend upon her princely clemency and protection.

14. It would much recover the ancient estimation and authority of that assembly, if it might be increased with men of religion, learning, and discretion; which now is somewhat imbased by youths, serving-men, and out-laws, that injuriously are crept into the honourable house.

15. And it is the more necessary that there were some more men of sobriety and judgment in that meeting, that might counterpoise the haste and headiness of others that have intruded themselves, especially considering that a cipher is as sufficient to promote a single figure of one into the place of ten, as the best man that giveth voice in that house, when they come to calculating[78].

[78] [The editor regrets to say that he has been unable to trace Dr. Borlace's MSS., and that this paper has in consequence not been verified.]

Number XIX. [p. 51.]

A letter of Martin Bucer's to Gropper.

[*M. B. Ad Gropperum.*]

GRATIAM et pacem doctissime et amicissime vir.

Ex MS. Coll. C. C. Cantab. [CXIII. p. 57.]

Quod tam sero respondeo ad tuas literas, quanquam etiam occupationes ministerii mei, tamen id magis in causâ fuit, quod non satis liqueret, quomodo respondere conveniret, simul meæ in te charitati, meoque ministerio, et præsenti temporis conditioni. Sed tamen quia charitati Deus facile omnia secundat, et frugifera facit, hâc incitatus nunc respondeo, et respondeo ex ejus dictatione.

Et primum de eo, quod te de meo adventu et ministerio non præmonuerim. Quod per totam Germaniam increbuerat, etiam anteaquam ego certus de vocatione istâ essem, non putavi te latere posse. Mox etiam ut adveni et priusquam aliquid ministerii inivissem, tuum colloquium expetii. Certe nihil maluissem quam a te ante omnia doceri et institui. Novit Christus quid tibi tribuam.

Quod scribis te cupere meam conditionem sic esse ut clero et populo vestræ coloniæ Agrippinæ gratus esse et placere possem; nunc cum secus se res habeant, non esse quod tibi quid imputem; tibi optime Groppere nihil hujus imputo, confido enim
122 te, me, quo ipse loco habes, eo etiam studere apud alios collocare.

Sed cogitemus juxta cui ego clero istic, cui populo et cur gratus minus sim, et non placeam; clerus et populus Christi cum domino suo, personam nullam in invocantibus Christum, in iis præsertim, quos aliqua religionis nostræ opinio commendat, aversatur: quam[78] deprehensi in contumeliâ Christi, in

[78] [There appears to be some fault in the Manuscript here.]

desertione verbi ejus, in scandalo objecto ecclesiæ ejus; *lex nostra non judicat quenquam nisi audierit prius ab eo, et cognoverit quid fecerit.* Audiant, cognoscant, tum judicent: si audire et cognoscere nolunt, nec judicare jure possunt. Vulgata est hæc responsio, sed nôsti eam jure divino, naturæ, et scripto ab hominibus niti.

Sed O clerum, O sortem Domini, et habentes Christum sortem suam. Gratias ago Christo Domino nostro quod in me nihil deprehendet vester clerus et populus, cur me ullo jure abjicere, nedum persequi queant. Assumpsit me Dominus; servorum non est rejicere: posuit me in ministerium suum Christus; depelli me eo, nemo de clero Christi postulabit. Agnoscunt se invicem et amant, atque in opere Domini promovent, quicunque Christi Spiritu vivunt et aguntur; qui hunc non habent, Christi non sunt, quicquid ipsi se, vel alii eos vocent.

Displicet in me quod videor aliquid canonum, sed humanitus tantum conditorum, transgressus. Hoc si propter ecclesiam Christi, vel ejus ædificationem vel ornatum displiceret, non tolerata fuissent tam diu, et hodie tolerarentur, tam horrendæ et manifestæ simoniæ, sacrilegia, et vitæ totius tanta, adeoque et canonibus, et divinis legibus graviter damnata fœditas. Christi igitur veritas, et libertas in me istis displicet, non transgressio canonum, quam in summâ necessariis sanctionibus penitus et tot jam sæculis pro ridiculo habent.

Consolabor itaque me in Domino; *Beati estis, cum vos odio habuerint homines, et a se excluserint, atque convitiis prosciderint et ejecerint nomen vestrum tanquam nefandum, causâ Filii hominis.* Qui in cœlis sedet, Pater videt profecto hosce conatus contra regnum Filii sui, et brevi loquetur illis in irâ suâ. Avertat misericordia ejus, quæ sequuntur.

Deploranda profecto cæcitas non videre hanc Dei clarissimam lucem; infanda stupiditas, ista Dei judicia non sentire. Cottidie enim vident et audiunt ut collidantur, qui impingunt in hanc pœnam scandali, et ut commolat illa, in quos ipsa ceciderit, et tamen conantur adhuc rejicere hunc lapidem, quem Pater in Zion pro fundamento et angulo posuit. Sed dolent hæc et tibi, ac mecum ea deploras; provides enim quid ista malorum invehant, et adhuc invectura sint.

Audio plerosque multo quam antea solitum fuit concionari purius; audivi etiam quosdam ipse, in quorum concionibus nihil

reprehendendum audiebatur; at quam multa desyderabantur! Nam pro amplitudine majestatis Christi, prædicanda Christi omnia sunt: hoc est summâ perspicuitate, libertate et virtute; non enim ut multa præclara cogitemus, aut loquamur, sed ut Domino magis magisque fidamus, nomen ejus celebremus, idque verbis et factis omnibus, sacræ conciones habendæ sunt. Quare etiam opposita juxta se ponenda sunt ut magis illucescant, et ad singularia sermo dimittendus est ut plus moneat.

In templo D. Columbæ, aiunt idolo ejus imaginis parari vestem majoris precii quam centum florenorum. Si jam pastor
123 hujus parochiæ Christum pure et ἐνεργῶς cum effectu prædicat, quî fert tam pudendam idololatriam? Et si ornari statuam posse aliquo colore dicere conetur, quare non eum cultum præscribit, quem gratum martyribus et S. patres testantur, cultum qui cruci Christi sit consentaneus: sed sicut ipsi verbis Christo omnia tribuunt, facto autem quærunt et prosequuntur tam multa contra Christum; ita faciunt etiam populum delectari nonnihil saniore doctrinâ, omni autem vitâ et religione permanere in omnibus superstitionibus et vitæ impuritate in quâ antea hærebat.

Jactatur magna populi devotio istis, et erga pastores suos reverentia; hoc autem gravius peccatur, cum illis Christus non quam simplicissime in omnibus etiam ceremoniis prædicatur. Sed O spinas existimationis et commoditas mundialis, O fundum tenuem, et humorem malignum, in quo æstus crucis enatum semen tam cito arefacit! Hæc de iis scribo ad quos pertinent.

De te non dubito gloriam Christi et propugnationem regni ejus tibi quoque ut scribis, cordi esse: tamen te rogo per Christum, id quod subjicis, diligenter et coram Christo Domino excutias.

Sed nolui tamen sic urgere causam Christi, ut dum promotam eam velim, magis remorer. Zelum oportere esse secundum scientiam. Recte hæc, si rite intelligantur. Sed scientiâ spiritûs, non carnis, hic opus est. Causa Christi nec debet nec potest per se quidem urgeri nisi assiduis precibus, et modestâ, leni, religiosâ, sed liberâ, sed clarâ, sed integrâ confessione et prædicatione Christi, eâque quæ non verbis tantum sed etiam factis constet. Hoc si scimus et agimus, zelum habemus secundum scientiam, et causam Christi tantum promovere, et remorari non possumus. Nam Christo tradita est omnis potestas in

cœlo et in terrâ; igitur nihil est potestatis per se pontifici, cucullatis et personatis, ac quibusvis titulis titulatis hominibus, qui scilicet ægre ferant liberam et puram Christi prædicationem. Est quidem aliquando tacendum evangelium Christi, sed apud canes et porcos, imo nec apud hos tacendum est, cum gloria Christi agitur: sed animose confitendum est, quanquam non sit illis late explicandum, id est, Sanctum hoc projiciendum et margaritæ istæ spargendæ.

Sunt qui ferre nos Lutheranos non possunt, et tamen a regno Christi non abhorrent? ubi quæso hi sunt et qui? qui enim aliquid Christi habent, ii neminem odisse et condemnare sustinent, non auditum, non cognitâ causâ; nam filii Dei agnoscunt loquelam Christi, oves ejus sequuntur vocem ejus, per quemcunque eam insonari fecerit.

Si reformatio ecclesiæ per istos ulla quæritur, indubie id quærent, ut membra Christi omnia sub capite Christo recolligantur et reconcinnentur et coaptentur. Quare nemo horum, qui vero reformationis veræ studio tenetur, ullum hominem sub ullo titulo, quamvis odiosum invidia crucis Christi cuiquam imposuerit, ab hoc sancto opere instaurandi ecclesias rejiciat, præsertim cum luce meridianâ constet clarius, pontificios nihil prorsus passuros mutari. Quid ergo? non quæremus ut patria nostra tam pernitiosis dissidiis aliquando liberaretur, ut uno tandem ore Christum glorificemus.

Ne resecemus vites, et uvas quæramus a spinis. Valeat apud nos præjudicium Christi; quosque ille assumpsit, eos conservi ne repudiemus. Quid cuique datum sit facile videre est: arbor quælibet ut plantata est, ut ingenium habet, ita fert fructum. Ne fugiamus scandalum crucis cum quo Christus 124
est. Et si Christi nos non pudet, nec servorum ejus nos pudeat. Paulus scribit Timotheo, *ne pudeat te testimonii Domini nostri, neque mei vincti ejus:* ita dum nos negotium Domini agimus synceriter, nec nostri quenquam, quamtumlibet nos mundus inter damnatos numeret, qui Christi sit, pudebit. Non est res ulla, ad quam quisquis eam syncere agit, magis expetat adjuvari se, etiamsi fieri possit ab omnibus creaturis, atque est negotium reformationis Christianæ.

Irascentur quidam, tumultuabuntur graviter credo, et impedient negotium Domini; hoc non credo, neque enim poterunt. Et ut Dominus eis gravissima contra regnum suum facere con-

cedat, tamen nobis filiis Dei propterea nihil tacendum, nihil dissimulandum, nihil remittendum est in hâc causâ Christi.

Jubes me non suspicari te sic mundo inescatum, ut refugias crucem Domini ferre, si ita res postulet, et fructum facturus videare: de te profecto hoc bonis apud quos convenit semper testor, te mihi multo plura in causâ Christi hactenus semper reipsâ præstitisse, quam promisisses aut etiam verbis præ te tulisses: apud me quidem, cum contrarium nunc accidat a quodam, nisi te Christi membrum et præclaris dotibus ornatum suspicerem, crede mihi ita dedit mihi Dominus sublimia mundi non mirari, tuam amicitiam et familiaritatem tantopere non quæsivissem, nec tali studio colerem: sed valde oro Dominum, det tibi videre ubi, quando et quâ ratione fructum pro regno facere possis; et animet te ac corroboret forti contemplatione potestatis et majestatis suæ, ut vere dicas, *Absit mihi gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo.* Tantæ opes, honores, curæ rerum sæcularium, tamen spinæ sunt, tamen onera sunt. Presbyter es Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus præcipuum munus est prædicare Christum. Clericum veteres sancti non patiebantur, vel tutelam pupillorum, vel curam viduarum suscipere; tam liberum volebant esse curis hujus sæculi omnem clericum: at quantis tu ac etiam privatis causis, nec tamen semper pupillorum et viduarum prægravaris, id dolet indubie et tibi ipsi. Acceptabile tempus nunc est et dies salutis, sed tempus breve; visitationem nostram tempore agnoscamus et sequamur.

Hæc dum non datur commentari tecum coram, quia te vere diligo, quia colo synceriter, cum hunc certum haberem nuncium, ad te scribere volui.

Quod magnificum D. cancellarium meis verbis diligenter salutâsti, gratias ago; utinam autem et resalutare ille, vel hic cum fuit, quod usque ad eum diem quo iterum abiit clam me fuit, admittere me ad pium colloquium dignatus esset. Tamen rogo salutes illum officiose meis verbis.

Dominus Jesus qui solus est[78], efficit et largitur omne bonum; donet ut omnia in ipso quæramus, et ab ipso expectemus: sic

[78] [This is the reading of the Manuscript, and the editor has arranged the stops so as to make the best sense he could. But there can be little doubt that *est* is a mistake for *et*, as it was printed in the original edition. If *et* is adopted, the stop after *bonum* must be removed.]

facile nos in ipso agnoscemus et complectemur, quicquid odiosorum titulorum Diabolus et membra ejus injiciant. In Christo enim nec mas quidem et fœmina, Judæus et Ethnicus, nedum Lutherani et Romani; sed omnes unum sunt. In hoc bene vale, et fac pro Christi charitate ut tamen nos aliquando videamus, et sancto colloquio nos mutuo recreemus. Optime mi et colende atque vere dilecte cordi meo Groppere.

Bonnæ pridie calendas Februarii 1543.

Deditus tibi in Domino,
M. Bucerus.

Præcipuum oblitus eram; te per Christum rogo et obtestor, mone adhuc me, versantem in negotio Christi. Debes hoc Christo; et apud me tuto depones omnia nec unquam frustra monebis.

Number XX. [p. 58.]

Questions and answers concerning the divorce of the marquis of Northampton.

1. Quid dirimit matrimonii vinculum? { factum adulterii / factum et voluntas Domini / factum voluntas Respondi indicem authoritatem[79] } Ex MS. Dr. Stillingfleet. [Lambeth MSS. 1108. fol. 180.]

2. Quas ob causas dirimi poterit?

3. An dirimi possit conjugium a thoro, non a vinculo?

4. Quibus casibus possit sic dirimi?

5. An exceptio illa (*exceptâ fornicationis causâ*) etiam in Lucæ, Marci et Pauli locis, quæ de his rebus tractant, est subaudienda?

6. An etiam uxor, repudiata propter adulterium, alii possit nubere?

7. An redire ad priorem maritum, repudiatæ adulteræ liceat.

8. An maritus, propter adulterium, ab uxore castâ possit repudiari?

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1. Ad primam respondemus; Ipso adulterii facto matrimonii vinculum dirimi. Nam alioquin, ob solum adulterium non liceret viro uxorem repudiare: voluntas viri sollicitat judices, judices palam faciunt ecclesiæ, virum licite talem repudiare uxorem. [Ibid. fol. 169.]

2. Ad secundam respondemus; Quod ob solam causam stupri dirimitur matrimonii vinculum: cujus ipso quidem facto, conjugii dissolvitur nodus, et loquimur de hiis, qui sacrosancti matrimonii jus agnoscunt.

[79] [These words, which were omitted in the author's editions, are placed as they stand in the MS. The words *Respondi indicem* are doubtful, and the editor is unable to explain them, unless they are written so by mistake for *responde invicem*, and contain a direction as to the mode in which the answers were to be given.]

3. Ad tertiam respondemus; Quod non; quia mulier quamdiu vixerit, *alligata est viro*, Ro. 7. item *ne fraudetis vos invicem*, 1 Cor. 7. item in eodem loco *uxori vir debitam benevolentiam reddat, similiter et uxor viro*, item *vir non habet potestatem sui corporis, sed uxor;* similiter, *nec uxor habet potestatem sui corporis, sed vir.*

4. Ad quartam patet in responsione ad tertiam.

5. Ad quintam respondemus; Quod exceptio ista, videlicet *nisi causâ stupri*, est subaudienda in Lucâ, Marco et Paulo: alioquin manifesta esse repugnantia inter Matthæum et eos.

6. Ad sextam respondemus; Quod repudiata propter adulterium, quia uxor repudiantis desiit esse, ob idque libera est sicut aliæ omnes post obitum virorum, potest alii nubere; æquo jure quo illæ juxta illud Pauli, *Si non continent, contrahant matrimonium*, 1 Cor. 7.

7. Ad septimam respondemus; Quod non licet repudiatæ adulteræ redire ad repudiantem, tanquam alligatæ ei jugi vinculo matrimonii.

8. Ultima questio ad nos nihil.

126 Number XXI. [p. 59.]

Injunctions given by the king's majesty's visitors, to all and every the clergy and laity, now resident within the deanery of Duncastre.

Item. You shall not hereafter, in the pulpit or elsewhere, on the Sunday, or any other day, give knowledge to your parishioners, when or what day in the week any of the abrogate holy-days were solemnized or kept in the church, but omit the same with silence as other working-days, for the utter abolishing of the remembrance thereof. Ex MS. D. Johnstone.

Item. You shall teach your parishioners, That fasting in the Lent, and other days, is a mere positive, that is to say, man's law; and by the magistrates, upon considerations, may be altered, changed, and dispensed with: and that therefore all persons having just cause of sickness, or other necessity, or being licensed thereto, may temperately eat all kinds of meat, without scruple or grudge of conscience.

Item. You shall every day, that an high mass is said or sung at the high altar, before the same mass, read openly in your churches the English suffrages, for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty's people, and prosperous success of his affairs.

Item. You shall every Sunday, at the time of your going about the church with holy-water, into three or four places, where most audience and assembly of people is, for the declaration of the ceremonies, say, distinctly and plainly, that your parishioners may well hear and perceive the same, these words,

Remember Christ's blood-shedding, by the which most holy sprinkling, of all your sins you have free pardon.

And in like manner, before the dealing of the holy bread, these words,

Of Christ's body this is a token; which on the cross for our sins was broken; wherefore of his death if you will be partakers, of vice and sin you must be forsakers.

And the clerk in the like manner shall bring down the paxe,

and standing without the church-door, shall say loudly to the people these words;

This is a token of joyful peace, which is betwixt God and men's conscience: Christ alone is the Peace-maker, which straitly commands peace between brother and brother.

And so long as ye use these ceremonies, so long shall ye use these significations.

Item. The church-wardens of every parish-church shall, 127
some one Sunday, or other festival day, every month, go about the church, and make request to every of the parish for their charitable contribution to the poor; and the sum so collected shall be put in the chest of alms for that purpose provided. And forasmuch as the parish-clerk shall not hereafter go about the parish with his holy water as hath been accustomed, he shall, instead of that labour, accompany the said church-wardens, and in a book register the name and sum of every man that giveth any thing to the poor, and the same shall intable; and against the next day of collection, shall hang up somewhere in the church in open place, to the intent the poor having knowledge thereby, by whose charity and alms they be relieved, may pray for the increase and prosperity of the same.

Item. The church-wardens, for the better relief of honest poverty, shall, upon sufficient surety found for the repayment of the same, lend to some young married couple, or some poor inhabitants of their parish, some part of the said alms, whereby they may buy some kind of stuff: by the working, sale, and gains whereof, they may repay the sum borrowed, and also well relieve themselves; or else the said church-wardens to buy the stuff themselves, and pay the poor for their working thereof; and after sale of the same, to return the sum, with the gain, to the said chest, there to remain to such-like use.

Item. Forasmuch as heretofore you have not, by any means, diligence, or study, advanced your selves unto knowledge in God's word, and his scriptures, condignly, as appertaineth to priests, and dispensators of God's testament; to the intent you may hereafter be of better ability to discharge yourselves towards God, and your offices to the world, you shall daily, for your own study, and knowledge, read over diligently, and weigh with judgment, two chapters of the New Testament, and one

of the Old, in English, and the same shall put in use and practice, as well in living as preaching, at times convenient, when occasion is given.

Item. Forasmuch as drunkenness, idleness, brawls, dissention, and many other inconveniences do chance between neighbour and neighbour, by the assembly of people together at wakes, and on the Plough-Mondays; it is therefore ordered and enjoined, that hereafter the people shall use, make, or observe no more such wakes, Plough-Mondays, or drawing of the same, with any such assembly or rout of people, or otherwise, as hath been accustomed, upon pain of forfeiting to the king's highness 40*s.* for every default, to be paid by the owner of the plough and householder, whereunto the said plough is drawn, or wakes are kept.[80]

The names of the visitors.

Sir John Markham.	Roger Tongue.
John Hearn.	William Moreton.
Thomas Gargrave.	Edmund Farley.

[80] [For an account of the Collection of Manuscripts from which these Injunctions are taken see the Editor's preface. The search for this document was unsuccessful. If it exists at all, it is probably a copy in Dr. Johnstone's handwriting; but the editor has been unable to discover the original document from which it was copied.]

Number XXII. [p. 59.]

A proclamation against those that doeth innovate, alter, or leave doune any rite or ceremony in the church of their private authority; and against them which preacheth without license. Set forth the sixth day of February, in the second year of the king's majesty's most gracious reign. 128

[Ex reg. Bonner, fol. 111.]

THE king's highness, by the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, the duke of Somersett, governor of his most royal person, and protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and others of his council; considering nothing so much to tend to the disquieting of this realm, as diversity of opinions, and variety of rites and ceremonies concerning religion, and worshipping of Almighty God; and therefore studying all the ways and means which can be to direct this church, and the cure committed to his highness, in one and most true doctrine, rite, and usage, yet is advertised, That certain private curates, preachers, and other lay-men, contrary to their bounden duties of obedience, doth rashly attempt, of their own and singular wit and mind, in some parish-churches, and otherwise, not only to persuade the people from the old and accustomed rites and ceremonies, but also themselves bringeth in new and strange orders every one in their church, according to their phantasies; the which, as it is an evident token of pride and arrogance, so it tendeth both to confusion and disorder, and also to the high displeasure of Almighty God, who loveth nothing so much as order and obedience.

Wherefore his majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, That no manner person, of what estate, order, or degree soever he be, of his private mind, will, or phantasie, do omit, leave doune, change, alter, or innovate any order, rite or ceremony, commonly used and frequented in the church of Englande and not commanded to be left doune at any time in the reign of our late sovereign lord, his highness' father, other than such as his highness, by the advice aforesaid, by his majesty's visitors, injunctions, statutes, or proclamations, hath already, or hereafter shall command to be omitted, left, innovated, or changed, but

that they be observed after that sort as before they were accustomed, or else now sith prescribed by the authority of his majesty, and by the means aforesaid; upon pain, that whosoever shall offend contrary to this proclamation, shall incur his highness' indignation, and suffer imprisonment, and other grievous punishments, at his majesty's will and pleasure.

Provided always, that for not bearing a candle upon Candlemass-day; not taking ashes upon Ash-Wednesday; not bearing palm upon Palm-Sunday; not creeping[81] the cross; not taking holy bread, or holy water; or for omitting such other rites and ceremonies concerning religion, and the use of the church, which the most reverend father in God, the archbishop of Can-
129 terbury, by his majesty's will and commandment, with the advice aforesaid knowen, hath declared, or hereafter shall declare to the other bishops, by his writing under seal, as heretofore hath been accustomed to be omitted or changed, no man hereafter be imprisoned, nor otherwise punished, but all such things to be reputed for the observation and following of the same, as though they were commanded by his majesty's injunctions.

And to the intent that rash and seditious preachers should not abuse his highness' people, it is his majesty's pleasure, that whosoever shall take upon him to preach openly in any parish-church, chapel, or any other open place, other than those which be licensed by the king's majesty, or his highness' visitors; the arch-bishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese where he doth preach, except it be the bishop, parson, vicar, dean, warden, or provost, in his or their own cure, shall be forthwith, upon such attempt and preaching, contrary to this proclamation, committed to prison, and there remain, until such time as his majesty, by the advice aforesaid, hath taken order for the further punishment of the same. And that the premises should be more speedily and diligently done and performed, his highness giveth straitly in commandment, to all justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, constables, headboroughs, church-wardens, and all other his majesty's officers and ministers, and rulers of towns, parishes, and hamlets, that they be diligent and attendant to the true and faithful execution of this proclamation, and every part thereof, according to the intent, purport, and

[81] [*to* was supplied by the author, but is not in the original Manuscript.]

effect of the same. And that they of their proceedings herein, or if any offender be, after they have committed the same to prison, do certify his highness the lord protector, or his majesty's council, with all speed thereof accordingly, as they tender his majesty's pleasure, the wealth of the realm, and will answer to the contrary at their uttermost perils.

God save the king[82].

[82] [This proclamation was originally printed with a reference to Cranmer's Register, which does not contain it. It was reprinted in Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. p. 21, with the same reference, taken from Burnet, but with a few corrections which shew that Wilkins had seen some other copy. Strype also printed it, somewhat more correctly, from a copy made by John Moore, bishop of Ely. This copy was probably made from the original printed proclamation, for it omits, as the printed proclamation also does, the paragraph beginning *Provided* and ending *injunctions*. The text was first collated with a copy of the printed proclamation in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, now at Somerset House. The editor afterwards discovered the original from which the author had printed, in Bonner's Register; it agrees exactly with the printed proclamation, with the exception that it contains the omitted paragraph.]

Number XXIII. [p. 60.]

An order of council for the removing of images.

[*Mandatum ad amovendum et delendum imagines.*]

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good lordship, where now of late, in the king's majesty's visitation, among other godly injunctions commanded to be generally observed through all parts of this his highness' realm, one was set forth for the taking down of all such images as had at any time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings. Albeit that this said injunction hath in many parts of the realm been well and quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much strife and contention hath risen, and daily riseth, and more and more increaseth, about the execution of the same: some men being so superstitious, or rather wilful, as they would by their good-wills, retain all such images still, although they have been most manifestly abused; and in some places also the images, which by the said injunctions were
130 taken down, be now restored and set up again; and almost in every place is contention for images, whether they have been abused or not. And whiles these men go about on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this or that image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused, parties have in some places been taken, in such sort, as further inconvenience is very like to ensue, if remedy be not provided in time. Considering therefore that almost in no places of the realm is any sure quietness, but where all images be wholly taken away and pulled down already; to the intent that all contention in every part of the realm for this matter may be clearly taken away, and that the lively images of Christ should not contend for the dead images, which be [fol. 32 b.] things not necessary, and without which the churches of Christ continued most godly many years, we have thought good to signify unto you, that his highness' pleasure, with the advice and consent of us the lord protector, and the rest of the council, is, That immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order that

Regist. Cran. fol. 32.

all the images remaining in any church or chapel within your diocese be removed and taken away, but also by your letters signify unto the rest of the bishops within your province, this[83] highness' pleasure, for the like order to be given by them, and every of them within their several dioceses; and in the execution hereof we require both you and the rest of the said bishops to use such foresight, as the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good lordship well.

From Somersett place the 21th of February, 1547.

Your lordship's assured friends,

E. Somerset.
Jo. Russell.
Henricus Arundell.
T. Seymour.
Anthony Wyngefelde.
William Pagett.[84]

[83] [*his* appears to have been omitted by mistake.]

[84] [There is another copy with the names subscribed exactly resembling this in Bonner's Register, fol. 110. The mandate, in Latin, from the Archbishop to the bishop of London, in which this paper occurs, has been printed in Wilkins, Conc. IV. 22. It was dated Feb. 24, and in it he is ordered to communicate it to the Suffragans of the province of Canterbury with all haste. This order was executed on the following day, Feb. 25.]

Number XXIV. [p. 61.]

The copy of a letter sent to all those preachers which the king's majesty hath licensed to preach, from the lord protector's grace, and others of the king's majesty's most honourable council; the 23th day of May, in the second year of the reign of our sovereign lord, king Edward the 6th.[85]

AFTER our right hearty commendations:

[Lambeth Library, xxxi. 9. 3. (8).]

As well for the conservation of the quietness and good order of the king's majesty's subjects, as that they should not, by evil and unlearned preachers, be brought unto superstition, error, or evil doctrine, or otherwise be made stubborn and disobedient to the king's majesty's godly proceedings, his highness, by our advice, hath thought good to inhibit all manner of preachers, who hath not such license, as in the same proclamation[86] is allowed, to preach, or stir

[85] [It appears from Herbert, that there were two copies of this letter printed this year, one by Berthelet, the other by Grafton. The editor has been unable to find the former. A copy of that printed by Grafton is in the library at Lambeth, and the text has been corrected by it. It is a pamphlet of seven leaves, of a very small size, bound up with fourteen other publications of the period. The first leaf has on it only the following words, printed in large Roman Capitals thus,

A CO-
PIE OF A
LETTRE
SENT
TO
PREA-
CHERS.

The letter itself occupies five leaves. On the first page of the last leaf is the date and place of publication, printed exactly as it appears in this edition; and on the reverse is a device with the motto, SVSCIPITE INSITVM VERBVM. IACO. I.]

[86] [This proclamation bears date April 24, but has been taken no notice of by the author in his text, and unfortunately has not been printed in Strype or Wilkins. Heylyn (p. 60.) alludes to it, as likewise Strype in the Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 90. It contained a prohibition for any person to preach except such as were licensed by the King, the Protector, or the Archbishop of Canterbury. This, as well as the subsequent proclamation, the existence of which the author doubts (p. 81.), may be seen in the Collection of Proclamations belonging to the Society of Antiquaries at Somerset House. The latter, the purport of which is to prohibit all preaching, has been printed by Wilkins, Conc. IV. p. 30, from Fuller's Church History, lib. vii. p. 388.]

the people, in open and common preachings or sermons, by 131
any means, that the devout and godly homilies, might the better, in the mean while, sink into his subjects' hearts, and be learned the sooner, the people being not tossed to and fro with seditious and contentious preaching, while every man, according to his zeal, some better, some worse, goeth about to set out his own phantasie, and to draw the people to his opinion. Nevertheless it is not his majesty's mind hereby clearly to extinct the lively teaching the word of God, by sermons made after such sort, as for the time the Holy Ghost shall put into the preacher's mind, but that rash, contentious, hot, and undiscreet preachers should be stopped; and that they only which be chosen and elect, discreet and sober men, should occupy that place, which was made for edification, and not for destruction; for the honour of God, and peace and quietness of conscience to be set forward, not for private glory to be avaunced; to appease, to teach; to instruct the people with humility and patience, not to make them contentious and proud; to instil into them their duty to their heads and rulers, obedience to laws and orders, appointed by the superiors who hath rule of God; not that every man should run before their heads hath appointed them what to do, and that every man should choose his own way in religion. The which thing yet being done of some men, and they being rather provoked thereto by certain preachers, than dehorted from it, it was necessary to set a stay therein, And yet forosmuch as we have a great confidence and trust in you, that you will not only preach truly and sincerely the word of God, but also will use circumspection and moderation in your preaching, and such godly wisdom as shall be necessary and most convenient for the time and place; we have sent unto you the king's majesty's license to preach; but yet with this exhortation and admonishment;

That in no wise you do stir and provoke the people to any alteration or innovation, other than is already set forth by the king's majesty's injunctions, homilies, or proclamations; but contrariwise, that you do in all your sermons exhort men to that which is at this time more necessary; that is, to the emendation of their own lives, to the observance of the commandments of God, to humility, patience, and obedience to their heads and rulers; comforting the weak, and teaching them the right way,

and to flee all old and erroneous superstitions, as the confidence in pardons, pilgrimages, beads, religions, images, and other such of the bishop of Rome's traditions and superstitions, with his usurped power; the which things be here in this realm most justly abolished; and straitly rebuking those, who of an arrogancy and proud hastiness, will take upon them to run before they be sent, to go before the rulers, to alter and change things in religion without authority, teaching them to expect and tarry the time which God hath ordained, to the revealing of all truth, and not to seek so long blindly and hedlynges after it, till they bring all orders into contempt. It is not a private man's duty to alter ceremonies, to innovate orders in the church; nor yet it is not a preacher's part to bring that in contempt and hatred, which the prince doth either allow, or is content to suffer. The king's highness, by our advice, as a prince most earnestly given to the true knowledge of God, and to
132 bring up his people therein, doth not cease to labour and travail by all godly means, that his realm might be brought and kept in a most godly and Christian order, who only may and ought to do it. Why should a private man, or a preacher, take this royal and kingly office upon him; and not rather, as his duty is, obediently follow himself, and teach likewise other to follow and observe that which is commanded. What is abolished, taken away, reformed, and commanded, it is easy to see by the acts of parliament, the injunctions, proclamations, and homilies: the which things most earnestly it behoveth all preachers in their sermons to confirm and approve accordingly; in other things which be not yet touched, it behoveth him to think, that either the prince doth allow them, or else suffer them; and in those it is the part of a godly man, not to think himself wiser than the king's majesty, and his council: but patiently to expect and to conform himself thereto, and not to intermeddle further to the disturbance of a realm, the disquieting of the king's people, the troubling of men's consciences, and disorder of the king's subjects.

These things we have thought good to admonish you of at this time, because we think you will set the same so forward in your preaching, and so instruct the king's majesty's people accordingly, to the most avauncement of the glory of God, and the king's majesty's most godly proceedings, that we do not

doubt but much profit shall ensue thereby, and great conformity in the people the which you do instruct; and so we pray you not to fail to do; and having a special regard to the weakness of the people what they may bear, and what is most convenient for the time; in no case to intermeddle in your sermons, or otherwise, with matters in contention or controversion; except it be to reduce the people in them also to obedience, and following of such orders as the king's majesty hath already set forth, and no others, as the king's majesty and our trust is in you, and as you tender his highness' will and pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at your peril.

Fare you well.

Imprinted in London the first daie of June
in the second yere of the reyne of our soue-
reigne lorde kyng Eduuard the VI:
by Richard Grafton, printer
to his mooste royall
Maiestie, in the
yere of our
lorde
M.D.XLVIII.

CUM PRIVILEGIO
AD IMPRIMEN-
DUM SOLUM.

Edw VI. an p 211

133 Number XXV. [p. 62.]

Queries put concerning some abuses of the mass; with the answers that were made by many bishops and divines to them.

Quest. 1.

Whether the sacrament of the altar was instituted to be received of one man for another, or to be received of every man for himself? Ex MS. Dr. Stillingfleet. [Lambeth MSS. 1108. fol. 6.]

Answers.

THE sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but to be received of every man for himself. Cantuarien. [fol. 8.]

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for one other, but of every man for himself. Eboracen. [fol. 29.]

I think that the sacrament of thanks was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but of every man for himself. London. Worcester. Hereford. Norvicen. Cicestren. Assaven. Dunelm.

The answer. The sacrament of the altar was instituted, to be received of every man by himself, to make him a member of Christ's mystical body, and to knit and unite him to Christe our head; as St. Paule saith, 1 Cor. 10. *Unus panis, et unum corpus, multi sumus omnes qui de uno pane participamus.* [fol. 37.] [fol. 19.]

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another sacramentally, no more than one man to be christened for another: notwithstanding the grace received by him that is housled, or christened, is profitable and available to the whole mystical body of Christ, and therefore to every lively member thereof. Sarisburien. [fol. 23.]

Ad 1 et 2 R. The sacrament (as they call it) of the altar, was not instituted to be received of one for another, but of every man for himself: for Christ, the institutor of this sacrament, saith, with manifest words, *Take, eat, &c.* Mat. 26. And also, John 6. *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life.* Nor the receiving of one man doth avail or profit any other; otherwise Lincoln. [fol. 6.]

than by the way of example, whereby the people present are provoked to the imitation of the thing that is good.

Elien. [fol. 31.] The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but of every man for himself. 134

The answer of Richarde Bishop of Coventree and Lichfelde to the articles above written.

Covent. and Lichfield. [fol. 15.] I think and suppose, that the sacrament of the altar was instituted to be received of every man for himself; for so are the words of Christ, *Comedite et bibite*, speaking to them present, and to every one of them.

Carliolen. [fol. 33.] The sacrament of the altar was not ordained or instituted to be received of one man alone, but of all, and for all, because it is the general and continual remedy, help, and succour of all, which maketh no let or stop of themselves, and their own unfaithful or sinful life.

Roffen. [fol. 10.] *Ad primam.* Of every man for himself.

Bristollen. [fol. 25.] The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another sacramentally, no more than one man to be christened for another, but every man to receive it in faith and cleanliness of life for himself.

An answer to the questions.

Meneven. [fol. 17.] The sacrament of the body and blood of Christe was not institute, that one man should receive it for another, but every man for himself. *Probet autem seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat, et de poculo illo bibat.* 1 Corinth. 11.

Dr. Cox. [fol. 18.] The sacrament of thanks was instituted to be received of every man for himself, and not of one for another.

Dr. Tayler. [fol. 13.] *The answer.* Of every man for himself.

Quest. 2.

Whether the receiving of the said sacrament of one man, do avail and profit any other?

Answers.

Cantuarien. [fol. 8.] THE receiving of the said sacrament by one man doth avail and profit only him that receiveth the same.

Eboracen. [fol. 29.] The receiving of the sacrament only availeth the receiver

thereof, except it be by reason of such communion as is among the members of the mystical body of Christe.

I think that the receiving of the said sacrament doth not avail or profit any other, but only as all other good works done of any member of Christ's church, be available to the whole mystical body of Christe, and to every lively member of the same, by reason of mutual participation, and spiritual communion between them. And also it may be profitable to other, as an example whereby other may be stirred to devotion, and to like receiving of the same. London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwicen. Cicestren. Assaven. [fol. 37.]

The answer. The receiving of the sacrament of one man doth profit another, as the health and good-liking of one member, doth in part strengthen the body, and other members of the same: for St. Paule saith, *Multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra*, Rom. 12 et 1 Cor. 12. *Si gaudet unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra.* And in a mystical body, good living of one man stirreth another to the same. Dunelm. [fol. 19.]

The oblation made after the consecration in the mass, is the offering unto the Father of the body and blood of Christe, by the minister, with the commemoration of the passion, and with thanksgiving for the same, and with the prayer of the minister and people, that it may be available to all Christian people. Sarisburien. [fol. 23.]

The receiving thereof of one man doth not avail or profit any other, but as all good deeds profit the congregation; and as one member healed or taking nourishment, profiteth another member. Elien. [fol. 32.]

And therefore I suppose also, that the receiving of one man doth not avail or profit another, but as every good act or deed of one member doth profit to the whole body. Covent. and Lichfield. [fol. 15.]

The receiving of the said sacrament, as it noteth the act of him which receiveth it, may be, that it neither avail or profit him which receiveth, ne any other, but also hurts the receiver, if he presume to take it rashly or unworthily. But as touching the thing which is sacred, offered, and distributed by the common minister in the mass, representing the whole church, or mystical body of Christe, and is received both of him and other that will, whatsoever the receiver or receiving be, it availeth and profiteth all present, absent, live and dead. Carliolen. [fol. 33.]

Roffen. [fol. 10.] *Ad secundam.* No, but as the receipt of wholesome doctrine, the receipt of the fear of God, the receipt of any godly gift that is profitable to any one member of Christ's mystical body, may be said generally to profit the whole body, because there is a mystical communion, and a spiritual participation amongst all the members of Christ in all godliness; as there is in the natural body a natural participation of all natural affections both good and evil.

Bristollen. [fol. 25.] It appeareth, by the words of St. Cipriane, in his six epistle and third booke, that it should be profitable and available to other, forasmuch as he wrote these words of the faithful Christians which departed this world in prison, and said; *Quamquam fidelissimus et devotissimus frater noster, inter cætera solicitudinem et curam suam cum fratribus in omni obsequio operacionis impartit, qui nec illic circa curam corporum deest, scripserit ac scribat ac significet mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri ad immortalitatem gloriosæ mortis exitu transeant, et celebrentur hic a nobis oblaciones et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum, quæ cito vobiscum, domino* 136
prosperante, celebrabimus.—Ita enim docuit apostolus Christi
1 Cor. x. *unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus omnes, qui de uno pane, et de uno calice participamus. Nec loquitur de hiis solis qui eo tempore Corinthi conveniebant, et sacramentum ab unius sacerdotis manu recipiebant; verum potius de seipso tunc procul a Corintho agente, et Corinthiis ipsis omnibusque in Christum credentibus, ubi tandem constituti essent, quos omnes significat unum esse corpus qui toto orbe de uno pane communicantes participarent.*

Meneven. [fol. 17.] The sacrament profiteth him only, that receiveth it worthily; like as it damnifieth him only that receiveth it unworthily. *Nam qui edit aut bibit indigne, judicium sibi ipsi edit et bibit,* 1 Cor. 11.

Dr. Cox. [fol. 18.] The receiving of the said sacrament doth avail and profit the receiver only, and none other, but by occasion to do the like.

Dr. Tayler. [fol. 13.] *The answer.* So much as the christening of one man profiteth another, which after my opinion profiteth nothing.

Quest. 3.

What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass?

Answers.

THE oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is so called, not because Christ indeed is there offered and sacrificed by the priest and the people, (for that was done but once by himself upon the cross) but it is so called, because it is a memory and representation of that very true sacrifice and immolation which before was made upon the cross. Cantuarien. [fol. 8.]

The oblation and sacrifice of Christe in the mass, is the presenting of the very body and blood of Christe to the heavenly Father, under the forms of bread and wine, consecrated in the remembrance of his passion, with prayer and thanksgiving for the universal church. Eboracen. [fol. 29.]

I think it is the presentation of the very body and blood of Christe being really present in the sacrament; which presentation the priest maketh at the mass, in the name of the church, unto God the Father, in memory of Christ's passion and death upon the cross; with thanksgiving therefore, and devout prayer, that all Christian people, and namely they which spiritually join with the priest in the said oblation, and of whom he maketh special remembrance, may attain the benefit of the said passion. London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwicen. Cicestren. Assaven. [fol. 37 b.]

The answer. The oblation and sacrifice of Christe in the mass, is the presenting of Christe by the priest, in commemoration of his passion, being our eternal and permanent sacrifice, present in the sacrament by his omnipotent word left to us, to
137 have his death and passion in remembrance, with giving thanks for the same, and prayer of the minister, and them which be present, that the same may be available to the whole church of Christe, both quick and dead in the faith of Christe. Dunelm. [fol. 19 b.]

Which oblation, commemoration of Christ's passion, giving of thanks and prayer, taketh effect only in them which by their own proper faith shall receive the same effect. Sarisburien. [fol. 23.]

Ad 3 R. There is properly no oblation nor sacrifice, but a remembrance of the one oblation of Christ upon the cross, made once for all; a giving of thanks for the same, and the prayer of the public minister for the whole congregation; which prayer Lincoln. [fol. 6.]

only taketh effect in them, which by their own proper faith receive the benefit of Christ: and where many of those authors doth say there is an oblation and sacrifice, they speak so, because in this sacrament we be admonished of the oblation and sacrifice of Christ upon the cross.

Elien. [fol. 32.] If oblation be taken *pro re oblatâ*, then, as old ancient doctors write, it is, *corpus et sanguis, Christi verum, et corpus Christi mysticum.* If ye take it *pro actu offerendi*, it is a commemoration, and a representation of Christ's death once suffered upon the cross, with thanksgiving for the same.

Hæc jam mea est opinio, sed sic ut auditis melioribus cedam.

Covent. and Lichfield. [fol. 15.] I suppose the very oblation and sacrifice of Christe in the mass, is this; That after the benediction, that is to say, the words of consecration spoken by the priest, and the divine working of Christe presently, by the which there is the very [fol. 15 b.] precious body, and the precious blood of Christe present to be so received; then the priest offereth up the holy memory of our redemption to God the Father, most humbly praying, That as it was once offered up by Christe upon the cross, for the redemption of mankind, so it may take effect now, and at all times, especially in those that with a true faith, with a full trust and hope, shall so worthily receive it.

The prayers of the priest in the mass, having before him the precious body and blood of our Saviour Christe, by the testimony of Saynt Augustyne, Saynt Chrisostome and other ancient fathers, are of a great efficacy and much to be esteemed[83].

Carliolen. [fol. 33.] The oblation and sacrifice of Chryste in the mass, is, even the same which was of Chryste in the cross, ever and everywhere abiding and enduring of like strength, virtue, and power. The difference is, that on the cross Chryste being there both priest and sacrifice, offered himself visibly; and in the mass, being likewise both priest and sacrifice, offereth himself invisibly, by the common minister of the church, which in the name and stead of the whole faithful congregation offereth and presenteth, as he is bid and commanded by Chryste.

Roffen. [fol. 10.] *Ad tertiam.* I am not able to say, that the mass consisteth by Chryst's institution in other things, than in those which be

[83] [This passage was altogether omitted by the author, and is now for the first time supplied. The omission had been noticed by Baker.]

set forth in the evangelists, Matth. Marc. and Luc. in the Acts, and 1 Cor. 10 and 11.

It is in giving thanks unto the Father, as Crist did himself at his supper, taking the bread and wine into his hands, and with the words of consecration, consecrating the same, and then making presentation of the very body and blood of Crist unto God the Father, in the name of the church, in the memory of Crist's most painful passion and death, suffered upon the cross; and so worthily receiving the same, and with giving thanks again for the same at the latter end; as the gospel saith, *hympno dicto;* but what this hymn or prayer was, I find no mention. Bristollen. [fol. 25.] 138

The oblation and sacrifice of Christe mentioned in the mass, is a memorial of Christe's only sacrifice upon the cross, once offered for ever; *Unicâ enim oblacione, perfectos effecit imperpetuum eos qui sanctificantur*, Hebre. 10. Menevен. [fol. 17.]

The oblation of the sacrifice of Christ in the mass, is the prayer, the praise, the thanksgiving, and the remembrance of Christ's passion and death. Dr. Cox. [fol. 18.]

The answer. There is no oblation, speaking properly; but some ancient doctors, and the use of the church, calleth the receiving of it, with the circumstances then done, an oblation; that is to say, a memorial and remembrance of Christ's most precious oblation upon the cross. Dr. Tayler. [fol. 13.]

Quest. 4.

Wherein consisteth the mass by Christ's institution?

Answers.

THE mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the evangelists, Mat. 26. Marci 14. Luc. 22. 1° Cor. 10°. and 11°. Cantuarien. [fol. 8.]

The mass, by Christe his institution, consisteth in the consecration and oblation of the very body and blood of Christe, with prayer, thanksgiving, and receiving of the same, as appeareth in the evangelists, Matth. 26to and 27mo. Marc. 14to, and 15to. Luc. 22°. and 23°, Johis 6to. Item primo Cor. 10°. and 11°. Acts 2. Eboracen. [fol. 29 b.]

London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwicen. Cicestren. Assaven. [fol. 37 b.] I think it consisteth principally, in the consecration, oblation, and receiving of the body and blood of Christe, with prayers and thanksgiving; but what the prayers were, and what rites Christ used or commanded at the first institution of the mass, the scripture declareth not.

Dunelm. [fol. 19 b.] *The answer.* The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth by the evangelists, Matth. 26. Marc. 19. Luc. 22. and Paule, 1 Cor. 10. 11. et 12. et Act 2. with humble and contrite confession, the oblation of Christe, as before: the receiving of the sacrament, giving of thanks therefore, and common prayer for the mystical body of Christe.

Sarisburien. [fol. 23.] The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the evangelists, Matthæi 26. Marci 14. Luc 22. and primo Cor. 10. et 11. Act 2°. et 13. 139

Lincoln. [fol. 6.] *Ad 4 R.* It consisteth in these things which be set forth Mat. 26. Mar. 19. Luc 22. 1 Co. 10. 11. Act 2.

Elien. [fol. 31.] The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the evangelists, Matth. 26. Luc 22. and primo Cor. 10°. et 11°. and Act. 2do.

Covent. & Lichfield. [fol. 15 b.] The mass, by Christ's institution, only expressing the form of Christe by the scripture, consisteth in the taking of the bread, and giving thanks to God the Father, in the benediction and consecration, in the receiving or distribution, and receiving of them, to whom the distribution is made by the hands of the priest: as the eldest authors affirmeth, in the renewing of the memory of our redemption by an undoubted faith, and for that to give most humble thanks; so calling to remembrance, as often as it is thus done, the inestimable benefit of our redemption.

Cap. 24. [fol. 16.] What thanks that Christe gave before this most holy action, or what thanks that he gave after it, by the general words of Mathewe, *hymno dicto,* are not expressed: so that there appeareth, both before this most holy action, and also after, to be a certain ceremony appointed by Christe more than is expressed.

[1 Cor. 11.] Moreover, by the doctrine of the apostle, it behoveth every man to be wise and circumspect, that he receive not this most blessed sacrament unworthily and unreverently, not making difference betwixt the receiving of the most blessed body of Christe, and other meats.

Carliolen. [fol. 33 b.] The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in consecrating, offering, receiving, and distributing of the blessed body and

blood of our Saviour Jesu Chryste, according to that he himself did, willed, and commanded to be done. This we have manifest by the evangelists, St. Paule, and St. Luke, in the Acts. But because Chryst was, after his resurrection, long with his disciples, communicating and treating of the kingdom of God, what should be done here to come thither, it may be well thought, that whatsoever he or his Holy Spirit left with the apostles, and they with other after, which also the whole universal congregation of Christian people useth and observeth, most ancient and holy doctors in like form noteth, may likewise be said and taken as of Chrystes institution.

Ad quartam. The representation and commemoration of Christ's death and passion, said and done in the mass, is called the sacrifice, oblation, or immolation of Christ: *non rei veritate,* (as learned men do write) *sed significandi mysterio.* Roffen. [fol. 10.]

As I take it, the mass by Crist's institution, consisteth in those things and rights, which be set forth unto us, in the 26th of Matthew, the 14th of Mark, and the 22th of Luke; and also as mention is made in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the tenth and eleventh chapters, and in the second chapter of the Acts. Any other institution I read not of by scripture. Bristollen. [fol. 25 b.]

Per me Paulum episcopum Bristolliensem.

140 Christe's institution compriseth no more in the mass, than the communion of his body and blood to be ministered and received under both kinds, of bread and wine, according as is declared by the evangelists, Mat. 26. Marc. 14. Luc. in the Acts 2. Meneven. [fol. 17.]

W. Meneven.

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in thanksgiving to the Father, in distributing of the body and blood of Christ to the congregation, to have the death and passion of Christ in remembrance, and in the end to laud and praise God. Dr. Cox. [fol. 18.]

Ric. Cox.

The answer. In giving of thanks to God the Father, and blessing and breaking it, and reverently receiving the holy sacraments, with all such rites and circumstances as Christe did in both the kinds. Dr. Tayler. [fol. 13.]

By me, John Tayler.

Quest. 5.

What time the accustomed order began first in the church, that the priest alone should receive the sacrament?

Answers.

Cantuarien. [fol. 8.] I THINK the use, that the priest alone did receive the sacrament without the people, began not within six or seven hundred years after Christ.

Eboracen. [fol. 30.] The accustomed order that the priest alone should receive the sacrament, began about the time of Zepherinus; who, when the common people had left their daily and frequent communion, ordained that they should communicate, at the least once in the year, that was at Easter; which ordinance Innocentius the Third confirmed.

London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwicen. Cicestren. Assaven. [fol. 38.] I know no such further order or commandment of the church, but what time the devotion of the people was so greatly decayed, that they would not come to receive the sacrament, then the priests were compelled to receive it alone.

Dunelm. [fol. 20.] *The answer.* The custom began, that the priest alone should receive the sacrament of necessity, when the people falling from devotion would not come to the communion, but cared more for their worldly business, than for godly receiving of the sacrament: for in the beginning they received it daily by fervent devotion; after, thrice a week; after, on the Sundays only; after, thrice in the year, at Christmass, Easter, and Whitsunday; after, only once in the year, at Easter, by coldness of devotion.

Lincoln. [fol. 6.] *Ad 5 R.* The time certain is not known, most men ascribe 141
it unto Gregory, who was more than 600 years after Christ; for that every bishop of Rome bringing in his portion, (some *introitus*, some *Kyryeleson*, some *graduale*); the mass in the said Gregory's time was grown to the full quantity it is now of, and men's inventions began to step before, and get ground of Christ's institution; but from the beginning it was not so, for Christ did not eat and drink alone at his last supper, but gave the bread and cup to all present. In the primitive church one did not eat alone, and the rest look on, but they did eat together, and drink together, as it is to be seen Act 2. 1 Co. 11. And Anacletus writes thus, *Peractâ consecratione omnes com-*

municent. Qui noluerint ecclesiasticis careant liminibus. De Conse. Dist. 1. *Ca. Episcopus.* Elien. [fol. 31.]

The very time I know not, but is to be supposed, that that custom crept into the church by negligence and slackness of the lay-people, who would not so oft receive it as the priest would; for in the beginning, the communion with the laity was *quotidiane*, which the priest observeth still unto this day, and not the laity; and there be canons that bindeth the priest to the receiving of it as oft as he doth consecrate; and the cause why the priests did not receive it, after they had consecrated, should seem to be, that there was none to receive it with them, which was the occasion of the making of those canons, as I suppose.

Ad quintam. Because scripture saith, *Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est, &c.* Likewise *de calice, cui benedicimus;* and also, *Bibite ex eo omnes.* And the canons said to be of apostles, ca. 10. and 10.[84] and of Antiochene council, ca. 2. Anacletus in an epistle, commandeth the sacrament to be received of more than of the priest alone. Dionise also declareth the same, and also long after Chrys. St. Ambrosius and St. Augustin both complain of the slackness of some, and earnestly exhort the people to the receipt thereof. Therefore I suppose that custom, that the priest should receive it alone, where it was celebrated openly, was not received in the church of Christ by the space of four or five hundred years at the least after Christ. Roffen. [fol. 10.]

I know no such order or commandment of the church, but what time the devotion of the people began greatly to decay, and would not come to receive the sacrament, then I think the priests were compelled to receive it alone. Bristollen. [fol. 26.]

I suppose not long after the apostles' time, the godly devotion of the people decaying, who at the beginning used to commune daily, and after that weekly, after that thrice in the year, and at last but once in the year, the priest was forced to receive the sacrament alone. Dr. Cox. [fol. 11.]

[84] [Probably a mistake for 11.]

Quest. 6. 142

Whether it be convenient that the same custom continue still within this realm?

Answers.

Cantuarien. [fol. 8.] I THINK it more agreeable to the scripture and primitive church, that the first usage should be restored again, that the people should receive the sacrament with the priest.

London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwicen. Cicestren. Assaven. [fol. 38.] I would wish, that at every mass, there would be some to receive the sacrament with the priest: nevertheless if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient, that the priests of this realm of Englande may say mass, and receive the sacrament alone.

Dunelm. [fol. 20.] It were much convenient that people were exhorted to come to it oftener, if they could be brought thereto. Nevertheless if none will communicate, it is not meet that the priest stirred to communicate, should forbear for coldness or lack of other men's devotion.

Lincoln. [fol. 6.] *Ad 6 R.* No things have be better, or more wisely devised than Christ did ordain, and the apostles, according to his ordinance, did use; we ought therefore to captive our senses and understandings to the wisdom of Christ; and think that most convenient, that to his ordinance is most correspondent: and as St. Paul notes, by eating all of one bread, and drinking all of one cup, we be put in remembrance, that we be all one body in Christ, and have received all one spirit. Nevertheless the slackness of some ought not to be prejudicial to the rest, nor the refusing of one to be impediment to another.

Elien. [fol. 31.] If the lay-men could be brought to it, it were better not to continue; but if they cannot, it is not convenient that priests, who would communicate for their own comfort, should be defrauded by other men's slackness.

Roffen. [fol. 10.] *Ad sextam.* I suppose it were best, that that custom should be reformed unto the rule of scripture, and unto the pattern of the primitive church.

Bristollen. [fol. 26.] I think it were good, that at every mass there were some to receive the sacrament with the priest; nevertheless, if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient, that the priest say mass, and receive the sacrament alone, when he is disposed, or by the Christian congregation desired.

I think it not convenient that the said custom should continue, if by any godly mean the people might be brought to receive the sacrament with the priest. Dr. Cox. [fol. 11.]

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143 Quest. 7.

Whether it be convenient that masses satisfactory should continue, (that is to say) priests hired to sing for souls departed.

Answers.

I THINK it not convenient that satisfactory masses should continue. Cantuarien. [fol. 8.]

I think that such of the school-men as do write of masses satisfactory, do define them otherwise than is declared in this question London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwicen. Cicestren. Assaven.

Nevertheless I think, that it is not against the word of God, but that priests praying in the mass, both for the quick and the dead, and doing other things in the church about the ministration of the sacraments, may take a living for the same. [fol. 38 b.]

All priests saying mass be bound in the same, to pray for the whole mystical body of Christe, quick and dead, though they be not hired thereto; and those that be deputed thereto, if they say mass, must do the same though they were not hired: and yet, as St. Paule saith, Those that be partakers of spiritual things with other, ought to minister unto them temporal things in recompence, Rom. 15. Dunelm. [fol. 20 b.]

Ad 7. St. Paul saith, Hebr. 10, That *we are made holy by the offering of the body of Jesu Christ once for all;* and Hebr. 9, That *Christ by his own blood entered in once into the holy place, and found eternal redemption;* which redemption and satisfaction, unless we think insufficient, it were meet masses satisfactory to be taken away, and not to count Christ and his apostles, other unlearned, or unloving teachers; who could not or would not teach a thing so necessary. Nauclerus does write, that Gregory the Third gave commandment to priests to pray and offer for the dead. And though ancient writers make oft mention of prayer for the dead, yet they never allow any hireling to that purpose.—*Lege August. ad Aurel. de coercendâ temulentiâ.* Lincoln. [fol. 6.]

It is one thing to sing satisfactory, and another to be hired Elien. [fol. 31.]

to sing mass for the souls departed: for the first importeth, that the mass should be a satisfaction for the sins of the soul departed; which is not so: but the second, that is, to sing or
[fol. 31 b.] pray for the souls departed, is a laudable custom, and seemeth to have some ground in scripture; which custom hath been always continued from the apostles' time, and hath been used in the mass, as appeareth by ancient doctors, Augustin, Ambrosse, Chrisostome and other; and therefore this to continue I think it meet. But to say mass for money, thinking it a commutation or a just compensation betwixt the prayer and the money that he is hired for, I think it soundeth to avarice and simony; and yet, *dignus est operarius mercede suâ.* Like-as, *Prædicans evangelium sine sumptu debet ponere evangelium,* 144
et tamen Dominus ordinavit hiis qui evangelium annunciant de evangelio vivere.

Carliolen. [fol. 34.] If by this be meant, that any thing, or action other of the priest, or other should be a full and perfect satisfaction of sins venial and mortal; I know ne read of any such satisfactory, nother would I say that priests be hired after the common fashion and contracts of the world, to sing for souls departed, but rather that they, as they be ordered to, do say and sing their mass, having in their remembrance, both generally and specially, as shall most appertain both the live and dead; and then, as they be worthy, must have their living by the altar which they serve, as St. Paule at large declareth. But as for the full and perfect satisfaction of all manner of sins, that is to be attributed only to Chryste, his passion and justification; yet after the mind of St. Austenne, St. Hierome, with other, *Pro non valde malis propitiationes fiunt; et de levioribus peccatis, cum quibus obligati defuncti sunt, post mortem possunt absolvi, &c.*

Roffen. [fol. 10 b.] *Ad septimam.* That masses satisfactory should continue to be sung for souls departed, by priests hired thereunto, I think it not convenient.

Bristollen. [fol. 26.] I think that the word of God, and St. Paul meant, that all priests may offer gifts and sacrifices unto God for the offences of the people, (as it is written in the 5th to the Hebrews) *Omnis pontifex, &c.* and may receive and take (ministering the sacrament and sacramentals in the church to the congregation) a living for the same.

Dr. Cox. [fol. 11.] Masses to be said for satisfaction of sin, (sith Christ is the

only satisfaction for all sin) is an abuse not to be continued and priests to be hired only to sing for souls departed, seemeth to be a superfluous function in Christ's church.

Quest. 8.

Whether the gospel ought to be taught at the time of the mass, to the understanding of the people being present? [fol. 6 b.]

Answers.

I THINK it very convenient, that the gospel, concerning the death of Christ, and our redemption, should be taught to the people in the mass. Cantuarien. [fol. 8.]

It is expedient that the gospel be taught at the time of the mass, to the understanding of the people being present. Eboracen. [fol. 30.]

I think it not necessary to have a sermon at every mass, but the oftener the same is done to the edifying of the people, (so that the service of their vocation be not thereby defrauded) the more it is to be commended. London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwicen. Cicestren. Assaven.

145 It is much convenient that the gospel be taught to the understanding of the people being present, when it may be. Howbeit, it is not so of the substance of the mass, but the mass may be done without it, and it done at other times as well as at the mass. [fol. 38 b.] Dunelm. [fol. 20 b.]

Ad 8 R. Christ distributing the sacrament to his disciples, do say, (as it is in Luc. 22.) *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem:* and St. Paul doth thus write to the Corinthians, *Quotiescunque manducabitis panem hunc ac calicem bibetis, mortem Domini annunciabitis donec veniat.* The glad tydings therefore, the great benefit that we receive by Christ's death and suffering (which we see as in a glass, in this holy sacrament) ought to be set forth and preached to the people, so oft as they come to the holy communion. Lincoln. [fol. 6 b.]

That the gospel be taught or read at the time of the mass time, that the people there present may understand; it is good and godly, and convenient it should be so. Elien. [fol. 31 b.]

I think it convenient and necessary, that as the king his most excellent majesty, his most dear uncle my lord protector's grace, with the most honourable council beside, hath already appointed and enjoined to be done, that at all such times as the people (as they ought) be most gathered together, in the principal and Carliolen. [fol. 34.]

high mass, the gospel be taught and declared to the best understanding of the people.

Roffen. [fol. 10 b.] The annunciation of Christ's death and passion, and the benefit of the same, that is forgiveness of sins, to all the true and faithful believers therein, ought evermore to be set forth in the mass to the edification of the people; which thing cannot be done, according to St. Poul mind and meaning, 1 Cor. 14. as I suppose, except it be set forth to the people understanding.

Bristollen. [fol. 26.] I think it is not against God's word, but the oftener the same is done to the edifying of the people, received with devotion, and intending redress of life thereby, the more it more it is to be affected and used.

Dr. Cox. fol. 11.] In the mass-time, it were expedient to have some doctrine, after the example of the primitive church, that at the blessed communion the people might be edified[84].

Ric. Cox.

Quest. 9. 146

Whether in the mass it were convenient to use such speech as the people may understand?

Answers.

Cantuarien. [fol. 8.] I THINK it convenient to use the vulgar tongue in the mass, except in certain secret mysteries, whereof I doubt.

Eboracen. [fol. 29 b.] It were convenient to use such speech in the mass, as the people might understand.

London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwicen. Cicestren. Assaven. [fol. 39.] Dunelm. [fol. 20 b.] To have the whole mass in English, I think it neither expedient, neither convenient.

It is convenient that the common Latin tongue to these west parts of Christendom, be used in the mass, being the common-prayer of the whole church, namely, in the mysteries thereof, lest rude people should vilely prophane the holy mysteries thereof by contempt. Nevertheless certain prayers might be in the mother tongue, for the instruction and stirring of the devotion of the people, as shall be thought convenient.

Lincoln. [fol. 6 b.] *Ad* 9 *R.* St. Paul would all things in the congregation,

[84] [Here ends fol. 11. a. at the bottom of which is the signature Ric. Cox.]

and public assembly, so to be spoken that they might edify; and in such a language, that the people present might say *Amen* to our thanksgiving. And long after the apostles' time, all the people present did answer the priest (he speaking in a language that they did understand) like as the clark or boy doth now answer (as he is taught) in a language that he understandeth not. *Cipri. habet De Cons. Distinct.* 1. *Ca. Quando.*

It was so used in Dalmatia in St. Hierom's time, and in Sclavonia in Cyryl's time, who making suit to the court of Rome for the same; and the matter being debated in the consistory, and having many adversaries, suddenly there was heard a voice, as it were, from heaven; *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum, et omnis lingua confiteatur ei.* Whereupon Cyryllus had his petition granted him. Elien. [fol. 31 b.]

This question was deeply searched and tried for, in the most excellent and of highest memory, king Henry the Eighth's time, by the best clerks of his realm, in his presence; and then and there concluded, and upon that same by proclamation commanded, That holy scripture should not be evulgate in English. Yet after it was otherwise seen and provided for: therefore therein I would wish, that were most to the quiet
147 edification of Christian people, and shall submit my self to my superiors and betters, submitting mine understanding to their judgments. Carliolen. [fol. 34 b.]

Ad nonam. I think it not only convenient that such speech should be used in the mass as the people might understand, but also to speak it with such an audible voice, that the people might hear it, that they be not defrauded of their own, which saint Poul teacheth to belong to them; and also that they may answer, as Cyprian saith the people did in his days, *Habemus ad Dominum.* Nevertheless, as concerning that part that pretendeth to the consecration, Dionise and Basil moveth me to think it no inconvenience, that part should be spoken in silence. Roffen. [fol. 10 b.]

If the mass should be wholly in English, I think we should differ from the custom and manner of all other regions: therefore if it may stand with the king's majesty's pleasure, I think it not good to be said all in English. Bristollen. [fol. 26.]

Per me Paulum episcopum Bristolliensem.

Because all the benefits of the mass do also appertain unto [Dr. Cox, fol. 11 b.]

the people, it were very convenient to use such speech therein which the people might understand.

Quest. 10.

When the reservation of the sacrament first began?

Answers.

Cantuarien. [fol. 8 b] THE reservation of the sacrament began, I think, six or seven hundred years after Christ:

Lincoln. [fol. 6 b.] *Ad* 10. 11. *R.* Polidore Virgyl doth write, that Innocentius the Third decreed the sacrament to be kept, to be in a readiness for the sick. And Honorius the Third confirmed the same; adding, that it ought to be reserved *in loco singulari, mundo, et signato.* Commanding also the priests that they should oft instruct the people reverently to bow down at the elevation-time, and when it is born to the sick. As for the hanging of the sacrament over, or setting it upon the altar, is of a later time, not yet received in divers places of Christendom.

[Dr. Cox, fol. 11 b.] I suppose that the reservation of the sacrament began about the time of Ambrose, Hierome, and Augustyne.

Quest. 11.

When the hanging up of the same first began?

Cant. [fol. 8 b.] The hanging up I think began of late time.

[Dr. Cox. fol. 11 b.] When it began I cannot tell, and for what purpose it should hang there I cannot tell.

Ric. Cox[86].

[86] [For some account of the document from which these questions and answers have been printed, see the text of this part, p. 62, and the editor's note, (50). This part of the volume, like the part described in note (45), at page 58 of the History, has been wrongly put together, and that probably since the author saw it. It seems desirable therefore to give here some further account of the volume.

The book is headed 'Collections of D. Cranmar;' and on the first leaf are written the following questions, '*How many sacraments there be in the Scripture instituted by Christ in the New Testament, Whether a layman may excommunicate, Whether excommunication be necessary where Christian governors be.*' Then follow the two documents printed as Numbers 16 and 17 of the Records of this book, occupying folios 2, 3, 4. Fol, 5, which is vacant, is part of fol. 2, and ought to be placed accordingly. Fol. 18 is a distinct leaf, and ought to pre-

148 *Some questions, with answers made to them by the bishops of Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford.* [Lambeth MSS. 1108. fol. 40.]

The Question.

What or wherein John fasting, giving alms, being baptized, or receiving the sacrament of thanks in Englande, doth profit and avail Thomas dwelling in Italye, and not knowing what John in Englande doth?

The Answer.

Worcester. Chichester. Hereford.

THE distance of place doth not lett nor hinder the spiritual communion which is between one and another, so that John and Thomas, wheresoever they be, far and sundry, or near together, being both lively members of Christe, receive either of other's goodness some commodity; although to limit what or wherein, is unsearchable, and only pertaineth to the knowledge of God.

The Question.

Whether the said acts in John do profit them that be in heaven, and wherein?

The Answer.

Gaudium est in cœlo super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente, &c. Luc. 15.

The Question.

Whether it lieth in the said John, to defraud any member of Christ's body of the benefit of his fasting, alms-deeds, baptism, or receiving of the sacrament, and to apply the same benefit to one person more than to another?

The Answer.

Charity defraudeth no man of any such benefit that might

cede fol. 11 and fol. 12, which are parts of the same sheet. Fol. 17 is also a distinct leaf. The rest of the volume, as far as fol. 40, is rightly arranged. It is noticeable, that the archbishop of York's answer to the fifth question is placed last after his answer to the ninth, but this is not the fault of the binding, but the order in which he wrote it. His answers occupy fols. 29 and 30. The bishop of Ely also inverts the order of the questions, placing his answer to Question 3 last on fol. 32. Fol. 37 is headed 'London, Worcester, Hereford, Norwicen. Cicestren. Assaven.; and the other half of this sheet is fol. 42. Fol. 38 rightly follows fol. 37, but a sheet marked folio 40 and 41 has been wrongly inserted, which contains the other questions, with the answers of the bishops of Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford.]

[fol. 40 b.] come to him; and it lieth in God only to apply the same, and not in any man, otherwise than by desire and prayer; but the better the man is, the more available his prayer is to them, for whom he especially prayeth.

[fol. 41.] The Question.

What thing is the presentation of the body and blood of Christe in the mass, which you call the oblation and sacrifice of Christe? and wherein standeth it, in act, gesture, 149
or words? and in what act, gesture, or words?

The Answer.

The presentation, &c. standeth in such words, prayers, supplications, and actions, as the priest useth at the mass, having the body and blood of Christ there present in the sacrament.

The Question.

Is there any rite or prayer not expressed in the scripture, which Christ used or commanded at the first institution of the mass, which we be now bound to use; and what the same be?

The Answer.

That Christe used rites and prayers at the institution and distribution of the sacrament, the scripture declareth: but what rites and prayers they were we know not; but I think that we ought to use such rites and prayers as the catholick church hath, and doth uniformly observe.

The Question.

Whether in the primitive church there were any priests that lived by saying of mass, mattins, and even-song, and praying for souls only? And whether any such state of priesthood be allowed in the scripture, or be meet to be allowed now?

The Answer.

There were priests in the primitive church which preached not, but exercised themselves in prayer for the quick and the dead, and other spiritual ministrations in the church; and accustomably used common prayers both morning and evening; and such state of priesthood is not against the scripture.

The Question.

For what cause it were not expedient nor convenient to have the whole mass in English?

The Answer.

This question is answered by Dionise and Basill, *De Spiritu Sancto;* and also an uniformity of all churches in that thing is to be kept.

[*For the bishops of Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford.*]

Number XXVI. [p. 66.] 150

A collection of some of the chief indulgences then in the English offices.

Horæ B. Mariæ Virg. ad usum Sarum; printed at Paris, 1526.[8]

Folio 38.

To all them that be in the state of grace, that daily say devoutly this prayer before our blessed Lady of pity, she will shew them her blessed visage, and warn them the day and the hour of death; and in their last end, the angels of God shall yield their souls to heaven; and he shall obtain five hundred years, and so many Lents of pardon, granted by five holy fathers, popes of Rome.

Folio 42.

Our holy father Sixtus the 4th, pope, hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer before the image of our Lady, the sum of eleven thousand years of pardon.

Folio 44.

Our holy father the pope, Sixtus, hath granted, at the instance of the high-most and excellent princess Elyzabeth, late queen of Englonde, and wife to our sovereign liege lord king Henri the seventh, (God have mercy on her sweet soul, and all Christian souls) that every day in the morning, after three tollings of the ave-bell, say three times the whole salutation of our Lady, *Ave Maria gratia;* that is to say, at six the clock in the morning three *Ave Maria;* at twelve the clock at noon three *Ave Maria;* and at six the clock at even; for every time so doing, is granted of the spiritual treasure of holy church, three hundred days of pardon, *totiens quotiens.* And

[8] [The title of this book, of which there is one nearly perfect and another very imperfect copy in the British Museum, the former on white paper, the latter on yellow, is,

Hore Beatissime virginis Marie ad legitimū Sarisburiensis Ecclesie ritum, cum quindecim orationibus beate Brigitte, ac multis aliis orationibus pulcherrimis, et indulgentiis cum tabula aptissima jam ultimo adjectis.

¶ Venūdat Parisius a Frācisco Regnault. In vico scti Jacobi, sub signo Elephantis.

On the reverse is the date, MDXXVI.]

also our holy father, the archbishop of Cantorbery and Yorke, with other nine bishops of this realm, have granted, three times in the day, forty days of pardon to all them that be in the state of grace, able to receive pardon; the which began the 26th day of March, *anno* 1492. *anno Henrici* 7. and the sum of the indulgence and pardon for every *Ave Maria*, eight hundred days and sixty, *totiens quotiens*. This prayer shall be said at the tolling of the ave-bell.

Folio 47.

Our holy father the pope, Bonifacius, hath granted to all them that devoutly say this lamentable contemplation of our blessed Lady, standing under the cross weeping, and having compassion with her sweet Son Jesus, seven years of pardon, and forty Lents. And also pope John the 22nd hath granted three hundred days of pardon.

Folio 50.

These be the fifteen *Oos*, the which the holy virgin saint Brygitta was wont to say daily before the holy rood in saint Paules church at Rome; whoso say this a whole year, he shall deliver fifteen souls out of purgatory of his next kindred, and
151 convert other fifteen sinners to good life; and other fifteen righteous men of his kynde shall persevere in good life; and what ye desire of God ye shall have it, if it be to the salvation of your soul.

Folio 54.

To all them that before this image of piety devoutly say five *Pater Noster*, and five *Aves*, and a *Credo*, piteously beholding those arms of Crystes passion, are granted thirty-two thousand seven hundred and fifty-five years of pardon; and Sixtus the 4th, pope of Rome, hath made the fourth and the fifth prayer, and hath doubled his foresaid pardon.

Folio 56.[9]

This epistle of our Saviour, sendeth our holy father, pope Leo, to the emperor Carolo Magno: of the which we findest[10] written, Who that beareth this blessing upon him, and saith it once a day, shall obtain forty year of pardon, and eighty Lenting, and he shall not perish with sudden death.

[9] [This reference is correct, though the paging of fols. 55 and 56 is wrongly printed in both copies of the original, 45 and 46.]

[10] [So printed by mistake in the original.]

Folio 57.

This prayer made saint Augustin, affirming who that says it daily kneeling, shall not die in sin; and after this life shall go to the everlasting joy and bliss.

Folio 58.

Our holy father the pope, Jhon 22nd, hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer, after the elevation of our Lord Jesu Cryste, three thousand days of pardon for deadly sins.

Folio 58.

Our holy father the pope, Bonifacius Sextus, hath granted to all them that say devoutly this prayer following, between the elevation of our Lord, and the three *Agnus Dei*, ten thousand years of pardon.

Folio 61.

Our holy father, Sixtus the 4th, hath granted to all them that be in the state of grace, saying this prayer following immediately after the elevation of the body of our Lord, clean remission of all their sins perpetually enduring. And also Jhon the Third, pope of Rome, at the request of the queen of Englonde, hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer before the image of our Lord crucified, as many days of pardon, as there were wounds in the body of our Lord in the time of his bitter passion, the which were five thousand three hundred three score and five.

Folio 65.[11]

These five petitions and prayers made Saint Gregory, and hath granted unto all them that devoutly say these five prayers, with five *Pater Noster*, five *Ave Maria*, and a *Credo*, five hundred years of pardon.

Folio 66.

These three prayers be written in the chapel of the Holy Cross in Rome, otherwise called, *Sacellum Sanctæ Crucis septem Romanorum:* who that devoutly say them, they shall obtain ten hundred thousand years of pardon for deadly sins, granted of our holy father John 22nd, pope of Rome.

[11] [Folio 64 has been omitted in the printing of this volume.]

Folio 68.[12]

Who that devoutly beholdeth this arms of our Lord Jesu Cryste, shall obtain six thousand years of pardon of our holy father Saint Peter, the first pope of Rome, and of thirty other popes of the church of Rome, successors after him. And our holy father. pope Jhon the 22nd, hath granted unto all them, very contrite and truly confessed, that say these devout prayers following, in the commemoration of the bitter passion of our Lord Jesu Cryste, three thousand years of pardon for deadly sins, and other three thousand for venial sins, and say first a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*.

Folio 71.

Our holy father, pope Innocentius the Second, hath granted to all them that say this prayer devoutly, in the worship of the wound that our Lord had in his blessed side, when he was dead, hanging in the cross, four thousand days of pardon.

Folio 72.

This most devoutly prayer, said the holy father Saint Bernard, daily kneeling in the worship of the most holy name Jesus. And it is well to believe, that through the invocation of the most excellent name of Jesu, Saint Bernard obtained a singular ward of perpetual consolation of our Lord Jesu Criste. And these prayers written in a table that hanged at Rome in Saint Peter's church, nigh to the high altar there, as our holy father the pope evely is wont to say the office of the mass; and who that devoutly, with a contrite heart, daily say this orison, if he be that day in the state of eternal damnation, then this eternal pain shall be changed him in temporal pain of purgatory; then if he hath deserved the pain of purgatory, it shall be forgotten and forgiven, through the infinite mercy of God[13].

[12] [Folio 67 has been also printed folio 68.]

[13] [The misprints of the edition of 1526 have been preserved in this document. It is full of misprints, apparently owing to ignorance of English. The Paris edition of 1530 by the same printer, is also full of mistakes, but has corrected some of those in that of 1526.]

Number XXVII. [p. 67.]

Injunctions for a visitation of chantries[13].

To the parson, vicar, curate, chanter, priest, church-wardens, and two of the most honest persons of the parish of being no founders, patrons, donors, lessees, nor farmers of the promotions or corporations hereafter recited, nor of any part thereof, and to four of them at the least.

Ex MS. Dr. Johnstone, [C. i. p. 147.[15]]

First, Ye shall make diligent search and inquiry, immediately upon the receipt hereof, of the number; and how many chantries, hospitals, colleges, free chapels, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds and salaries, or wages of stipendiary priests, being perpetuities now charged, or that ought to be charged, or chargeable, to the payment of the first fruits and tenths, and of all colleges chargeable, and not chargeable to the said payment of tenths and first fruits, which be within your church and parish.

Also you shall enquire of the orders, ordinances, kinds, qualities, degrees, uses and abuses, or misuses, conditions, estates, and necessities, of and concerning all and every the said chantries, fraternities, guilds, stipends, or wages, and other the pre-

[13] [See the note on the next page.]

[14] [The volume from which this paper was corrected by the present editor is entitled, 'An historical account of the life of Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, containing the most remarkable transactions of that most noble earl, together with the public occurrences of state during his administration, he being lord president of the council and lord lieutenant of the north part of England; diligently collected from original letters, and the most approved historians who have recorded the memorials of that age by Nathaniel Johnston, M. D. 1674.'

It appears to be the last transcript for the press of another volume in the same collection, which is lettered X. 8, and contains a life of the same earl; this latter volume however contains what appears to be an original commission of Edward VI. about church goods, dated March 3, 7 regni: at the end of which there is a statement by the writer, that this and other documents had been communicated to Dr. Burnet for his History of the Reformation.

The editor was fortunate enough to discover the whole of the first work above alluded to, which exists in three separate folio volumes, lettered respectively C. 1, C. 2, and G. 1. They are full of copies made by Johnstone, and have a few original documents inserted by the writer. For an account of them see the editor's preface.]

mises; and by what names, sir-names, corporations, or titles,
153 they and every of them be taken or known; and to what intents, purposes, and deeds of charity they and every of them were founded, ordained, and made; and ye shall take into your hands, and also bring with you, at the day of your certificate, the foundations, and all other writings which you have or can attain, for the true declaration and proof of the same.

Also you shall enquire, how and what manner or sort the revenues and profits of the lands and possessions of all the aforesaid promotions, and every of them, be used, expended, employed, or bestowed.

Also how many of the said promotions be parish-churches.

Also how far space or distance the said chantries and chapels be, and stand from the parish-churches, of the parishes wherein they do stand.

Also ye shall enquire of all the houses, lands, tenements, rents, possessions and revenues, united, annexed, or appertaining to the aforesaid chantries, hospitals, guilds, and other promotions abovesaid, and to every of them, and of the yearly value thereof, and shall make a true and perfect rental or other book thereof.

And ye shall enquire of all the resolutes, deductions, and yearly payments or charges going forth of the premises, and of every part thereof, and shall certify the same in writing; that is to say, for every chantry, or other the aforesaid promotions severally by itself; and over this, to bring with you all such rentals of the same, and every of them, as ye have or may attain or come by.

Also ye shall enquire of all the lands, tenements, possessions, and hereditaments, which were or be united, annexed, or pertaining to the aforesaid promotions or corporations, or to any of them, which at any time since the fourth day of February, in the 27th year [15] of the king's majesty's reign, did appertain or belong to them, or any of them, and of the goods, jewels, and ornaments, lately pertaining or belonging to the same.

Also ye shall enquire how many of the aforesaid chantries, hospitals, guilds and other the aforesaid promotions and corporations, or what lands, tenements, or parcels thereof, sithence the 4th day of February, in the 27th year of the reign

[15] [This date plainly proves that these injunctions belong to the previous reign, and have therefore been misplaced by the author. It

of our aforesaid sovereign lord, been or have been dissolved, purchased, or by any other means or ways taken, entered unto, or obtained by any of the king's majesty's subjects, by their own authorities, without the king's license.

And ye shall enquire of the lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments thereof, and of the yearly value of the same, and of all the goods and ornaments of the same; and of the yearly resolutes, deductions, and payments going forth of the same; and shall make a true rental or book thereof, and shall certify the same particularly.

Also ye shall enquire of all the plate, jewels, ornaments, goods, and chattels, merely and truly pertaining or belonging to all the aforesaid promotions or corporations, and to every of them severally, and shall make one true inventory thereof, with the value of the same, and of every parcel thereof, that is to say, in true weight of all parcels of plate, chalices, and other; and the price or value of all other ornaments, goods, or chattels, and in whose hands or possession the same be or remain.

Also, finally, ye shall make ready and finish your certificate 154
in writing, before the of all and singular the premises, and of every article above said severally, and not in gross, or in one whole article, as ye will answer and be sworn to the same: and that you, and every of you, being resident or remaining within the said parish, shall sign and seal the same; and ye shall send the same your certificate sealed unto us, at such day and place as hereafter shall be assigned unto you, by one of the most honest of the aforesaid church-wardens, and by all the incumbents of the chantries, chapels, hospitals, guilds and promotions aforesaid, if there be but one incumbent in the

does not appear whether Dr. Johnstone communicated the whole of the volume to the author, or whether he shewed him only the original documents which were in his possession. It is most likely Burnet saw the whole volume, which seems to have been written out fairly for the press some years previously to the publication of this volume of the History of the Reformation. Johnstone inserted it also in the wrong place, but introduced it with the following preface. 'The next letter I am to *exhibit* relating to the purchasing of charity lands, and having found these following articles of inquiry about the estates, chantries, colleges, &c. although it seems to have been issued forth in king Henry the Eighth's time for the analogy of the subject, for that there is no certain date fixed, to supply the defect of other letters, I give it a place here. It is entitled, &c. as followeth.' Then follows a private direction: 'You must mark this 15 a B. &c.']

said promotions, or any of them; and if there be more incumbents than one in the said promotions, or any of them being of one foundation, that then one of the said incumbents, together with the said honest church-warden, and other incumbents, being but one of one foundation, as is aforesaid. Foreseeing always, that your proceedings and certificate of the premises, and every part thereof, be executed, ordered, and done, with all diligence, substantially and truly, that the same may so appear unto us at our repair to view and survey the premises, as ye will then have condign thanks for the same, and avoiding your extreme damage, which may ensue of the contrary.

Robert arch-bishop[16].
Sir Michael Stanhope.
Sir Leonarde Bekwithe.
Mr. Robert Hennege.
Mr. ——— Babthorp[17].
Mr. Wallay.
Mr. Norton.
Mr. Challoner.
Mr. Gargrave.
Mr. ——— auditor.

[16] [This was Robert Holgate, who was translated to York in January 1545. Consequently the date of this paper is fixed as 1545 or 1546.]

[17] [The Christian name is omitted in the document. The same person appears as a commissioner for the seizure of church goods, in the East Riding, and for the town of Hull, as sir William Babthorpe, in the sixth year of Edward's reign. See the Second Appendix to the second report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, pp. 308, 310.]

Number XXVIII. [p. 70.]

The protector's letter to Gardiner, concerning the points he was to handle in his sermon.

Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab. [CXXVII. p. 7.]

We commend us unto you; We sent to you yesterday our servant William Cycill, to signify unto you our pleasure and advice, that you should, in this your next sermon, forbear to intreat upon those principal questions, which remain amongst the number of learned men in this realm, as yet in controversy, concerning the sacrament of the altar, and the mass; as well for that your private argument or determination therein might offend the people, naturally expecting decisions of ligitious causes, and thereby discord and tumult arise; the occasions whereof we must necessarily prevent and take away; as also for that the questions and controversies rest at this present in consultation, and with the pleasure of God, shall be, in small time, by public doctrine and authority, quietly and truly determined. This message we send to you, not thinking but your own wisdom had considered so much in an apparent matter; or at the least, upon our remembrance, ye would understand it and follow it with good will, consulting thereby your own quiet in avoiding offence, as observing our pleasure in avoiding contention. Your answer hereunto, our said ser- 155
vant hath declared unto us in this manner. Ye can no wise forbear to speak of the sacrament, neither of the mass; this last being the chief foundation, as ye say, of our religion, and that without it we cannot know that Christ is our sacrifice; the other being so spoken of by many, that if you should not speak your mind thereof what ye think, you know what other men would think of you; in the end, concluding generally, that you will speak the truth, and that ye doubt not but that we shall be therewith content; adding also, as our said servant reporteth unto us, that you would not wish that we ourselves should meddle or have to do in these matters of religion, but that the care thereof were committed to you the bishops, unto

whom the blame, if any should be deserved, might well be imputed.

To this your answer, if so it be, we reply very shortly, signifying unto you our express pleasure and commandment, on our sovereign lord the king's majesty's behalf, charging you by the authority of the same, to abstain in your said sermon from treating of any matter in controversy concerning the said sacra- [p. 8.] ment and the mass, and only to bestow your speech in the expert explication of the articles prescribed unto you, and in other wholesome matters of obedience of the people, and good conversation and living; the same matters being both large enough for a long sermon, and not unnecessary for the time. And the treaty of other, which we forbid you, not meet in your private sermon to be had, but necessarily reserved for a public consultation, and at this present utterly to be forborn for the common quiet.

This our express pleasure, wherein we know how reasonably we may command you, and you (we think) know how willingly ye ought to obey us. For our intermeddling with these causes of religion, understand you, that we account it no small part of our charge, under the king's majesty, to bring his people from ignorance to knowledge, and from superstition to true religion, esteeming that the chief foundation to build obedience upon: and where there is a full consent of others, the bishops and learned men, in a truth, not to suffer you, or a few other, with wilful headiness to disorder all the rest. And although we presume not to determine articles of religion by ourself, yet from God we knowledge it, we be desirous to defend and advance the truth, determined or revealed, and so consequently we will not fail, but withstand the disturbers thereof. So fare you well.

From Sion the 28th of June, anno 1548.

Your loving friend,

E. Somerset[18].

[18] [There is a duplicate, pp. 11 and 12, in the same handwriting, signed by Somerset, and addressed 'To our loving lord the bishop of Winchester.']

Number XXIX. [p. 75.] 156

Some of the collects and hymns to the saints in the Hours ad usum Sarum, *printed at Paris, anno* 1526. *In which immediate adoration is offered to them, and those things are asked of them, which God only gives.*

Folio 4.

SANCTA Dei genetrix, quæ digne meruisti concipere, quem totus orbis nequivit comprehendere; tuo pio interventu, culpas nostras ablue, ut perennis sedem gloriæ, per te redempti, valeamus scandere, ubi manes cum Filio tuo sine tempore.

Folio 11.

S. Panthaleon. Sancte Panthaleon martyr Christi, militari ordine fuisti, quo preeminisți;—Demum heremiticam vitam acquisisti,—Tu vero ydropicum sanum reddidisti—Missus in equuleo ungues perdidisti—Costas cum lampadibus adustus fuisti—Collum subdens gladio pronus pertulisti—Fundens lac pro sanguine vitam sic finisti—Cunctas febres dilue a plebe tam tristi—Qui cœlestis, gloriæ regna meruisti.

Folio 12.

S. Tho. Cant. Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit—*Versicle:* Gloria et honore coronâsti eum Domine: *Resp.* Et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum.

Folio 12.

Of pope Nicolaus. Ut ejus meritis et precibus a gehennæ incendiis liberemur.

Folio 30.

And so in many other places. Sancta Maria succurre miseris, juva pusillanimes, refove flebiles, ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto femineo sexu.

Folio 33.

Virgo singularis, inter omnes mitis, nos culpis solutos, mites fac et castos: vitam præsta puram, iter para tutum, ut videntes Jesum, semper collætemur.

Folio 44.

A prayer to the Virgin, to the sayers of which, pope Celestine granted three hundred days of pardon; a part of which is,

Consolare peccatorem, et ne tuum des honorem, alieno aut crudeli; precor te regina cœli. Me habeto excusatum, apud Christum tuum natum, cujus iram expavesco, et furorem pertimesco, nam peccavi tibi soli. O Maria Virgo, noli esse michi aliena, gratiâ cœlesti plena; esto custos cordis mei, signa me timore Dei, confer vitæ sanitatem, et da morum honestatem: da peccata me vitare, et quod justum est amare. O dulcedo virginalis, nunquam fuit nec est talis, &c.

Folio 77.

Georgi martyr inclyte, te decet laus et gloria: prædotatum militia, per quem puella regia, existens in tristiciâ, coram dracone pessimo, salvata est, et animo te rogamus corde intimo, ut cum cunctis fidelibus cœli jungamur civibus, nostris abluti sordibus, ut simul cum læticiâ, tecum simus in gloriâ, nostraque reddant labia laudes Christo cum gloriâ. S. George.

Folio 77.

Martyr Christofore, pro salvatoris honore, fac nos mente fore, dignos Deitatis amore: promisso Christi, quia quod petis obtinuisti, da populo tristi, bona quæ moriendo petisti: confer solamen, et mentis tolle gravamen; Judicis examen, fac mite sit omnibus, Amen. S. Christoph.

Folio 78.

O Wilhelme pastor bone, cleri pater et patrone, munda nobis in agone, confer opem et depone vitæ sordes, et coronæ cœlesti da gaudia.

Folio 80.

O vos undena milia, puellæ gloriosæ, virginitatis lilia, martyriique rosæ, in vitâ me defendite, præbendo michi juvamen, in morte vos ostendite supernum ferendo solamen. 11000 virgins.

To St. Alban[20].

Te nunc petimus patrone, præco sedule, qui es nostra vera gloria, solve precum votis, servorum scelera.

[20] [From here to the end has been taken from some other copy.]

To St. Peter and St. Paul.

Beate Petre qui maxima reseras, claudis verbo cœli limina, sume pius vota fidelia, peccati cuncta dissolvendo vincula: Sacra Paule ingere dogmata, illustrans plebis pectora.

In die omnium sanctorum.

Mariam primam vox sonet nostra, per quam nobis vitæ sunt data præmia: regina quæ es mater, et casta, solve nostra per Filium peccamina: angelorum concio sacra, et arch-angelorum turma inclyta, nostra diluant jam peccata præstando supernam cœli gloriam [20].

[20] [The author's reference was to a Paris edition of 1520. This is probably a misprint for 1526, which appears to have been the edition used by the author for Number XXVI. of these Records. There were at least four different editions printed at Paris in 1520, two in 4to, two in 8vo. There were also two printed by Regnault at Paris in 1526, one in 4to, the other in 8vo. The latter of these corresponds in its foliation with the references given by Burnet in Number XXVI. It also corresponds with the references in this Number XXIX. as far as fol. 80, with the exception of part of the reference to fol. 12. The last ten lines, for which no reference is given, do not appear at all in this edition, but may be seen in the Salisbury Missal and elsewhere.]

Number XXX. [p. 93.[21]]

Dr. Redmayn's opinion concerning the marriage of the clergy. An original.

I THINK that although[22] the word of God do exhort and counsel priests to live in chastity, out of the cumber of the flesh and of[23] the world, that thereby they may more[24] wholly attend to their calling; yet the bond[25] of containing from marriage doth only lie upon priests in this realm, by reason of canons and constitutions of the church, and not by any precept of God's word, as in that they should be bound by reason of any vow: which (in as far as my conscience is) priests in this church of England do not make. Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab. [CXIII. p. 174.]

I think that it standeth well with God's word, that a man which hath been, or[26] is but once married, being otherwise accordingly qualified, may be made a priest.

And I think, that forasmuch as canons and rules made in this behalf be neither universal nor everlasting, but upon considerations may be altered and changed; therefore the king's
158 majesty, and the higher powers of the church, may, upon such reasons[27] as shall move them, take away the clog of perpetual containing[28] from priests, and grant that it may be lawful to such as cannot, or will not contain, to marry one wife; and if she die[29], then the said priest to marry no more, remaining still in his ministration.

John Redmayn.

[21] [This document has also been printed, with a wrong reference to Cranmer's Register, fol. 12, by Wilkins, Conc. iv. 16. The variations are noted at the foot of the page.]

[22] *though* [23] *of* om. [24] *the more* [25] *band* [26] *and* [27] *reason* [28] *continency* [29] *dies.*

Number XXXI. [p. 98.]

Articles of high treason, and other misdemeanours against the king's majesty, and his crown, objected to sir Thomas Seymour, knight, lord Seymour of Sudley, and high admiral of England.

Ex libro concilii. fol. 236. [p 473.]

1. WHEREAS the duke of Somerset was made governor of the king's majesty's person, and protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects; to the which you your self did agree, and gave your consent in writing; it is objected and laid unto your charge, That this notwithstanding you have attempted and gone about, by indirect means, to undo this order, and to get into your hands the government of the king's majesty, to the great danger of his highness' person, and the subversion of the state of the realm.

[p. 474.]

2. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That by corrupting with gifts, and fair promises, divers of the privy-chamber, you went about to allure his highness to condescend and agree to the same your most heinous and perilous purposes, to the great danger of his highness' person, and of the subversion of the state of the realm.

3. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you wrote a letter with your own hand; which letter the king's majesty should have subscribed, or written again after that copy, to the parliament house; and that you delivered the same to his highness for that intent: with the which so written by his highness, or subscribed, you had determined to have come into the common-house your self; and there, with your fautors and adherents before prepared, to have made a broil, or tumult, and uproar, to the great danger of the king's majesty's person, and subversion of the state of this realm.

4. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you yourself spake to divers of the council, and laboured divers of the nobility of the realm, to stick and adhere unto you for the alteration of the state, and order of the realm, and to attain your other purposes, to the danger of the king's

majesty's person, now in his tender years, and subversion of the state of the realm.

5. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you did say openly and plainly, you would make the blackest parliament that ever was in England.

6. It is objected, and laid to your charge, That being sent for [p. 475.] by the authority, to answer to such things as were thought to be reformed in you, you refused to come; to a very evil example of disobedience, and danger thereby of the subversion of the state of the realm.

159 7. It is objected, and laid to your charge, That sith the last sessions of this parliament, notwithstanding much clemency shewed unto you, you have still continued in your former mischievous purposes; and continually, by your self and other, studied and laboured to put into the king's majesty's head and mind, a misliking of the government of the realm, and of the lord protector's doings, to the danger of his person, and great peril of the realm.

8. It is objected, and laid to your charge, That the king's majesty being of these tender years, and as yet by age unable to direct his own things, you have gone about to instil into his grace's head, and as much as lieth in you, persuaded him to take upon himself the government and managing of his own affairs, to the danger of his highness' person, and great peril of the whole realm.

9. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you had fully intended and appointed, to have taken the king's majesty's person into your own hands and custody, to the danger of his highness, and peril of the realm.

10. It is objected, and laid to your charge, That you have [p. 476.] corrupted, with money, certain of the privy-chamber, to persuade the king's majesty to have a credit towards you; and so to insinuate you to his grace, that when he lacked any thing, he should have it of you and none other body, to the intent he should mislike his ordering, and that you might the better, when you saw time, use the king's highness for an instrument to his purpose, to the danger of his royal person, and subversion of the state of the realm.

11. It is objected and laid unto your charge, That you pro-

mised the marriage of the king's majesty at your will and pleasure.

12. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you have laboured, and gone about to combine and confederate your self with some persons: and specially moved those noblemen, whom you thought not to be contented, to depart into their countries, and make themselves strong; and otherwise to allure them to serve your purpose by gentle promises and offers, to have a part and faction in a readiness to all your purposes, to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state of the realm.

13. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you have parted, as it were, in your imagination and intent the realm, to set noblemen to countervail such other noblemen as you thought would let your devilish purposes, and so laboured and travailed to be strong to all your devices; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril of the state of the realm.

[p. 477.] 14. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you had advised certain men to entertain and win the favour and good-wills of the head yeomen and ringleaders of certain countries, to the intent that they might bring the multitude and commons, when you should think meet, to the furtherance of your purposes.

15. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you have not only studied and imagined how to have the rule of a number of men in your hands, but that you have attempted to get, and also gotten, divers stewardships of noblemen's lands, and the manreds, to make your party stronger, for your purposes aforesaid; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril of the state of the realm.

16. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you have 160
retained young gentlemen, and hired yeomen, to a great multitude, and far above such number as is permitted by the laws and statutes of the realm, or were otherwise necessary or convenient for your service, place, or estate, to the fortifying of yourself towards all your evil intents and purposes; to the great danger of the king's majesty, and peril of the state of the realm.

17. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you had so travailed in that matter, that you had made yourself able to make, of your own men, out of your lands, and rules, and other your adherents, ten thousand men, beside your friends, to the advancement of all your intents and purposes; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and the great peril of the state of the realm.

18. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you had [p. 478.] conferred, cast, and weighed how much money would find the said ten thousand men for a month; and that you knew how and where to have the same sum; and that you had given warning to have and prepare the said mass of money in a readiness; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril to the state of the realm.

19. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you have not only, before you married the queen, attempted and gone about to marry the king's majesty's sister, the lady Elizabeth, second inheritor, in remainder to the crown, but also being then let by the lord protector, and others of the council, sithence that time, both in the life of the queen, continued your old labour and love; and after her death, by secret and crafty means, practised to atchieve your said purpose of marrying the said lady Elizabeth; to the danger of the king's majesty's person and peril of the state of the realm.

20. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you married the late queen so soon after the late king's death, that if she had conceived straight after, it should have been a great doubt whether the child born, should have been accounted the late king's or yours; whereupon a marvellous danger and peril might, and was like to have ensued to the king's majesty's succession, and quiet of the realm.

21. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you first [p. 479.] married the queen privily, and did dissemble and keep close the same, insomuch that a good space after you had married her, you made labour to the king's majesty, and obtained a letter of his majesty's hand, to move and require the said queen to marry with you; and likewise

procured the lord protector to speak to the queen to bear you her favour towards marriage; by the which colouring, not only your evil and dissembling nature may be known but also it is to be feared, that at this present you did intend to use the same practice in the marriage of the lady Elizabeth's grace.

22. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you not only, so much as lay in you, did stop and let all such things as, either by parliament or otherwise, should tend to the advancement of the king's majesty's affairs, but did withdraw yourself from the king's majesty's service; and being moved and spoken unto, for your own honour, and for the ability that was in you, to serve and aid the king's majesty's affairs, and the lord protector's, you would always draw back, and feign excuses, and declare 161
plain that you would not do it.

Wherefore upon the discourse of all these foresaid things, and of divers others, it must needs be intended, that all these preparations of men and money, the attempts and secret practices of the said marriage; the abusing and persuading of the king's majesty, to mislike the government, state, and order of the realm that now is,
[p. 480.] and to take the government into his own hands; and to credit you, was to none other end and purpose, but after a title gotten to the crown, and your party made strong both by sea and land, with furniture of men and money sufficient, to have aspired to the dignity royal, by some heinous enterprise against the king's majesty's person; to the subversion of the whole state of the realm.

23. It is also objected, and laid unto your charge, That you not only had gotten into your hands the strong and dangerous isles of Sylly, bought of divers men; but that so much as lay in your power, you travailed also to have Londay; and under pretence to have victualled the ships therewith, not only went about, but also moved the lord protector, and whole council, that you might, by public authority, have that, which by private fraud and falshood, and confederating with Sharington, you had gotten, that is, the mint at Bristowe, to be yours wholly, and only to serve your purposes, casting, as may appear, that if these

traitorous purposes had no good success, yet you might thither convey a good mass of money; where being aided with ships, and conspiring at all evil events with pirates, you might at all times have a sure and saufe refuge, if any thing for your demerits should have been attempted against you.

24. It is also objected, and laid unto your charge, That having knowledge that sir William Sharington, knight, had committed treason, and otherwise wonderfully defrauded and deceived the king's majesty, nevertheless you both by yourself, and by seeking council for him, and by all means you could, did aid, assist, and bear him, contrary to your allegiance and duty to the king's majesty, and the good laws and orders of the realm.

25. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That where you [p. 481.] ought unto sir William Sharington, knight, a great sum of money, yet to abet, bear, and cloak the great falshood of the said Sharington, and to defraud the king's majesty, you were not afraid to say and affirm, before the lord protector and the council, that the same Sharington did owe unto you a great sum of money, viz. 2800*l.* and to conspire with him in that falshood, and to take a bill of that feigned debt into your custody.

26. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you by yourself and ministers, have not only extorted and bribed great sums of money of all such ships as should go into Irland, but also as should go any other where in merchandise, contrary to the liberty of this realm, and to the great discouragement and destruction of the navy of the same: to the great danger of the king's majesty, and the state of the realm.

27. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That where divers merchants, as well strangers as Englishmen, have had
162 their goods piratously robbed and taken, you have had their goods in your hands and custody, daily seen in your house, and distributed among your servants and friends, without any restitution to the parties so injured and spoiled; so that thereby foreign princes have in manner been weary of the king's majesty's amity, and by their

ambassadors divers times complained; to the great slander of the king's majesty, and danger of the state of the realm.

[p. 481.] 28. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That where certain men have taken certain pirates, you have not only taken from the takers of the said pirates all the goods and ships so taken, without any reward, but have cast the said takers, for their good service done to the king's majesty, into prison; and there detained them a great time, some eight weeks, some more, some less, to the discouraging of such as truly should serve the king's majesty against his pirates and enemies.

29. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That divers of the head pirates being brought unto you, you have let the same pirates go again free unto the seas; and taking away from the takers of them, not only all their commodity and profit, but from the true owners of the ships and goods, all such as ever came into the pirates' hands, as though you were authorised to be the chief pirate, and to have had all the advantage they could bring unto you.

30. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That where order hath been taken, by the lord protector and the whole council, that certain goods, piratically taken upon the seas, and otherwise known not to be wreck nor forfeited, should be restored to the true owners, and letters thereupon written by the lord protector and the council; to the which letters, you yourself, among the other, did set unto your hand; yet you, this notwithstanding, have given commandment to your officers, that no such letters should be obeyed; and written your private letters to the contrary, commanding the said goods not to be restored, but kept to your own use and profit, contrary to your own hand before in the council-chamber written, and contrary to your duty and allegiance, and to the perilous example of others, and great slander and danger of the realm.

31. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That where certain strangers, which were friends and allies to the king's majesty, had their ships, with wind and weather broken, and yet came unwrecked to the shore; when the lord

protector and the council had written for the restitution of the said goods, and to the country to aid and save so much of the goods as might, you yourself subscribing and consenting thereto; yet this notwithstanding, you have not only given contrary commandment to your officers, but as a pirate have written letters to some of your friends to help, that as much of those goods as they could, should be conveyed away secretly by night further off, upon hope that if the same goods were assured, the owners would make no further labour for them, and then you might have enjoyed them; contrary to justice and your honour, and to the great slander of this realm.

32. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, That you have not only disclosed the king's majesty's secret counsel, but
163 also where you yourself, amongst the rest, have consented and agreed to certain things for the advancement of the king's affairs, you have spoken and laboured against the same.

33. It is further objected, and laid unto your charge, That your deputy steward, and other your ministers of the Holte, in the county of Denbigh, have now, against Christmas-last past, at the said Holte, made such provision of wheat, malt, beef, and other such things as be necessary for the sustenance of a great number of men; [p. 484.] making also, by all the means possible, a great mass of money; insomuch that all the country doth greatly marvel at it, and the more, because your servants have spread rumours abroad, that the king's majesty was dead; whereupon the country is in a great maze, doubt, and expectation, looking for some broil, and would have been more, if at this present, by your apprehension, it had not been stayed[30].

[30] [The confession of sir William Sharington of the charges mentioned in Articles 23–25, has been printed by Strype from a MS. in his own possession in the Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 81. It is dated Feb. 2, 1548, from the Tower, and is attested by F. Shrewsbury, T. Southampton, and T. Smith.]

The lord admiral's answer to three of the former articles.

[p. 489.] To the first, he saith, That about Easter-tide was twelve-months, he said to Fowler, as he supposeth it was, that if he might have the king in his custody as Mr. Page had, he would be glad; and that he thought a man might bring him through the gallery to his chamber, and so to his house: but this he said he spoke merrily, meaning no hurt.

And that in the mean time after he heard, and upon that sought out certain precedents, that there was in England at one time, one protector, and another regent of Fraunce, and the duke of Exeter, and the bishop of Winchester, governors of the king's person; upon that he had thought to have made suit to the parliament-house for that purpose, and he had the names of all the lords, and totted them whom he thought he might have to his purpose to labour them. But afterward communing with Mr. Comptroller at Ely-place, being put in remembrance by him of his assenting and agreeing with his own hand, that the lord protector should be governor of the king's person, he was ashamed of his doings, and left off that suit and labour.

[p. 490.] To the second he saith, He gave money to two or three of them which were about the king. To Mr. Cheke he saith, he gave at Christmas tide was twelve months, when the queen was at Endefild, 40*l.*, whereof to himself 20*l.*; the other for the king, to bestow where it pleased his grace amongst his servants. Mr. Cheke was very loth to take it, howbeit he would needs press upon him; and to him he gave no more, at no time, as he remembereth, sith the king's majesty was crowned.

To the grooms of the chamber he hath at new-years-tides given money, he doth not well remember what.

To Fowler, he saith, he gave money for the king, sith the beginning of this parliament now last at London, 20*l.*

And divers times, he saith, the king hath sent to him for money, and he hath sent it. And what time Mr. Latymer preached afore the king, the king sent to him to know what he should give Mr. Latymer, and he sent to him by Fowler 40*l.*, with this word, that 20*l.* was a good reward for Mr. Latymer, and the other he might bestow amongst his servants; 164

Whether he hath given Fowler any money for himself he doth not remember.

To the third, he saith, It is true, he drew such a bill indeed p. 491.
himself, and proffered it to the king, or else to Mr. Cheke, he cannot well tell; and before that, he saith, he caused the king to be moved by Mr. Fowler, whether he could be contented that he should have the governance of him as Mr. Stannope had. He knoweth not what answer he had; but upon that he drew the said bill to that effect, that his majesty was content, but what answer he had to the bill he cannot tell. Mr. Cheke can tell.

Number XXXII. [p. 100.]

The warrant for the admiral's execution.

17° *Martii.*

Ex Libro Concilii, fol. 247. [p. 495.]

THIS day, the 17th of March, the lord chancellor, and the rest of the king's council, meeting in his highness' palace of Westminster, heard the report of the bishop of Elye, who by the said lords, and others of the council, was sent to instruct and comfort the lord admiral; after the hearing whereof, consulting and deliberating with themselves of the time most convenient for the execution of the said lord admiral, now attainted and condemned by the parliament, they did condescend and agree, that the said lord admiral should be executed the Wednesday next following, betwixt the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon the same day, upon the Tower-Hill. His body and head to be buried within the Tower. The king's writ (as in such cases heretofore hath been accustomed) being first directed and sent forth for that purpose and effect. Whereupon calling to the council-chamber the bishop of Elye, they willed him to declare this their determination to the said lord admiral; and to instruct and teach him the best he could, to the quiet and patient suffering of justice, and to prepare himself to Almighty God.

E. Somerset.

T. Cant. R. Ryche, Canc.

W. Seint John.

J. Russell. J. Warwyk.

F. Shrewesbury. Thomas Southampton.

Willm Paget. Antony Wyngfeld. Willm Petre, Sr.

A. Denny. Edward North. R. Sadleyr.

Number XXXIII. [p. 102.]

Articles to be followed and observed, according to the king's majesty's injunctions and proceedings.

1. THAT all parsons, vicars and curates, omit in the reading of the injunctions, all such as make mention of the popish mass, of chantries, of candles upon the altar, or any other such-like thing. Ex MSS. Dr. Johnstone.

2. *Item.* For an uniformity, that no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, as to kiss the lord's table; washing his fingers at every time in the communion; blessing his eyes with the paten or sudary, or crossing his head with the paten, shifting of the book from one place to another, laying down and licking the chalice of the communion; holding up his fingers, hands or thumbs, joined towards his temples, breathing upon the bread or chalice, shewing the sacrament openly before the distribution of the communion; ringing or sacrying bells, or setting any light upon the lord's board at any time: and finally, to use no other ceremonies than are appointed in the king's Book of Common Prayers, or kneeling otherwise than is in the said book.

3. *Item.* That none buy or sell the holy communion, as in trentals and such other.

4. *Item.* That none be suffered to pray upon beads, and so the people to be diligently admonished; and such as will not be admonished, to put from the holy communion.

5. *Item.* That after the homily, every Sunday, the minister exhort the people, especially the communicants, to remember the poor men's box with their charity.

6. *Item.* To receive no corpse but at the church-yard, without bell or cross.

7. *Item,* That the common-prayer, upon Wednesdays and Fridays, be diligently kept, according to the king's ordinances, exhorting such as may conveniently come, to be there.

8. *Item.* That the curates, every sixth week at the least, teach and declare diligently the Catechism, according to the book of the same.

9. *Item.* That no man maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bedrolls, images, reliques, lights, holy

bells, holy beads, holy water, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchres paschal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of the font of the popish manner, oil, chrisme, altars, beads, or any other such abuses and superstitions, contrary to the king's majesty's proceedings.

10. *Item.* That within any church or chapel, be not used any more than one communion upon any day, except Christmas-day and Easter-day.

11. *Item.* That none keep the abrogate holy-days, other than those that have their proper and peculiar service.

12. *Item.* That the church-wardens suffer no buying nor 166
selling, gaming or unfitting demeanour, in church, or church-yards, especially during the common-prayer, the sermon, and reading of the homily.

13. *Item.* That going to the sick with the sacrament, the minister have not with him either light or bells.

Number XXXIV. [p. 105.]

A paper[9] *written by Luther to Bucer, concerning a reconciliation with the Zuinglians. An original.*

[Ex MSS. Col. C. C. Cantab. cii. 14. p. 271.]

Primo, Ut nullo modo concedamus de nobis dici, quod neutri neutros antea intellexerint: nam isto pharmaco non medebimur tanto vulneri: cum nec ipsi credamus utrumque verum hoc esse, et alii putabunt a nobis hoc fingi; et ita magis suspectam reddemus causam, vel potius per totum dubiam faciemus cum sit communis omnium. Et in tantis animorum turbis et scrupulis non expedit hoc nomine addere offendiculum.

Secundo, Cum hactenus dissenserimus, quod illi signum, nos corpus Christi asseruerimus plane contrarii in sacramento. Nihil minus mihi videtur utile, quam ut mediam, et novam statuamus sententiam, qua et illi concedant adesse vere, et nos concedamus panem solum manducari. Ut enim conscientiam taceam considerandum est certe, quantam hic fenestram aperiemus in re omnibus communi cogitandi; et orientur hic fontes quæstionum et opinionum[10]. Ut tutius multo sit illoss impliciter manere in suo signo, cum nec ipsi suam, nec nos nostram partem, multo minus utrique totum orbem pertrahemus in eam sententiam; sed potius irritabimus ad varias cogitationes. Ideo vellem potius ut sopitum maneret dissidium in duabus istis sententiis, quam ut occasio daretur infinitis quæstionibus ad epicurismum profuturis.

Istis salvis, nihil est quod a me peti possit: nam et ego hoc dissidium vellem (testis est mihi Christus meus) redemptum non uno corpore et sanguine meo. Sed quid faciam? Ipsi forte conscientiâ bonâ capti sunt in alteram sententiam. Feramus igitur eos: si synceri sunt, liberabit eos Christus Dominus. Ego contra captus sum bonâ certe conscientiâ, nisi ipse mihi sum ignotus, in meam sententiam: ferant et me, si non possunt mihi accedere.

[9] [This paper has been left here as it was originally placed. It contained twenty mistakes of copying, besides the mistake of calling it a letter to Bucer instead of Melancthon. The document is given at length in the third Part. Records, Book IV. Number 1.]

[10] [The author here printed *orientium hinc fontes quæstionum et opinionum*, and adds a marginal note.] Here a word is wanting, it is like it should be *occludendi*.

Number XXXV. [p. 111.] 167

The sentence against Joan of Kent, with the certificate made upon it.

[*Sententia contra Joannam Bocher alias Joannam de Kente.*]

Regist. Cran. fol. [74 b.]

IN DEI NOMINE, AMEN. Nos Thomas, permissione divinâ Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, tocius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, Thomas Smyth Miles, Willielmus Cooke decanus de archubus, Hugo Latymer sacræ theologiæ professor, et Ricardus Lyell legum doctor, illustrissimi, invictissimi in Christo principis et Domini nostri, domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris et in terrâ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ Supremi capitis, cognitores inquisitores Judices et Commissarii per literas suas regias patentes, gerentes dat. duodecimo die mensis Aprilis, anno regni sui felicissimi tertio, sufficienter et legitime deputati in quodam hæreticæ pravitatis negocio contra te Joannam Bocher, alias nuncupatam Joannam de Kente, coram nobis in judicio personali comparentem et nobis super hæreticâ pravitate, juxta et secundum commissionem dicti domini nostri regis detectam et delatam, ac in eâ parte apud bonos et graves notorie et publice diffamatam, rite et legitime procedentes, auditis, visis, intellectis, cognitis, rimatis, et maturâ deliberatione discussis et ponderatis dicti negocii meritis et circumstanciis, servatisque in omnibus et per omnia in eodem negocio de jure servandis ac quomodolibet requisitis: judicialiter et pro tribunali sedentes, Christi nomine invocato ac ipsum solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes; [fol. 75.] quia per acta inactitata, deducta, probata, confessata, ac per te sæpius coram nobis in eodem negocio recognita, comperimus et clare invenimus te, tum per confessiones, tum per recogniciones tuas coram nobis judicialiter factas, nephandum et intollerabilem errorem, hæresin dampnatam et scandalosam opinionem subscriptam, juri divino et catholicæ fidei obviantem, contrariam et repugnantem; viz. *That you believe, that the Word was made flesh in the Virgin's belly; but that Christ took flesh of the Virgin, you believe not; because the flesh of the Virgin, being the outward man, was sinfully gotten and born in sin; but the Word, by the consent of the inward man*

of the Virgin, was made flesh; Quam quidem errorem, hæresin dampnatam et scandalosam opinionem, juri divino et fidei catholicæ obviantem, contrariam et repugnantem, coram nobis tam in judicio quam extra, animo obstinato pertinaci et indurato arroganter pertinaciter et obstinate etiam non sine fastu asseruisti, tenuisti, affirmâsti, et dixisti, atque sic credere, tenere, affirmare, et dicere velle, paribus obstinaciâ pertinaciâ maliciâ quoque et mirâ cordi cæcitate etiam affirmâsti:

Idcirco nos Thomas archiepiscopus primas et metropolitanus ac commissarius regius antedictus tam de aliorum collegarum meorum nobis in hâc parte assidentium et assistentium, consensu et assensu expressis quam etiam de et cum consilio et judicio jurisperitorum, et sacrarum literarum professorum cum quibus communicavimus in hâc parte te Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kente prædictam de meritis, culpis, obstinaciis et contumaciis, per tuam nephandam et damnabilem pertinaciam multipliciter contractis incursis et aggravatis de et super hujusmodi detestabili et horrendo hæreticæ pravitatis reatu confessam, ad ecclesiæ unitatem redire nolentem, hæreticâque opinione credentem, præmissorum prætextu fuisse et esse, cum animi dolore et cordis amaritudine judicamus, teque ex nunc tanquam pertinacem et obstinatam hæreticam, judicio sive curiæ seculari ad omnem juris effectum, qui exinde sequi debeat, aut poterit, relinquendam fore decernimus et declaramus, et sic per præsentes de facto relinquimus; teque Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kent, memoratam uti præfertur hæreticam, pertinacem, et obstinatam in majoris excommunicationis sententiam occasione præmissorum incidisse et incurrisse, necnon excommunicatam fuisse et esse, etiam sententialiter et diffinitive pronunciamus et declaramus, per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, quam ferimus et promulgamus in hiis scriptis.

Lecta fuit hujusmodi suprascripta sententia per prænominatum Reverendum in Christo patrem Thomam Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum die Martis, viz. ultimo die Mensis Aprilis, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo nono, regnique domini, domini nostri regis Edwardi sexti anno tertio, in capellâ beatæ Mariæ infra ecclesiam cathedralem Divi Pauli London. assidentibus dicto reverendissimo patre Thomâ Smyth milite, Willielmo Cooke decano de Archubus, Hugone Latymer sacræ theologiæ professore et Richardo Lyell legum doctore, commis-

sariis regiis huic sententiæ consentientibus, præsentibus tunc et ibidem ac præmissa videntibus et audientibus venerabilibus viris Willielmo Locke et Johanne Cliffe militibus, et vicecomitibus Londoniæ Clemente Smyth, Edwardo Hastings militibus, Thomâ Huse armigero, Thomâ Argall generoso, Willielmo Walker et Johanne Gregory notariis publicis.

Certificatorium factum domino regi contra Joannam Bocher, 168
alias dictam Joannam de Kent, pro brachio seculari.

ILLUSTRISSIMO ET INVICTISSIMO in Christo principi et domino nostro, domino Edwardo Sexto, Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regi, fidei defensori, et in terrâ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremo capiti, Thomas permissione divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, tocius Angliæ primas et Metropolitanus, Thomas Smyth Miles, Willielmus Cooke, Decanus de Archubus, Hugo Latimer sacræ theologiæ professor, et Ricardus Lyell legum doctor, vestræ celsitudinis cognitores, inquisitores, judices et commissarii per literas vestras regias patentes, gerentes dat. 12° die Aprilis, anno regni vestri felicissimi tertio, sufficienter et legitime deputati, honorem et perpetuam felicitatem in eo, per quem reges regnant et principes dominantur.

Vestræ regiæ celsitudini, tenore præsentium significamus, quod nos contra et adversus quandam, Joannam Bocher, alias dictam Joannam de Kente, subditam vestram de et super nephando crimine hæreseos ac detestandâ anabaptistarum sectâ apud bonos et graves enormiter diffamatam, et super reatu earundem nobis detectam, delatam et denunciatam, rite et legitime juxta literarum vestrarum regiarum commissionalium exigentiam, et tenorem procedentes, eandem Joannem, per nos examinatam, comperimus et invenimus errores, hæreses, damnatas et scandalosas opiniones catholicæ Christi fidei obviantes, contrarias et repugnantes, non modo medio juramento suo corporali coram nobis præstito confessam fuisse, affirmâsse, defendisse et eisdem firmiter credidisse, verum etiam easdem sceleratas opiniones, errores, hæreses et damnatas opiniones pertinaciter animo indurato sæpenumero manutenuisse, defendisse et in eisdem permansisse, et ab eisdem nullo modo recipisisse, nec recipiscere curâsse; sed ad sanctæ matris ecclesiæ gremium redire penitus neglexisse: ideo, cum animi amaritudine et cordis dolore, ean-

dem Joannam, sæpius monitam et per nos ad ecclesiæ unitatem redire hortatam, salutaribus nostris monitis parere omnino spernentem, de et cum consensu collegarum nostrorum, tanquam ovem morbidam a grege Domini (ne alios viros subditos suâ contagione inficiat) ejiciendam et eliminandam fore decrevimus, ipsamque Joannam occasione iniquitatis suæ inveteratæ hujusmodi, hæreticam ac hæreticis opinionibus credentem, mediante nostrâ sententiâ diffinitivâ, pronunciavimus et decrevimus. Cum igitur sancta mater ecclesia non habeat, quod ulterius facere et exequi debeat in hâc parte, vestræ regiæ sublimitati et brachio vestro seculari dictam hæreticam et relapsam relinquimus, condignâ animadversione plectendam. In cujus rei testimonium, nos Thomas archiepiscopus, primas, Metropolitanus ac commissarius vester humilimus supradictus, de consensu collegarum nostrorum, hic se subscribentium, sigillum nostrum archiepiscopale præsentibus apponi fecimus. Datum ultimo die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo nono, et regni vestri felicissimi anno tertio.

169 *Folio* 78. After this followeth the process[11], and sentence of condemnation of one George van Parre, a Dutch-man, for obstinately maintaining the like opinions; together with a petition imploring the execution thereof, and the assistance of the secular power, conform to the tenor of that above-written, bearing date the 7th of April, anno Dom. 1551.

The judges and commissioners of this process, were Thomas arch-bishop of Canterbury, Nicholas bishop of London, William May, Griffin Leyson, John Oliver, Miles Coverdale, Richard Lyell, John Gosnold, and Christopher Nevison.

His heresy that he believeth is, That *God the Father is only God: and that Christ is not very God, is non-heresie.* And being asked, by an interpreter, Whether he would abjure the said opinion? He answered, *No.*

[11] [This is headed *Processus condempnacionis Georgii Van Parris, Teuthonici.* The form is the same throughout, but ends with the addition of the date from the consecration of the archbishop, as follows —*regnique vestri felicissimi quinto et nostræ consecrationis undevicesimo.* The whole process together with others of the same kind ranging over four years from 1548 to 1551, has been printed from Cranmer's Register in Wilkins, Conc. IV. pp. 39—45.]

Number XXXVI[12]. [p. 120.]

A letter from the protector to sir Philip Hobby, concerning the rebellions at home.

Cotton lib. Galba, B. xii. [fol. 114 b.]

KNOWING that all such as be ambassadors abroad, are not only desirous of news, for the love they bear to their own country naturally, desiring often to hear of the estate of it, but also to confirm or confute such rumors as be spread in the parts where they lie, we have thought good to impart what sith our last letters hath chanced.

The Devonshire men are well chastised and appeased; three other of their captains have voluntarily come in, and simply submitted themselves to sir Thomas Pomery, knight, Wise and Harrys, who before were fled, and could not be found: and the country cometh in daily to my lord privy-seal, by hundreds and thousands, to crave their pardon, and be put in some sure hope of grace. Burry, and some one or two more of their blind guides, that escaped from the sword, have attempted, in the mean season, to stir up Somersetshire, and have gotten them a band or camp; but they are sent after, and we trust by this, they have as they deserve. The earl of Warwicke lieth near to the rebels in Norfolke, which faint now, and would have grace gladly, so that all might be pardoned, Keate, and the other arch-traitors in the number. Upon that is a stay, and they daily shrink so fast away, that there is great hope that they will leave their captains destitute and alone, to receive their worthy reward; the which is the thing we most desire, to spare, as much as may be, the effusion of blood, and that namely of our own nation. In Yorkeshire a commotion was attempted the week last past; but the gentle-

[12] [This paper has been very incorrectly printed, and with the omission of the last paragraph, by Strype in the Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 105. Another letter from the same to the same on the same subject, bearing date Sept. 1, 1549, has been printed by him from the same volume in the Cotton Library.]

men were so soon upon them, and so forwardly, that it was straight suppressed; and with weeping eyes, the rest upon [fol. 115.] their knees, they wholly together desired the gentlemen to obtain their pardons; the which the king's majesty hath so granted unto them, as may stand with his highness' honour: so that for the inner parts (thanks be to the Almighty God) the case standeth in good points. The causes and pretences of these uproars and risings, are divers and uncertain, and so full of variety almost in every camp (as they call them), that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know, is like to be of people without head and rule, and that would have that they wot not what: some crieth, Pluck down inclosures and parks, some for their commons; others pretendeth religion; a number would rule another while, and direct things as gentlemen have done; and indeed all hath conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and taketh them all as their enemies. The ruffians among them, and the soldiers, cases[13] which be the chief doers, look for spoil. So that it seemeth no other thing but a plague and a fury among the vilest and worst sort of men: for except only Devon and Cornewalle, and they not past two or three, in all other places not one gentleman, or man of reputation was ever amongst them, but against their wills, and as prisoners. In Norfolk, gentlemen, and all serving-men, for their sakes, are as well handled as may be; but this broil is well assuaged, and in manner at a point shortly to be fully ended, with the grace of God.

On the other part of the seas, we have not so good news, for the French king taking now his time, and occasions of this rebellion within the realm, is come unto Bullyngnois, with a great number of horsemen and footmen, himself in person: and, as we are advertised, by letters of the 24th of this present, from Ambletewe or Newehavene, the Almain camp, or Almayne hill, a piece appertaining to the said Ambletewe, was that day delivered to the French, by traitorous consent of the captain of the camp; their variance falling, or feigned, between the captain and the soldiers, so that they are now besieged

[13] [This word was omitted by the author. It is here printed as it stands in the MS. Strype altered it into *cashiered*, (Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 105.) There appears to be some mistake.]

very near, and in manner round. Howbeit they write, that they trust the piece it self of Newehavone will be well enough defended, God assisting them, who be in as good and stout a courage as any men may be, and as desirous to win honour, and give a good account of their charge. Thus we bid you right heartily farewell.

[The duke of Somerset to the ambassador sir Phillipe Hobby, resident with the emperor, the] 24 August, 1549.

Number XXXVII. [p. 128.]

A letter of Bonner's after he was deprived. An original.

The first part of this letter, is the recommending the bearer, that they might find a good marriage for him.

——The pears were so well accepted in every place, where I had so many thanks for my distribution, that I intended, by God's grace, to send down to you your frail again, to have an eching, either of more pears, or else of puddings, &c. ye do know what, &c. doth mean, by that Italian proverb, *Dio me guarda da furia di villani, da conscientia di preti, da chi odi due messe nel giorno, da quasibuglie di medici da &c. di notarii, da chi jura per la conscientia mia.* I do not write to sir John Burne, nor to my lady, for any thing, their conscience is not overlarge; and the like is in Mr. Hornvale, and also my old acquaintance John Badger. But if amongst you I have no puddings, then must I say, as Messer, our priest of the hospital, said to his mad horse, in our last journey to Hostia, *Al diavolo, al diavolo, ai tutti diavoli.* Our Lord preserve you, and all yours, with desire to be recommended to all.

Festo Omnium Sanctorum, in the marshalsea.

Your loving and assured old acquaintance,
Edmund Bonner[14].

To my dear beloved friend,
the worshipful Richard Lechmere.

[14] [The original of this paper the editor has been unable to find. Bonner's letters to Richard Lechmere are not now in the possession of the representative of the family.]

Number XXXVIII. [p. 131.] 171

Letters and Instructions touching proceedings with the Emperor. } 1549

To sir William Pagett, knight of the Order, comptroller of the king's majesty's household, sent to the Emperor[15].

Cotton lib. Galba, B. [xii. fol. 90.]

FIRST, He shall communicate his instructions, and the cause of his coming with sir Philippe Hobey ambassador, resident with the emperor, and accompanied with him at his excess to the said emperor, shall deliver his letters of credit; and for his credit shall utter his charge as followeth.

First, He shall declare what good will we have to the continuance of the amity, and the increase of the same, by such means as may be devised on either party; and how the reciproque hath been promised on their behalf.

Item. To the intent as well they may perceive our forwardness therein, as also the world see the same to take effect indeed, he is sent to shew what we have thought upon for this purpose; and also if they be of a like forwardness, to hear again what they think meet in that behalf; and upon this conference, to conclude either upon both our devices, or such one of them as shall be thought best for both parties.

Item. We think good, that the treaty already made between the emperor and the king's majesty of famous memory, deceased, be made perpetual, that is to say, confirmed by all the princes, and the countries on both sides, whose commodities depend upon the same treaty.

Item. Before the confirmation, the treaty to be revised by him; and the ambassador, and certain other, to be appointed by the emperor, to the intent it may appear whether we have both one understanding of the words of the treaty.

Item. Where the debating to and from of the amity with his ambassador here, occasion hath risen to talk of marriage between the infant of Portingall and the lady Mary; to which thing we perceive the emperor hath sithens been made privy; and that in case the emperor mind to treat further of that

[15] [These two lines are in a different hand and ink from the rest of the document.]

matter, he shall say he hath commission to hear and conclude thereof.

Item. To declare the state of our affairs in Scotland at this time; and forasmuch as the Scotts have been very much aided with victuals, munitions, and other necessaries from his dominions, by reason whereof they are the more stiff and unwilling to come to reason; the said comptroller declaring this consideration, shall do what he may to procure, that not only all safe conducts granted by the emperor or the regent may be cassed; but also his consent, that if any his subjects traffique into Scotland, being common enemies, if they be taken beyond Barwicke thitherward, it may be lawful for our men to take their goods as forfeit.

172 *Item.* To declare our proceedings with Fraunce at this time, and of our sending commissioners upon the French motion, who shall not conclude any thing prejudicial to the amity or treaties already passed, or now to be passed, between us and the emperor, but shall depend wholly upon his proceedings there; so as if the emperor shall, upon consultation of his affairs, determine with us to do any thing to France, we will frame our communications with the French thereafter: if otherwise, then the said commissioners now sent to the French shall do accordingly.

Item. For making the treaty perpetual, we think convenient, that the prince of Spayn do confirm and assign the same, and the Low Countries comprised therein, do also in their general parliaments and assemblies make like confirmation, and in their courts to make decrees thereof; and this, or such form as hath been used in those parts heretofore in like cases, to be done for their part: and for our part, the king to ratify it, the parliament to confirm it, and the courts of chancery, king's bench, and common-pleas, to make decrees thereof.

Item. In the revising of the treaty, if[16] any doubt rise for the understanding of it, which shall seem by his and the ambassador's discretion to be for the king's profit, to conclude upon it, if they will agree to the same; and if there arise doubt, which shall seem to their discretions against the king, then to advertise hither.

Item. For the case of the marriage, to declare at the first

[16] [*If* was supplied here by the author, but does not appear in the MS.]

what was left by the king's majesty deceased; and yet nevertheless afterward to offer a hundred thousand crowns, or the revenue yearly which she hath now upon convenable dower. The said hundred thousand crowns, or revenue, to be paid at Callice, if the marriage take place; she to be conveyed to Callice at the king's charges; the marriage to be made in the emperor's court, or else-where in the Low Country, by his appointment; and for her dowry to ask by the year to be paid in case of the infant's death, at Callice yearly, at the feast of and the feast of and she to return into England with jewels, plate, houshold-stuff, such as shall be agreed upon. And this far to enter for the first degree; and in case of further communication, to advertise and receive answer from hence.

Item. Touching our proceeding with Fraunce, to declare how we have continued in war with them, and Scottlande these four years alone, without help; and that we think it expedient for us, upon this occasion now ministered by Fraunce, to give ear; in the which hearing, we mind to attribute much to the emperor's friendship; for loth we are to let slip from the
[fol. 91.] king any one jote of his right, if the emperor will assist; but otherwise we must make such a bargain for the king, as we may with regard to his honour and surety. And in this point the comptroller shall press the said emperor to enter with us, and to put him in remembrance of his quarrels, and all such other things as he can devise for this purpose; and to put him in hope generally, that we will enter gallantly with him. And if he descend to particulars for the form of the entry, to hear his opinion, and to advertise, and then proceed as answer cometh from hence; but specially to remember to set forth the comprehension of Boloyn for defence, upon a like reciproke, for so shall he be brought to think we mind not to con- 173
clude with Fraunce, and thereby stay such practices, as upon occasion of the said comptroller's going, either he with Fraunce, or Fraunce with him, might enter together. And so the commissioners sent to France, may make the better bargain for the king. Marry, this point is not to be opened throughly, till he hear some likelihood that our commissioners in Fraunce break off without conclusion.

Item. The said comptroller shall assay, as of himself, whe-

ther they will accept Bulloyn at the king's majesty's hands, for some other reasonable recompence.

Item. The said comptroller shall use his discretion, to open the points aforesaid to the emperor, Grandvela, or D'Arras, either at one or several times, as to his discretion shall seem convenient; and shall address his pacquets to the commissioners for Fraunce lying at Callice, to the end they may see his proceedings, and send them over with speed, directing their charge the better thereafter

Number XXXIX. [p. 132.]

An account of a conference the English ambassadors had with the emperor's ministers, in a letter to the protector.

Cotton lib. Galba. B. xii. [fol. 98. b.]

IT may like your grace to be advertised, that upon the 20th of this present, came to the lodging of me the comptroller, monsieur De Arras, and in his company the two presidents of the council, St. Maurice and Viglius; who, after a few words of office passed between them and us, entered the cause of their coming, saying, That the emperor having been informed of such conference as was passed this other day between me and Granvalla, you hath, to declare his readiness to any thing that might satisfy his good will and affection to the intent of the king, sent us here to revisit the treaties, and see how we do agree upon the understanding of the same. I the comptroller answered, That it was not amiss, howbeit I had not so opened the matters, nor looked to have it passed in such order. But first to know the emperor's resolution, how he can be contented with the confirmation of the treaty, in the form that I had moved, and then that agreed upon, to proceed to the revisitation of the same. In good faith, quoth De Arras, we did so understand it, and so have reported to the emperor, and this commission hath he now given us. Well, quoth I, seeing you are now here, and have brought the treaty with you for that purpose, we may do something in it, and afterwards be advised farther, requiring, that in case any thing should be found in the passage of the treaty meet to be considered, that we might, before wading further in the matter, know the emperor's resolution, as well touching the confirmation of the treaty, as in such things as now might be moved: which they thought reasonable. And so we began to read the treaty; and when we came to the sixth article, wherein it is provided for the common enmity in case of invasion, and by the establishment set forth, with what number the invasion must be made; and that both for the invasion, and the number the prince required to join, shall credit the letters of the prince 174
requiring; I put this case, quoth I, for the understanding of this matter, that the king my master will signify by his letters to the emperor, that such a day the Scots, our common ene-

mies, to the number of seven thousand men, with the aid of the French king, affronted the borders of England, comprehended in the treaty, and set above two thousand men into the realm to invade: who did indeed invade, and spoil, and burn, [fol. 99 b.] and take prisoners; and therefore would require the emperor, according to the treaty, to take the French king, who hath aided his enemies, for his enemies; for so doth he, and so will use him for his enemies. Is not the emperor bound to do it? What say you, quoth I, how do ye understand this article? It should seem yes, quoth De Arras, but we will speak with the emperor in it, and bring you an answer. The words be plain, quoth I, and cannot be avoided.

Then in the seventh article, where it is said, That the prince requiring for his aid money instead of men, must, if the invasion made by the enemy cease, restore the money again which remaineth. And afterwards saith, That though the invasion cease, yet if he will follow the enemy, he may use the aid for the time appointed in the treaty; saying in generality, (*eo casu subsidiis auxilliaribus, &c.*) I asked, Whether in those general words, they mean not as well the money as the men? Whereupon they seemed to doubt, and took a note thereof, to know the emperor's pleasure in the same.

In the ninth article, where it is treated for the redress of injuries done by one subject to the other, there we fell into a brawl of half an hour, upon a question that I moved, viz. When they took justice to be denied? And their answer was, That we used none at all. And here at length I fell into their manner of arresting of one whole nation upon a knave mariner's complaint. And he, What thieves our nation was upon the sea, and lawless people, and that they never proceeded to such extremities, but when their subjects had been in England and justice was denied. That hath never been seen, quoth I; but if any of your subjects think himself grieved, straight he runneth to *mounsere le protectore;* and he, by and by, setting all the king's great affairs apart, must attend to the affairs of *mounsere le marenore*, or else home runneth he with open cry, That he cannot have justice in England, and you straight believe; and thereupon cometh these often blusters. And do you think it reason, that mounsere G. or you should attend to every private man's complaint; you should then have a goodly office. [fol. 99 b.]

No, you send them to the ordinary justices, and so let that take place and way as it will; but you will never impeach yourself more with the matter. And reason, quoth he, but the cause is not alike with you in England, for there, quoth he, all things come to the lord protector's hands, there is none other judge or justice used or cared for in the realm; no, and his letters sometimes not esteemed, and that our poor subjects feel full often, and therefore they must of force resort to *mounsere protectore*. This is not true, quoth I, and that mounser Hobby knoweth, my lord protector, nor none of the privy-council, meddle with no private matters whose soever it be, but only meddle with matters of estate, leaving all other things to the ordinary course of justice, except only that many times to gratify your ambassador, and to shew himself glad to 175
nourish the amity, he troubleth himself with the complaints of your subjects, which, by St. Mary, by my advice, he shall do no more, seeing it is so little considered, but shall refer them to the common justice. Whither is that? (quoth he.) To the admiralty, quoth I. Marry, a goodly justice, quoth he, for so shall the poor man's cause be tried before his adversary. And why not tried in our admiralty (quoth I) as well as in yours? Nay, quoth he, both be naught. Indeed there were the very ordinary courts at the beginning of the redress of matters upon the sea; but now they feel the sweet of the gain such, as they care little for justice. And here, as well for relief of poor men spoiled and robbed upon the seas, as to avoid arrests, and such other troublesome proceedings on either side, we fell to devising, and came to this point; if the princes for their parts, upon their advertisement to the emperor, and we to your grace, shall like it, that commission sufficient be given by the emperor or two of his privy-council, to hear and determine by their discretion summary, *et de pleno*, all complaints by the king's subjects here for criminal causes upon the sea; and the king's majesty to do the like to two of his privy-council, for the complaints in like case of the emperor's subjects.

[fol. 100.] And this was all we passed in open conference, saying, That in the discourse for the confirmation of the treaty by the princes and their countries, as they seemed to shew the emperor's readiness (but not yet so resolved) that the princes

should confirm the treaty, and that further any other thing should be done that he might reasonably do, to declare his good will to the entertainment and augmentation of his amity and affection to the king's majesty. So he alleged divers reasons why the emperor should not seek to his subjects to confirm his treaties with foreign princes. We alleged the example of the king, and the French king in times past; and what was said in that case at C. in the presence of himself de C. and Chap. Whereunto he answered, That the state of Fraunce was more restrained than the emperor's; and that the French king could give no piece of his patrimony, nor bind his country, without the consent of the parliament at Parris, and the three estates; but he thought the king of England to have a greater prerogative, and the emperor he was sure had a greater prerogative; and so had all his ancestors, and therefore would be loth to begin now to put himself so far in their danger: they were, he said[17], fifteen or sixteen parliaments, and if a thing should be proposed unto them, whereof they had never heard the like before, they would not only muse much at the matter, but they would have also every one the scanning of it; and what would come of it, the emperor could not tell, peradventure dash the matter, and so prejudice his prerogative with them. Yet now where he* and his ancestors do, and have always passed treaties with other princes, and bind their subjects thereby without making them privy thereto, it would by this means come to pass, that from henceforth their subjects would look to be* privy to every treaty, which were not convenient; marry, for the prince which shall succeed, to confirm the treaty, he thought the emperor could not take it but reasonable, and doubted not to bring a good answer in the same. So as we see for this point, it will come to the confirmation of the king and the prince,
176 and upon any condition or interpretation of the treaty to them also, wherein we intend to go forwards, for so our instruction beareth us, unless that before the conclusion and shutting up of the matter, we hear from your grace to the contrary.

The things being thus far passed, and our open talk at a point, and they ready to depart, mounsere De Arras taking occasion (as it seemed) to stay because of the rain, took me

[17] [These words *they were he said* have been repeated in the MS.]

aside, and asked me if I would command him any other service. I answered, No service, but friendship, and the continuance of his good will to the king's majesty's affairs; whereunto he making large offers, I began to enter with him, how much your grace, and all the rest, reposed themselves in the friendship of the emperor, and the good ministry of his father and him, to the furtherance of the king's majesty's affairs; to whom, as in that behalf, they shewed themselves great friends, so did they, like good servants to their master, for the prosperous success of the affairs of the one, served the turn of the other, and contrary. Whereupon I discoursed largely, as far as my poor capacity would extend, how necessary it was for the emperor to aid and assist us in all things, so as we are not oppressed by force, or driven, for want of friendship, to take such ways to keep us in quiet, as both we ourselves would be loth, and our friends should afterwards have peradventure cause to forethink.

I repeated first how we entered the wars for your sake; for the king might have made his bargain honourably with Fraunce, which no man knew better than I: how long we have endured the war, and how long alone; how favourably they are to our common enemies the Scots; how ungently the French be to us, and by indirect means think to consume us, to make the emperor the weaker.

I recited the practices of the French with the Turk, with the pope, with the Germaines, with Denmark; his aid of the Scotts, and all upon intent to impeach the emperor when he seeth time, or at the least attending a good hour, upon hope of the emperor's death: the weaker that we be, the easilier[18] [fol. 101.] shall he do it; if we forego any our pieces on this side, we must needs be the weaker; and that so we had rather do, than alone to keep war against Scotlande and Fraunce. Wherefore if they will both provide for their own strength, and give us courage to keep still that which we have, the emperor must be contented to take B.[19] into defence, as well as other places comprehended in the treaty; which, I said, we meant not, but

[18] [The word in the MS. is *seaselyere*, as if the writer had doubted between *safelier* and *easilier*.]

[19] This is a cipher, and stands, I suppose, for Boulogne. [The author printed here and again on the next page 13 for B. It is no cipher, but merely the initial letter of the word.]

upon a reasonable reciproke. What reciproke (quoth he) roundly? Thereupon advise you reasonably, quoth I. Oh, quoth he, I cannot see how the emperor can honourably make a true treaty for that point, without offence of his treaty with Fraunce; and we mean to proceed directly and plain with all men, quoth he. Why, quoth I, we may bring you justly, by and by with us, if we will advertise you, as I did even now put my case. Yea, if your case be true, quoth he; but herein will we charge your honours and consciences, whether the fact be so or no? for your grace shall understand, that I talked in the matter so suspiciously, as though such an invasion had been made, and that you would require common enmity.

177 In fine, sir, after many motions and persuasions, and long discourses used on my behalf, to induce them to take B. into defence: and his refuge only, that they would fain learn how they might honestly answer the French; albeit I shewed him some forms of answers, which he seemed not to like; yet in the end I said, he was a great doctor, and as he had put the doubt, so he was learned sufficiently, if he listed, to assoil the same. He said, he would open these matters to the emperor, and trusted to bring me such an answer as I should have reason to be satisfied, and so departed; whereof, as soon as we have knowledge, your grace shall be advertised accordingly. And thus we beseech God, to send your grace well to do in all your proceedings.

[Sir W^m^ Paget, S^r^ Phillype Hobby to Somerset[20].]

[20] [This document is a copy, very carelessly executed, and still more carelessly transcribed by the author. The words *he* and *be* marked with an asterisk were supplied by the author, and have been allowed to stand, as there can be no doubt they were in the original. Other passages which seem doubtful have been left as they are in the MS.]

Number XL. [p. 133.]

A letter from sir William Paget, and sir Philip Hobby, concerning their negotiation with the emperor's ministers.

An original[21].

Cotton lib. Galba. B. xii. [fol. 83.] It may like your grace to be advertised, That yesterday at afternoon mounser D'Arras, accompanied with the two presidents of the council, St. Maurice and Viglius, came unto the lodging of me the comptroller; and after some words of office passed on either part, D'Arras began to set forth the cause of their coming, saying, That the emperor having at good length considered and debated the things proponed and communed of between us since my coming hither, had sent them to report unto me his final answer and resolution to the same.

And first (quoth he) to your case, That at our being together for the revisitation of the treaty, ye put forth upon the sixth article for the common enmity in case of invasion, his majesty museth much, what ye should mean thereby, for seeing the case is not in ure, he thinketh, that doubting of his friendship, ye go about, by these means, to grope and feel his mind; which ye need not do, he having hitherto shewed himself ready in all things to shew the king, his good brother, pleasure, and to observe the treaty in all points to the uttermost; and if this case should happen to come in ure, then will he not fail to do whatsoever the treaty bindeth him unto, till when he can make no further answer therein.

As to your question, moved upon the seventh article of the treaty, viz. Whether money be not meant as well as men by these words, *subsidiis auxiliaribus?* his majesty taketh the words to be plain enough, and thinketh they cannot be otherwise interpreted, than to be meant, as well for money as men, for so doth he understand them.

[fol. 83 b.] Unto the order that was communed upon for the administration of justice on both sides, for matters of spoil or piracy upon

[21] [The original letter began at fol. 83. There is a copy of it in the same volume, fol. 104 b, which is not very exact, but supplies some words which have been burned from the edges of the original. The whole of Galba xii. is burnt round the edges, and every leaf has been mounted.]

the sea, his majesty having weighed what is best to be done therein saith, he hath good cause first to complain of the over many spoils that your men have made on his poor subjects, and
178 the small justice that hath been hitherto ministered unto them herein, whereof he hath continual complaints, and therefore he thinketh it were meeter, or ever any further order shall be concluded upon, that his subjects were first recompensed of those wrongs they have sustained, and the matter brought to some equality, and his people put in as much good case as yours are; for I assure you (quoth he) the wrongs our men have sustained are many; and among the rest, a poor jeweller, having gotten a safe conduct of the king that dead is, to bring into England certain jewels, because after he had the king's hand and seal to this license, he had not the same sealed also with the great seal of England, his jewels were taken from him; and he, being not present (although it were so named in the sentence) condemned to lose them by the order of your law, contrary to all equity and justice: which seemeth strange, for beside that the king's hand and seal should appear to be sufficient for a greater matter than this; the treaties also provide, that the subjects of the one prince may frankly, without impediment, traffique and occupy into the other prince's country; but to shadow the matter with all, one, I cannot tell [fol. 84.] who, hath been agreed withal, and so the poor man and his heirs put from their right, which his majesty wisheth to be considered. And albeit he thinketh that the king your master, being under age, cannot himself, by the order of the law, conclude upon any thing now in his minority, that shall be of due strength and force, able to bind him and his country when he shall come to his perfect age; yet taking that his tutors being authorised thereto, by the common assent of your parliament, may go through and conclude upon these, or like things in his name, his majesty thinketh it will do well, when his subjects shall be recompensed of the wrongs they have hitherto sustained, that some order be devised for the administration of justice hereafter in like cases.

As touching the confirmation of the treaty, considering that the same was first made between the emperor and king Henry the Eighth, and not ratified by the king your master since his father's death, his majesty thinketh that he hath most cause to

require the same: wherefore because (as I told you even now) he thinketh that those things, the king himself should conclude upon during his minority, cannot be of sufficient force, if his tutors shall be, by the authority of your parliament, abled thereto, his majesty is content the treaty be confirmed by them in the king's name, and by the prince of Spayn, in such
[fol. 84 b.] form as shall be thought best for both parties.

As to the comprehension of Bulloyn, ye must know, that we have a treaty with France as well as with you, which the emperor cannot, without some touch of his honour, break, without just grounds: and albeit his majesty would be loth to see the king, his good brother, forego either that peace, or any other iote of his right, yet can he not enter this defence, unless he would break with France out of hand; which in respect of his other affairs he cannot yet do, howbeit he will gladly assist his good brother in any other thing the best he may, and will not fail to shew him all the pleasure he can with regard to his honour; but with Bulloyn he cannot meddle at this time. And here he staying; Is this the emperor's resolute and full answer, monsieur D'Arras? quoth I. Yea, (quoth he;) wherewith he prayeth the king, his good brother, to rest satisfied, and take 179
it in good part. Albeit (quoth I) I have no commission to make any replique thereto, because it was not known to your grace what the emperor's resolution should be; yet in the way of talk I will be bold to say my mind herein. We have, monsieur D'Arras (quoth I) always esteemed the emperor's friendship, and desire the observation of the treaties, and the enter-
[fol. 85.] tainment of the amity, as a thing necessary and common to both the parties: for the better establishment whereof, and that now and in this time some good fruit, to the benefit of both, might appear to the world to follow of the same, I was sent hither, which was the chiefest cause of my coming: and because that the amity between both princes might be the firmer, and that all doubts being taken away, no cause of quarrel should be left, we thought best to put you in mind of the confirmation and revisitation of the treaty, to the intent, that by the one, the world might see an establishment of our friendship by overt deed; and that by the other, one of us might understand another, and consider whether any thing were to be added for the commodity of both parties, which I

suppose standeth you as much upon to desire, as it doth us. And whereas ye say that the king's majesty, because he is under age, cannot conclude or go through with any thing that shall be of sufficient force; I must needs tell you plainly, that ye touch his majesty's honour over-near herein, for we think that the majesty of a king is of such efficacy, that he hath even the same authority, and full power, at the first hour of his birth, that he hath thirty years after. And what your laws are, I know not; but sure I am, that by our laws, whatsoever is done by the king in his minority, or by his ministers in his name, is of no less force and strength, than if it had been done in time of his full age and years, if once the great seal of the realm hath passed, there is no remedy but needs must he stand thereto. Marry, let the ministers take heed what they do, and look that they may be able to discharge themselves towards him of their doings, if he shall require account of them when he cometh to age, for it is they must answer him; but he must needs stand to whatsoever they have counselled him to agree unto during his minority. And to prove that our laws giveth him the same authority now, that he shall have when he cometh to his perfect age; if any man, either for instruction of learning, or any other cause, should presume to lay hands on, or touch his majesty in way of correction, he should by the law be taken for a traitor. And if the matter were as ye take it, we should then be in a strange and evil case, for neither might we conclude peace, league, or treaty, nor make laws, articles, or statutes, during the king's minority, that should be of sufficient force to bind him and his to the observation of the same. But ye mistake the matter much; and therefore if the emperor mind to proceed to this confirmation he may, or otherwise do as it shall please him.

And as touching my case (quoth I) ye must understand, I did not move it without some just ground; for remembering that all your commissioners, and all ours being together at Utreke for the esclarcishement of the treaty, although the words of the treaty were plain enough, and could receive none other interpretation than was there plainly written, yet would [fol. 86.]
180 ye needs understand the article for common enmity, in case of invasion, after your own mind. And whereas, by the words of the treaty, no mention is made of any number, and there-

fore with howsoever few in number the invasion be made, ought the invader to be taken for common enemy; your commissioners did nevertheless interpret the matter at their pleasure, and would needs prescribe a number of 8000 men; under which number if invasion were made, the treaties in this case should not stand to any force. And like-as ye put a doubt here, where none was to be found, so thought I, ye might do in other things, were they never so plain; and that moved me to put this case to see whether ye understood this point as ye ought to do, after the literal sense; and partly to know your minds therein, because perhaps the matter hath been already in ure. This, I say, was the occasion why I put further this question, and not for any mistrust of the emperor's friendship, whom I must confess we have always found our well-willer, and so we doubt not he will continue; and therefore I know we need not to grope his mind[22] herein, neither did I mean any such thing hereby.

As to your answer to the order of justice, I see not that the emperor hath so much cause to complain of lack of justice in his subjects cases, as ye seem to set forth; for hitherto there hath not any man complained in our country, and required justice, unto whom the same hath been denied. And although some man abiding the order of our law, or having had some sentence that pleased him not, hath complained hither of delay or lack of justice, ye must not therefore, by and by, judge that he saith true, or that there is not uprightness or equity used in our country; for we have there, as ye have here, and else-
[fol. 86 b.] where, ministers that are wise, and well-learned in our law, and men of honesty and good conscience, who deal and proceed justly, as the order of the law leadeth them, without respect to favour or friendship of any man.

And as for the jeweller's case that ye moved, ye must understand, that as ye have laws here in your country, for the direction of your common-wealth, so have we also in ours; whereby amongst the rest we do forbid, for good respect, the bringing in, or transporting forth of certain things, without the king's safe conduct and license. And although, as ye

[22] [The author printed 'I need not grope;' the original has, 'I know .... not to grope;' *we need*, having been destroyed by fire, has been supplied from the MS. copy.]

alleged before, the treaty giveth liberty to the subjects of either prince to traffique into the other's country, it is not for all that meant hereby, that they shall not be bound to observe the law and order of the country, whereunto they traffique: for this liberty is only granted for the security of their persons to go and come without impeachment, and maketh them not for all that lawless. And whereas further it is provided by our law, that in certain things to be granted by the king, the same grant must pass under the great seal; then if any of those things pass under any other seal, they be not of due force until they have also passed the great seal of England; wherefore if the jeweller, either by negligence or covetousness, of himself, or those he put in trust, did not observe this order; but thereto contrary, for sparing a little cost, did presume to bring in his jewels before his license came to the great seal, me thinketh neither he, nor any other, can have just cause to say that he was wronged, if according to our laws he were sentenced to lose the same: and yet, after he was thus con-
181 demned, more to gratify the emperor, than for that I took it to be so reasonable, I myself was a suitor to my lord protector's grace, for some recompence to be made to the jeweller's wife, whom we knew, and none other to be party: for she followed the suit, she presented the petitions, in her name were they made; and finally she, and none others, was by the emperor's ambassador commended unto us. [fol. 87.]

I have seen the sentence (quoth he) and do mislike nothing so much therein, as that the man is condemned, and named to have been present at the time of his condemnation, when indeed he was dead a good while before.

He was present (quoth I) in the person of his wife, who was his procurator, and represented himself; and I know, that those before whom this matter passed, are men both learned and of good conscience, and such as would not have done herein any thing against right and order of the law.

The sentences that are given in our country by the justices and ministers there, are just and true, and therefore neither can we, nor will we revoke them for any man's pleasure, after they have once passed the higher court, from whence there is no further appellation, no more than you will here call back such final order, as hath been in any case taken by your high

court of Brabant. And the cause why we for our part misliked not this order of justice, was for the better establishment of the amity, and to avoid the continual arrests that are made on our poor men; to the end also that this sort of suiters might be the sooner despatched, without troubling either my lord protector in England, or you here, when ye are busied in other affairs of more importance.

And as concerning the comprehension of Bulloyn, in good faith, because we thought that if the same should happen to be taken from the king's majesty by force, as I trust it shall not, [fol. 87 b.] the loss should be common, and touch the emperor almost as near as us; we thought good, for the better surety thereof, to move this comprehension, which we take to be as necessary for the emperor as us. And although we are not so wise and well seen in your things as yourselves are, yet do we look towards you, and guess of your affairs afar off, and perhaps do somewhat understand the state of the same, whereof I could say more than I now intend. But seeing[23] ye say this is the emperor's resolution herein; we take it for[24] an answer, and shall do accordingly. Marry, whereas ye stick so much upon your honour in breaking your treaties with the French, I remember monsieur Granvela your father, at my being with him, did not let to say, That he had his sleeve full of quarrels against the French, whensoever the emperor list to break with them.

Yea, so have we indeed, (quoth he,) but the time is not yet come: we must temporise our things in this case as the rest of our affairs leadeth us.

Ye say well, (quoth I,) ye have reason to regard chiefly the well-guiding of your own things, and yet me thinketh some respect ought to be given to friends. But seeing this is your answer, I will reply no more thereto.

Yet one thing, monsieur D'Arras, (quoth I,) I moved to 182
your father, which ye make no mention of, and I would gladly know your mind in, which is, the granting of safe conducts to the common enemy: which the treaty, by plain and express words, forbiddeth either prince to do.

[23] [This word, which was omitted by the author, and is obliterated in the original, has been supplied from the copy, fol. 108, of the same volume.]

[24] [This word also is supplied from the copy.]

Indeed, monsieur L'ambassadeur, (quoth he,) the words of the treaty are, as ye say, plain enough; and yet the matter were very strait, if it should be taken in such extremity; for hereafter, in time of war, ye might happen to have need of wood, canvas, or wine, and we of the like, and other necessaries; and if in such cases the princes should not have prerogative to grant safe conducts, it shall be a great inconvenience, and a thing not hereafter seen; howbeit the emperor for his part will not, I think, stick much hereupon, but observe the plain meaning of the treaty. Nevertheless I cannot say any thing expressly on his behalf herein, because monsieur Granvela spake nothing thereof. And yet did we move him of it (quoth I) and he bad us grant none, and the emperor for his part would not grant any. No more hath he done, quoth he, sithence his coming into this country, nor intendeth not hereafter. He needeth not, quoth I, for those that have been given out before are sufficient for a great while. Nay, that are they not, quoth he, for the longest was granted but for a year, and now are they expired; and whereas a while sithence, one presuming upon his safe conduct, came into this country to traffique, because the time thereof was expired, he was taken and imprisoned. [fol. 88.]

The said D'Arras, after this talk, touched further unto me two points, which the emperor, he said, desireth may be reformed; the first was, our merchants, contrary to the order of the entercourse, do enhaunce the price of their wooll, and will not sell at such prices as they are bound by the entercourse; wherewith their merchants here do find themselves aggrieved, and therefore the emperor desireth some order may be taken herein. [fol. 88 b.]

Whereunto I answered, that I understood not the matter, and yet I supposed our men did not this but upon some grounds and just occasion, by reason of other breach of order on their parts here. Howbeit I shewed him I would inform your grace thereof, and doubted not, but if any thing were amiss on our parts, it should be reformed accordingly, looking for the semblable on their behalf.

The other, he said, was, That our men have lately begun to build a bulwark, which standeth half on the king's majesty's ground, and half on the emperor's territory. And although

monsieur de Rue have viewed the same, and perceiving the emperor to be wronged thereby, hath required our folks to proceed no further therein; yet cease they not to build still, which the emperor marvelleth much at, and thinketh we would not take it well that he should attempt the like fortification upon the king's territory; and therefore requireth that some redress may be given in time therein.

I answered, That I knew not of this thing; howbeit, as I went homeward, I would inform myself of the case, and make report thereof to your grace, who I doubted not would take such order therein, as should stand with reason.

[fol. 89.] And here monsieur D'Arras setting forth with many good 183
words the emperor's amity towards the king, and readiness to shew his majesty pleasure in all things that he conveniently may; that in case we proceeded to any further treaty with Fraunce; he doubted not but we would have regard to them, according to our treaties: and that also, if we grew to any peace with the Scotts, seeing that his majesty is entered in enmity with them chiefly for our sake, whereby his subjects have been sundry ways endamaged, he trusteth we will have consideration to see that convenient recompence be made to them by the Scotts, or ever we go through with any conclusion; the rather, because the Scotts have, and cease not still to offer, besides a large recompence, very great conditions, if his majesty would fall to any peace with them, which chiefly for our sakes he hath, and will refuse to do. We answered hereunto generally, That the king's majesty, in such case, we doubted not, would have due respect to the emperor's amity, and proceed herein as appertaineth.

This was the substance of their cold answer, as your grace may see, of small effect, although interlaced with plenty of good words, which we also thought best to use towards them, and requite them with the like. And thus, after I had required of D'Arras a time to take my leave of the emperor, and his promise to procure the same as shortly as he might, we departed.

And thus we beseech God to send your grace as well to do as we do wish.

William Paget.

From Bruges, this 24th of July, 1549. Phelip Hobby.

Number XLI[25]. [p. 136.]

The council's letter to the king against the protector. An original.

[*Letters of the vii*[26]*. of October from the lords to the king's majesty.*]

MOST high and mighty prince, our most gracious sovereign lord. It may please your majesty to be advertised, That having heard such message as it pleased your majesty to send unto us by your highness' secretary, sir William[27] Petre; like as it was much to our grief and discomfort to understand, that, upon untrue informations, your majesty seemed to have some doubt of our fidelities; so do we, upon our knees, most humbly beseech your majesty to think, that as we have always served the king's majesty, your most noble father, and your highness likewise, faithfully and truly, so do we mind always to continue your majesty's true servants, to the effusion of our blood, and loss of our lives. And for the surety of your most royal person, safeguard and preservation of your realms and dominions, have at this time consulted together, and for none other cause, we take God to witness. We have heretofore, by all good and gentle means, attempted to have had your highness' uncle, the
184 duke of Somerset, to have governed your majesty's affairs, by

Cotton lib. Titus B. ii. [fol. 55.]

[Council Book, p. 5.]

[25] [Of the other original letters which give the history of this conspiracy, those from the Cotton Library, Caligula, B. VII. have been printed in Ellis' First Series, vol. II. pp. 166—175. The more important of those in the State Paper Office, Domestic, vol. IX. are given in Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary, vol. I. pp. 205—254. Some of them appear in Stow's chronicle and some in Fox, together with some which are not elsewhere printed.]

[26] [Another original letter of this date from the same lords of the Council in London to the Council at Windsor has been printed by Ellis, I. ii. 166, from Caligula, B. VII. fol. 404. It is signed by the same persons, including secretary Petre, the only difference being the omission of the name of Edward Mountagu. A copy of this letter is in the Council Book, p. 6. Its purport is to withdraw the other members of the Council from supporting Somerset.]

[27] [Sir William Petre had been sent on the morning of Sunday, October 6th, 'to know for what cause the lords had gathered their powers together, and if they meant to talk with the Protector they should come in a peaceable manner.' Petre appears to have joined their party immediately, both from the fact that his name appears signed to this letter, and from the wonder expressed in a letter of the 7th, from the Protector to the lords at London, that they had detained him. This letter has been printed from the State Paper Office by Tytler, I. p. 214.]

the advice of us, and the rest of your counsellors; but finding him so much given to his own will, that he always refused to hear reason; and therewith doing sundry such things as were, and be most dangerous, both to your most royal person, and to your whole realm, we thought yet again to have gently and quietly spoke with him in these things, had he not gathered force about him, in such sort, as we might easily perceive him earnestly bent to the maintenance of his old wilful and troublous doings. For redress whereof, and for none other cause, we do presently remain here ready to live and die your true servants. And the assembly of almost all your council being now here, we have, for the better service of your majesty, caused your secretary to remain here with us, most humbly beseeching your grace to think in your heart, that the only preservation of your person, and your estate, for the discharge of our duties, enforceth us to devise how to deliver your grace from the peril your highness standeth in, and no other respect; for whatsoever is, or shall be said to your highness, no earthly thing could have moved us to have seemed to stand as a party, but your only preservation, which your majesty shall hereafter perceive and (we doubt not) repute us for your most faithful servants and counsellors, as our doings shall never deserve the contrary; as God knoweth, to whom we shall daily pray for your majesty's preservation; and with our bodies, defend your person and estate as long as life shall endure.

R. Ryche, Canc. W. Seint John. J. Warwyk.
Arundell. W. Northt.
F. Shrewesbury. Thomas Southampton.
T. Cheyne. William Petre, secretary. Edward North.
John Gage. R. Sadleyr. N. Wotton.
Edward Mountagu.
Richard Southwell[28].

[28] [A copy of this letter also occurs in the Council Book, p. 4. The Council Book has not the signatures, but at the head of p. 4. has the names of those present entered by a scribe in a different order from this. The original draft, partly in Petre's, partly in Wriothesley's hand, is in the Domestic Papers of Edward VI, vol. IX. 17. It is much interlined and corrected. Two copies of it appear in the same volume, but there are no signatures to any, except that in the Cotton Library from which the text has been printed. They have all been collated; but there is no material variation.]

Number XLII. [p. 136.]

Articles[29] *offered by me the lord protector, to the king's majesty, in the presence of his highness' council, and other his majesty's lords and gentlemen, at Wyndesor, to be declared on my behalf, to the lords, and the*[30] *rest of his highness' council remaining in London.*

Cotton lib. Caligula. B. vii. [fol 394, al. 407.]

First, That I do not, nor did not mean to apprehend any of them, or otherwise to disturb or molest them; but hearing tell of their such meetings and assemblies, and gathering of horsemen, and other power, out of several countries, not being privy of the causes thereof, to avoid further inconveniences[31] and danger which might ensue to your majesty's person; which by many rumours, certain intelligences, and sundry messages, was declared imminent unto your highness, and to me the lord protector, was forced to seek this defence, as I at the first beginning declared unto your highness.

Secondly, That this force and power which here is assembled about your majesty at this present, is to do none of them which be there at London, or else-where, either in person or goods, any damage or hurt, but to defend only, if any violence should be attempted against your highness.

As for any contention and strife betwixt me the lord protector, and the council there[32], I do not refuse to come to any reasonable end and conclusion, that should be for the[33] perservation of your majesty, and tranquillity of the realm, if they will send any two of them with commission on their behalfs, to conclude and make a[34] good end betwixt us.

And[35] I most humbly beseech your majesty to appoint any two of such as be here about your majesty, to join with the same; and whatsoever those four, or three of them shall determine, I do, and shall wholly and fully submit myself there-

[29] [This document is taken from a well executed copy which corresponds (with a few unimportant variations) with the copy preserved in the State Paper Office. As it is not an original, it has been thought proper to give the variations of the State Paper copy at the foot of the page. This copy is signed at the beginning and end by the king's hand, Edward, and at the end also by E. Somerset.]

[30] *the* om.

[31] *inconvenience.*

[32] *there* om.

[33] *the* om.

[34] *such.*

[35] *And* om.

unto. And that for more confirmation, if it shall be so thought good to the said persons, their agreement and conclusion to[36] be established and ratified by parliament, or any other order that shall be devised.

And I beseech your majesty, that at my humble[37] suit, and by the advice of me, and other of your council here, for the better proceedings[38] herein, and to take away all doubts and fears that might arise, to grant to them for any such two of them, which they shall send for the purpose above-said, free passage for themselves, and with each of them twenty of their servants, to safely come, tarry here, and return at their pleasure. And I most humbly beseech your majesty, that this bill, signed with your majesty's hands, and ours, may be a sufficient warrant therefore.

Given and exhibited at the castle of Wyndesore, the 8th of October, 1549[39].

[36] *to* om. [37] *most humble.*
[38] *proceeding.*
[39] [These articles appear in Ellis, I. ii. 174. from the same MS. The original of them is in the State Paper Office, and they were inclosed in a letter from the king to the lords of the Council, bearing the same date which appears in Tytler, vol. I. p. 220. It was sent through Sir Philip Hobby, who was also the bearer of another letter of the same date from Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, to the Council at London, (Tytler, p. 223,) and of a private communication from Smith to Petre deprecating violence to Somerset, (Tytler, p. 228).]

Number XLIII. [p. 137.]

Letters sent from the lords at London, to the king's majesty.

[*Letters of the ixth of October from the lords to the king's majesty.*]

Most high and mighty prince, our most gracious sovereign lord, we have received by Mr. Hobby, your majesty's most gracious letters, of the 8th of this instant, and heard such further matter as it pleased your majesty to will to be declared by him. And sorry we be, that your majesty should have these occasions to be troubled, especially in this kind of matter; the beginning and only occasion whereof, as we be well able to prove to your majesty, hath proceeded of the duke of Somerset. It is much discomfort to us all, to understand that your royal person should be touched with any care of mind; and most of all it grieveth us, that it should be persuaded your majesty, that we have not that care that beseemeth us of the pacifying of these uproars, and conservation of your majesty's common-wealth and state from danger; wherein whatsoever is informed your highness, we humbly beseech your majesty to think, we be as careful as any men living
186 may be; and do not, nor (we trust) shall not forget the benefits received of your majesty's most noble father, nor any of[40] our bounden duties of allegiance; the consideration[41], and the special care whereof, forced us to consult seriously, and to join in this sort: which thing, if we had presently foreshewed, not only your most royal person (whom Almighty God long preserve) but this your whole estate being already much touched, and in great towardness of ruin, was most like to come, in short time, to most imminent danger and peril. The causes whereof, as we all do well know, and can prove to have proceeded from the said duke; so if we should not earnestly provide for the same, we should not be able to answer to your majesty hereafter for not doing our duties therein; therefore do we nothing doubt, but your majesty, of your great cle-

Ex libro concilii, [p. 8.]

[p. 9.]

[40] *piece of.*

[41] *consideration whereof next after our duties to God hath moved us to do that we do.* These words have been erased, but appear in the copy of the original inserted in the volume of Domestic Papers.

mency and good nature, will not think that all and every of us, being the whole state of your privy-council, one or two excepted, should be led in these things by private affections, or would presume to write to your majesty, that whereof we were not most assured; and much more, we trust that your highness, of your goodness, will, without any jealousy or suspicion, think that most expedient, both for your own most royal person, and all your subjects, that by the body of your council may be thought expedient; to whom, and to no one man, your highness most grave father, appointed by his last will and testament, the care of your majesty, and all your most weighty affairs. We cannot therefore but think ourselves much wronged, that your said most royal person is in this sort by the duke only detained and shut up from us, to all our great heaviness, and the great fear of all other your majesty's true subjects, and wonder of all the world; sooner may one man intend ill, than a[42] multitude of us, who we take God to witness be a thousand times more careful of your highness' surety, than for all our own lives. We trust also, that of your majesty's good nature, you will not think that wilfulness, which your whole council doth, or shall agree upon, for your majesty's surety and benefit; where the more agreeable we be, the better opinion we trust your majesty will conceive of us
[p. 10.] and our doings. It comforteth us much to see the great appearance of your majesty's natural clemency, even in these your young years; and the assured hope which we have thereof, encourageth us to be persuaded, that you both do, and will conceive good opinion of us and all our doings; and that your majesty is, and so will continue, our gracious good lord, with whom (as[43] we trust) never deserve willingly to be called to the standing in any judgment with your majesty.

For the end of this matter, touching the duke of Somerset, if he have that respect to your majesty's surety that he pretendeth; if he have that consideration of his duty to God that his promise and oath requireth; if he have that remembrance of the performance of your majesty's father's will, that to the office of a good executor appertaineth; if he have the[44] reverence to your law[45] that a good subject ought to have, let him first quietly suffer us, your majesty's most humble servants,

[42] *the.* [43] *we as.* [44] *that.* [45] *laws.*

and true counsellors, to be restored to your majesty's presence; let him, as becometh a true subject, submit himself to your majesty's council, and the order of your highness laws; let the forces assembled be sent away, and then may we do our duties,
187 in giving our[46] attendance upon your majesty; and after consult there with your majesty more freely, for such order as may be thought most meet for your grace's surety: by these means your majesty's subjects may be at quiet, and all occasions of stir taken away. And if the said duke refuse to agree hereunto, we must think him to remain in his naughty and detestable determination. The protectorship and[47] governance of your most[48] royal person, was not granted him by your father's will, but only by agreement, first amongst us the executors, and after of others. Those titles and special trust was committed to him during your majesty's pleasure; and upon condition he should do all things by advice of your council. Which condition, because he hath so many times broken, and notwithstanding the often speaking to, without all hope of amendment, we think him most unworthy those honours or trust. Other particular things, too many and too long to be written to your majesty at this time, may at our next access to your royal presence be more particularly opened, consulted upon, and moderated, for[49] the conservation of your majesty's honour, surety, and good quiet of your realms and dominions may be thought most expedient[50].

[46] *our* om.

[47] *we must then declare that the protectorship and.*

[48] *most* om. [49] *as for.*

[50] [The copy in the Council Book from which this letter was originally printed and is now corrected, is the best copy, though containing some mistakes. The draft in the State Paper Office is so interlined and corrected as to be scarcely legible. And the copy of it in the same volume is very carelessly executed, and differs from the Council Book copy considerably more than the draft does. The variations given in the notes are those of the draft, omitting notice of mere difference of spelling. There are no signatures to the draft or the copy.]

Number XLIV. [p. 137.]

Letters from the lords at London, to the arch-bishop of Canterbury and sir William Paget, &c.

[*Letters of the ixth of October from the lords to the arch-bishop of Canterbury and sir William Paget, etc.*]

Ex libro concilii. [p. 11.]

My lords, after our most hearty commendations, we ha e received your letters by Mr. Hobby, and heard such credence as he declared on the king's majesty's and your behalfs[51] unto us. The answers whereunto, because they may at more length appear to you, both by our letters to the king's majesty, and by report also of the said Mr. Hobby, we forbear to repeat here again; most heartily praying, and requiring your lordships and every of you; and nevertheless charging and commanding you, in the king's majesty's name, to have a continual earnest watch, respect and care, to the surety of the king's majesty, our natural and most gracious sovereign lord's person; and that he be not removed from his majesty's castle of Wyndsour, as you tender your duties to Almighty God and his majesty, and as you will answer for the contrary at your uttermost perils. We are moved to call earnestly upon you herein, not without great cause; and amongst many others, we cannot but remember unto you, that it appeareth very strange unto us, and a great wonder to all true subjects, that you will either assist[52] or suffer his majesty's most royal person to remain in the guard of the duke of Somerset's men, sequestered from his own[53] old sworn servants. It seemeth strange, that in his majesty's own house, strangers should be armed with his majesty's own armour, and be nearest about his highness' person; and those to whom the ordinary charge is committed, sequestered away, so as they may not attend according to their sworn duties. If any ill come hereof, you[54] can consider to whom it 188
must be imputed once; the example is very strange and perilous. And now, my lords, if you tender the preservation of his majesty, and the state, join with us to that end: we have written to the king's majesty, by which way things may soon

[51] *behalf.* [52] *assent.* [53] *own* om. [54] *thereof ye.*

be quietly and moderately compounded. In the doing whereof, we mind to do none otherwise than we would be done to [55], and that with as much moderation and favour as honourably we [56] may. We trust none of you hath just cause to note any one of us, and much less all of such cruelty, as you so many times make mention of. One thing at [57] your letters we marvel much at, which is that you write, that you know more than we know. If the matters come to your knowledge, and hidden from us, be of such weight as you seem to pretend; or if they touch, or may touch his majesty or the state, we think you do not as you ought, in that you [58] have not disclosed the same unto us, being the whole state of the council. And thus praying God to send you the grace to do that may tend to the surety of the king's majesty's person, and tranquillity of the realm, we bid you heartily farewell,

From [Westminster the 9th of October, 1549,

Your assured loving friends,

R. Ryche, Canc. W. Seint John. W. Northt.
Arundell. F. Shrewesbury.
Thomas Southampton. T. Cheyne.
John Gage. William Petre. Edward North.
Edward Mountagu. R. Sadleyr. Nicholas Wotton.
Ric. Southwell. Jo. Baker [59].]

[55] *unto.* [56] *we honourably.*
[57] *in.* [58] *ye.*

[59] [This letter has been printed by Ellis, I. ii. 169, from the original in the Cotton Library, from which the date and signatures have been added within brackets. The variations at the foot of the page are the readings of the original. The copy has been collated also with that in the State Paper Office, which agrees sometimes with one, sometimes with the other, but never differs from both.]

Number XLV. [p. 137.]

An answer to the former letter. An original.

Ex libro concilii[60].

It may like your good lordships, with our most hearty commendations, to understand, that this morning sir Phillip Hobby hath, according to the charge given to him by your lordships, presented your letters to the king's majesty, in the presence of us, and all the rest of his majesty's good servants here, which was there read openly, and also the others to them of the chamber, and of the household, much to their comforts, and ours also; and according to the tenors of the same, we will not fail to endeavour our selves accordingly.

Now touching the marvel of your lordships, both of that we would suffer the duke of Somersett's men to guard the king's majesty's person; and also of our often repeating the word *cruelty;* although we doubt not but that your lordships hath been throughly informed of our estates here, and upon what occasions the one hath been suffered, and the other proceeded; yet at our convening together, (which may be when and where please you) we will, and are able to make your lordships such an account, as wherewith we doubt not you will be satisfied, if you think good to require it of us. And for because this bearer, master Hobby, can particularly inform your lordship of the whole discourse of all things here, we remit the report of all other things to him, saving that we desire to be advertised, with as much speed as you shall think good, whether the king's majesty shall come forthwith thither, or remain still here; and that some of your lordships would take pain to come hither forthwith. For the which purpose, I the comptroller, will cause three of the best chambers in the great 189
court to be hanged and made ready. Thus thanking God that all things be so well acquieted, we commit your lordships to his tuition.

Your lordships assured
loving friends,
T. Cant. William Paget, T. Smith.

From Windsor, the 10*th of October* 1549.

[To our very good lords and others of the kings majesty's privy council at London.]

[60] [This is a mistake; as no copy of this letter is to be found in the Council Book. The original letter is amongst the Cotton MSS. Caligula, B. vii. fol. 410, from which it has been corrected.]

Number XLVI. [p. 138.]

Articles[61] *objected to the duke of Somerset*

1. That he took upon hm the office of protector, upon express condition, that he should do nothing in the king's affairs, but by assent of the late king's executors, or the greatest part of them. [Hayward, p. 308.]

2. That, contrary to this condition, he did hinder justice, and subvert laws, of his own authority, as well by letters, as by other command.

3. That he caused divers persons arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter, and felony, to be discharged; against the laws and statutes of the realm.

4. That he appointed lieutenants for armies, and other officers for the weighty affairs of the king, under his own writing and seal.

5. That he communed with ambassadors of other realms alone, of the weighty matters of the realm.

6. That he would taunt and reprove divers of the king's most honourable counsellors, for declaring their advice in the king's weighty affairs against his opinion; sometimes telling them that they were not worthy to sit in council; and sometimes, that he needed not to open weighty matters to them; and that if they were not agreeable to his opinion, he would discharge them.

7. That against law he held a court of requests in his house;

[61] [These articles do not appear in the Council Book. They have been printed in most of the larger histories of the period, and were perhaps taken by the author from Hayward, p. 308, from whom he varies in only six instances, which are probably mistakes of copying or printing. Strype in his note on the passage in Kennett's History, vol. II. p. 309, says, Hayward took them from Stow, and notes Hayward's omission of an article which in Stow is placed between 27 and 21, viz. 'Item you caused at Windsor your own person in the night time to be guarded in harness by many persons leaving the king's majesty unguarded, and would not suffer his own guard and servants to be next the king's person, but appointed your friends and servants to keep the gates.' Hayward, however, did not take his account from Stow, as is shewn by the great number of variations in the articles. Fox and Holinshed give only 21 articles, and in somewhat different language.]

and did enforce divers to answer there for their freehold and goods, and did determine of the same.

8. That being no officer, without the advice of the council, or most part of them, he did dispose offices of the king's gift for money; grant leases, and wards, and presentations of benefices pertaining to the king; gave bishopricks, and made sales of the king's lands.

9. That he commanded alchemy, and multiplication to be practised, thereby to abase the king's coin.

10. That divers times he openly said, that the nobility and gentry were the only cause of dearth; whereupon the people rose to reform matters of themselves.

11. That, against the mind of the whole council, he caused proclamation to be made concerning inclosures; whereupon the people made divers insurrections, and destroyed many of the king's subjects.

12. That he sent forth a commission, with articles annexed, concerning inclosures, commons, highways, cottages, and such-like matters, giving the commissioners authority to hear and determine those causes, whereby the laws and statutes of the 190
realm were subverted, and much rebellion raised.

13. That he suffered rebels to assemble and lie armed in camp, against the nobility and gentry of the realm, without speedy repressing of them.

14. That he did comfort and encourage divers rebels, by giving them money, and by promising them fees, rewards, and services.

15. That he caused a proclamation to be made against law, and in favour of the rebels, that none of them should be vexed or sued by any, for their offences in their rebellion.

16. That in time of rebellion he said, that he liked well the actions of the rebels; and that the avarice of gentlemen gave occasion for the people to rise; and that it was better for them to die, than to perish for want.

17. That he said, the lords of the parliament were loth to reform inclosures, and other things, therefore the people had a good cause to reform them themselves.

18. That after declaration of the defaults of Boulogne, and the pieces there, by such as did surview them, he would never amend the same.

19. That he would not suffer the king's pieces of Newhaven, and Blackness, to be furnished with men and provision; albeit he was advertised of the defaults, and advised thereto by the king's council; whereby the French king was emboldened to attempt upon them.

20. That he would neither give authority, nor suffer noblemen and gentlemen to suppress rebels in time convenient; but wrote to them to speak the rebels fair, and use them gently.

21. That upon the 5th of October the present year, at Hampton-Court, for defence of his own private causes, he procured seditious bills to be written in counterfeit hands, and secretly to be dispersed into divers parts of the realm; beginning thus, *Good people*[62]; intending thereby to raise the king's subjects to rebellion and open war.

22. That the king's privy-council did consult at London to come to him, and move him to reform his government; but he hearing of their assembly, declared, by his letters in divers places, that they were high traitors to the king.

23. That he declared untruly, as well to the king as to other young lords attending his person, that the lords at London intended to destroy the king; and desired the king never to forget, but to revenge it; and required the young lords to put the king in remembrance thereof; with intent to make sedition and discord between the king and his nobles.

24. That at divers times and places he said, The lords of the council at London intend to kill me; but if I die, the king shall die; and if they famish me, they shall famish him.

[62] [A copy of this handbill has been preserved in the State Paper Office, from which it was printed in Tytler's Original Letters, vol. I. p. 210. It runs as follows:—

Good People,

In the name of God and King Edward let us rise with all our power to defend him and the lord protector against certain lords and gentlemen and chiefmasters which would depose the lord protector, and so endanger the king's royal person; because we the poor commons, being injured by the extortions of gentlemen, had our pardon this year by the mercy of the king, and the goodness of the lord protector; for whom let us fight, for he loveth all just and true gentlemen which do no extortion, and also the poor commonalty of Englonde.

God save the king and my lord protector, and all true lords and gentlemen, and us the poor commonalty.

Endorsed, 'The copy of the bill sowed amongst the commons.']

25. That of his own head he removed the king so suddenly from Hampton-Court to Windsor, without any provision there made, that he was thereby not only in great fear, but cast into a dangerous disease.

26. That by his letters he caused the king's people to assemble in great numbers in armour, after the manner of war, to his aid and defence.

27. That he caused his servants and friends at Hampton- 191
Court, and Windsor, to be apparelled in the king's armour, when the king's servants and guards went unarmed.

28. That he intended to fly to Jersey or Wales, and laid post-horses and men, and a boat to that purpose.

Numb. XLVII. [p. 143.]

A letter written[63] *by the council to the bishops, to assure them, that the king intended to go forward in the reformation.*

By the KING.

RIGHT reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Registr. Cranmer fol. 56.

And whereas the book entitled, the Book of *Common Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of Englande*, was agreed upon, and set forth by act of parliament; and by the same act commanded to be used of all persons within this our realm; yet nevertheless we are informed, that divers unquiet and evil-disposed persons, sithence the apprehension of the duke of Sommersett, have noised and bruted abroad, that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with such-like vain and superfluous ceremonies, as though the setting forth of the said book had been the only act of the said duke. We therefore, by the advice of the body and state of our privy-council, not only considering the said book to be our act, and the act of the whole state of our realm assembled together in parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon holy scripture, agreeable to the order of the primitive church, and much to the re-edifying of our subjects, to put away all such vain expectation, of having the public service, the administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies again in the Latin tongue, which were but a preferment of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again; have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to require, and nevertheless straitly to command and charge you, that immediately upon the receipt hereof, you do command the dean and prebendaries of your cathedral church; the parson, vicar, or curate, and

[63] [Another copy of this occurs on fol. 59 of the same register. It is entitled in the margin 'Letters from the Lords of the Council for the use of the book of Common Prayer set forth by act of parliament, and for suppressing other books.' The only difference in the two copies worthy of notice is, that besides the service books after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, and York, the latter mentions those of Bangor and Hereford.]

church-wardens of every parish, within your diocese, to bring and deliver unto you, or your deputy, every of them for their church and parish, at such convenient place as you shall appoint, all antiphoners, missals, grayles, processionals, manuels, legends, pies, portasies, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, Yorke, or any other private use: and all other books of service, the keeping whereof should be a lett to the usage of the said Book of Common Prayers; and that you take the same books into your hands, or into the hands of your deputy, and them so deface and abolish, that they never after may serve, either to any such use as they were provided for, or be at any time a lette to that godly and uniform order, which by a common consent is now set forth. And if you shall find any person stubborn or disobedient in not bringing in the said books, according to the tenor of these our letters, that then ye commit the said person to ward, unto such time as you have certified us of his misbehaviour. And we will and command you, that you also search, or cause search to be made, from time to time, whether any book be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenor of these our letters, and the same book to receive into your hands, and to use as in these our letters we have appointed. And furthermore, whereas it is come to our knowledge, that divers froward and obstinate persons do refuse to pay towards the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, according to the order prescribed in the said book, by reason whereof the holy communion is many times omitted upon the Sunday; these are to will and command you to convent such obstinate persons before you, and them to admonish and command to keep the order prescribed in the said book; and if any shall refuse so to do, to punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censures of the church. Fail you not thus to do, as you will avoid our displeasure. Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster, the 25th day of December, the third year of our reign, by the king to the most reverend father in God our right trusty and well beloved counsellor the Archbishop of Canterburie.

In calce hæc nomina habentur.

Thomas Cantuarien.	J. Russell.
R. Ryche, Canc.	H. Dorsett.
Wm. Seint John.	W. Northampton.

Number XLVIII. [p. 148.]

Cardinal Wolsey's letters[64] *to Rome, for procuring the popedom to himself, upon pope Adrian's death.*

Ex MS. Coll. C. C. Cant. [CXIII. p. 431.]

My lord of Bath, Mr. Secretary, and Mr. Haniball, I commend me unto you in my right hearty manner; letting you wit, that by letters lately sent unto me from you my lord of Bath, and Mr. Haniball, dated at Rome the 14th day of September. Which letters I incontinently shewed unto the king's grace his highness. And I have been advertised, to our great discomfort, that the said 14th day, it pleased Almighty God to call the pope's holiness unto his infinite mercy, whose soul Jesu pardon. News certainly unto the king's grace and to me right heavy, and for the universal weal and quiet of Christendom, (whereunto his holiness, like a devout and virtuous father of holy church, was very studious,) much displeasant and contrarious; nevertheless, conforming ourselves to the pleasure of Almighty God, to whose calling we all must be obedient; the mind and intention of the king's highness, and of me both, is to put our helps and furtherances, as much as conveniently may be, that such a successor unto him may now, by the holy college of cardinals, be named and elected, as may, with God's grace, perform, achieve, and fulfil the good and virtuous purposes and intents, concerning the pacification of Christendom; whereunto our said late holy father, as much as the brevity of the time did suffer, was, as it should seem,

[64] [This letter has also been printed in Fiddes' Life of Wolsey, Appendix, p. 83, but taken from Burnet with all his mistakes. It appears from State Papers, vol. VI. p. 181, that it was received on the 19th of October at Rome, and the reply to it by Clerk, Pace and Hannibal, dated from Rome, October 24, is printed in the same volume, pp. 178—184. Another letter from the same parties on the same subject bears date Nov. 7; the cardinal de Medici was elected, Nov. 19, and Wolsey apprized of it in a letter dated the same day, which appears not to be extant, but which is alluded to in another letter of the 2nd of December, printed in the State Papers, pp. 195—201, and again in Wolsey's answer without date, which also appears in the State Papers, pp. 221—231.]

minded and inclined; which thing, how necessary it is to the 193
state of Christ's religion, now daily more and more declining, it is facile and easy to be considered; and surely amongst other Christian princes, there is none which as ye heretofore have perfectly understonden, that to this purpose more dedicated themselves to give furtherance, advice, and counsel, than the emperor and the king's grace, who as well before the time of the last vacation, as sithence have both, by mouth and by letters, with report of ambassadors and otherwise, had many sundry conferences, communications, and devices, in that behalf. In which it hath pleased them, far above my merits, or deserts, of their goodness, to think, judge, and esteem me to be meet and hable for to aspire unto that dignity; persuading, exhorting, and desiring me, that whensoever opportunity should be given, I should hearken to their advice, counsel, and opinion in that behalf; and offering unto me, to interpone their authorities, helps, and furtherance therein to the uttermost. In comprobation whereof, albeit the emperor, now being far distant from these parts, could not, ne might in so brief time, give unto the king's grace, new or more fresh confirmation of his purpose, desire, and intent herein: yet nevertheless my lady Margaret, knowing the inclination of his mind
[p. 432.] in this same, hath, by a long discourse made unto me semblable exhortation; offering, as well on the emperor's behalf, as on her own, that as much shall by them be done, to the furtherance thereof, as may be possible. Besides this, both by your letters, and also by particular most loving letters of the cardinals de Medices, Sanctorum Quatuor and Campegius, with credence shewed unto me on their behalf, by their folk here resident, I perceive the good and fast minds, which they, and divers other their friends owe unto me in that matter. And finally, the king's highness doth not cease, by all the gracious and comfortable means possible to insist, that I, for manifold, notable, urgent, and great respects, in any wise shall consent that his grace and the emperor do set forth the thing with their best manner. The circumstance of whose entire and most firm mind thereunto, with the bounteous, godly, and beneficial offers for the weal of Christendom, which his grace maketh to me herein, is too long to rehearse. For which causes, albeit I know myself far unmeet and unhable to so

high a dignity, minding rather to live and die with his grace in this his realm, doing honour, service, good and pleasure to the same, than now (mine old days approaching) to enter into new things; yet nevertheless, for the great zeal and perfect mind which I have to the exaltation of the Christian faith; the honour, weal, and surety of the king's grace, and the emperor, and to do my duty both to Almighty God and to the world, I referring everything to God's disposition and pleasure, shall not pretermit to declare unto you such things, as the king's highness hath specially willed me to signify unto you, on his grace's behalf, who most effectually willeth and desireth you to set forth the same, omitting nothing that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his especial trust is in you.

First, Ye shall understand, that the mind, and entire desire of his highness, above all earthly things, is, that I should attain to the said dignity, having his perfect and firm hope, that of the same shall ensue, and that in brief time, a general
194 and universal repose, tranquillity, and quiet in Christendom; and as great renown, honour, profit, and reputation to this realm as ever was; besides the singular comfort and rejoice that the king's grace, with all his friends and subjects should take thereof; who might be well assured thereby, to compone and order their great causes and affairs, to their high benefit, commodity, and most advantage. For this, and other great and urgent causes, the pleasure of his highness is, that like as ye my lord of Bath, and Mr. Haniball, have right prudently and discreetly begun: so ye all, or as many of you as be present in the court of Rome, and continue your practices, overtures, motions and labours, to bring and conduce this the king's inward desire to perfect end and effect. [p. 433.]

And because it is not to be doubted, but that before the receipt of these my letters, ye having former instructions, shall have far entered your devices in this matter, wherein the king's grace trusteth ye do lose no time or opportunity that possibly may be had; I shall therefore briefly and compendiously touch such things, as the king's highness would ye should substantially note in this behalf.

One is, that albeit ye both before, and also now, know the king's mind and desire herein, as is aforesaid, taking that for your foundation; yet nevertheless, forasmuch as it appeareth

by your said letters, and otherwise, that the cardinal de Medices, whose preferment (if this may not be had) both the king's grace and I tender above all other, mindeth to experiment what may be done for himself, great policy and dexterity is in your labours and communications to be used, so that ye may first, by great ensearch and enquiry, perfectly understand, as nigh as may be, the disposition, mind, affection, and inclination, as well of the said cardinal de Medices, as of all the residue, if it be possible; which thing, well known, well pondered and considered, ye shall thereby have a great light to the residue of your business, wherein always ye must so order yourselves, that the matter appearing unto you much doubtful and uncertain, your particular practices (the desired intent peradventure failing) shall not be cause of displeasure or unkindness to be noted by any that may be elected; and for your introduction herein, the king's grace sendeth unto you at this time two commissions under his great seal, the one couched under general words, without making mention of any particular person; and in the other, his highness hath made mention of me by special name: besides that, ye shall receive herewith two letters from his grace to the college of cardinals, with the copies of the same; the one in special recommendation of me, and the other in favour of the cardinal de Medices; beside such other particular letters in my recommendation to certain cardinals, and other, as by the copies of them herewith enclosed ye shall now perceive. After the receipt thereof, if the cardinals before that time shall not be entered into the conclave, ye taking your commodity, as by your wisdom shall be thought most
[p. 434.] expedient, shall deliver unto the cardinal de Medices, the king's letters, and mine to him addressed, shewing unto him, with as good words and manner as ye can, that for his great virtue, wisdom, experience, and other commendable merits, with the entire love and favour which the king's grace and I bear unto him, thinking and reputing him most meet and hable to aspire unto the papal dignity before all other; ye have 195
commandment, commission, and instruction, specially and most tenderly, to recommend him unto the whole college of cardinals, having also the king's and my letters to them in his favour; upon which declaration ye shall perceive his answer to be made unto you in that behalf; whereupon, and by know-

ledge of the disposition of the residue, ye may perceive how to govern yourselves in the delivery of the rest of your said letters. For in case it may evidently appear unto you, that any of the cardinals, to whom the king's letters be directed, have firmly established their minds upon the said cardinal de Medices, the more circumspection is to be used with any such in the delivery to him of the king's letters, and overture of the secretness of your minds touching me; considering, that if the king's intent might in no wise take effect for me, his grace would, before all other, advance and further the said cardinal de Medices. Nevertheless, if either by his answer to be made unto you, or by other good knowledge, ye shall perceive that he hath so many enemies herein, that of likelihood he cannot attain the same, ye may be the more bold to feel his mind how he is inclined towards me; saying, as indeed the king's grace hath written unto him, That in case he should fail thereof, the king's highness would insist, as much as to his grace were possible, for me; which ye may say were in manner one thing, considering that both the cardinal de Medices and I bear one mind, zeal, and study, to the weal and quiet of Christendom, the increase and surety of Italie, the benefit and advancement of the emperor's and the king's majesty's causes; and I being pope, he in manner (whom I above all men love, trust, and esteem) were pope, being sure to have everything according to his mind and desire, and as much honour to be put unto him, his friends and family, as might be devised, in such wise, that by these and other good words and demonstrations, ye may make him sure, as I think he be, that failing for himself, he with all his friends do their best for me; and seeing no likelihood for him, ye may then right well proceed to your particular labour and practices for me, delivering the king's letters, both to the college of cardinals, and to the other, apart, as ye [p. 435.] shall see the case then to require; and solliciting them, by secret labours, alleging and declaring unto them my poor qualities, and how I having so great experience of the causes of Christendom, with the entire favour which the emperor and the king's grace bear unto me; the knowledge also, and deep acquaintance of other princes, and of their great affairs; the studious mind that I ever have been of, both to the surety and weal of Italie, and also to the quiet and tranquillity of Christ-

endom; not lacking, thanked be God, either substance or liberality to look largely upon my friends: besides the sundry great promotions, which by election of me should be vacant, to be disposed unto such of the said cardinals, as by their true and fast friendship had deserved the same; the loving familiarity also which they should find in me; and that of my nature I am not ingrate, disposed to rigour or austereness, but can be contented, thanked be God, frankly, pleasantly, and courteously, to participate, dispose, and bestow, such things as I have, or shall come to my disposition, not having any such faction, family, or kinsmen, to whom I might shew any partialities in bestowing the promotions and goods of the church; and which is highest to be regarded, that is likely and in 196
manner sure, that by my means, not only Italie shall be put in perfect surety for ever, but also a final rest, peace, and quiet, now most necessary established betwixt all Christian princes; whereupon the greatest and most notable expedition might be made against the infidels that hath been heard of many years. For the king's highness in that case would be contented, and hath fully promised, God willing, to come in person, when God shall send time, unto Rome; whither also I should not doubt to bring many more of the Christian princes, being determined, if God should send me such grace, to expone mine own person in God's quarrel; by mean of which my presence many things should be stayed, that for superiority and otherwise, in times past, hath been occasion of disagreement amongst princes; albeit peradventure the greatest respect shall not now be had hereunto, ne this be the best alectyve to win the cardinals favour; wherein ye must therefore use yourself by your wisdoms, as ye shall see the time, season, and care to require; assuring them, for removing of the doubt in changing the see, or not speedy repair thither; that after the election once passed and notified to me, I would not fail, by God's grace, within three months to be in Rome: there, and in the
[p. 436.] parts thereabout, to remain during my life, whereof ye may make faithful assurance.

By these, and other good means and promises on the king's behalf of large rewards, which his highness referreth to your discretion, and is contented to perform that which ye do therein; it is not to be doubted but that ye shall obtain the favours of

many of them; so as if respect may be had to the honour of the see apostolic, and the surety of Italie, the tranquillity of Christendom, the defence of the same against the infidels, the exaltation of the faith, the persecution of Christ's enemies, the increase and weal of the college of cardinals, with their advancement and promotion; gentle, frank, and liberal entertainment of them, and generally to the benefit of all holy church. The king's grace supposeth his mind and desire herein, with your good means, diligence, and sollicitations, is not unlike to take good effect; wherein, for the more authority, and better conducing of your purpose, the pleasure of his grace is, that ye join with the emperor's ambassadors, as far as ye may see and perceive them to favour this the king's intent, like as his grace thinketh, that according to the often conferences, communications, promises and exhortations made by the emperor to me in this behalf, and according to my said lady Margaret's desire and offer, they have commandment to do. In the politic handling of all which matters, the king's highness putteth in you his special trust and confidence, so to order yourself in the premises, as ye shall perceive to accord with the inward desire of his grace, and the state and disposition of the thing there; for which purpose his grace hath furnished you at this time, jointly or severally, with two sundry commissions, the one general for me, and in my favour, by the which ye have ample authority to bind and promise, on the king's behalf, as well gift of promotions, as also as large sums of money to as many, and such as ye shall think convenient. And assured ye may be, whatsoever ye shall promise, bind his grace, and do in that behalf, his highness will inviolably observe, keep and perform. The other special, as afore letters
197 to the college of two effects, the one for the cardinal de Medices, and the other for me, with other particular letters in my favour; all which his pleasure is, that ye shall use in manner and form aforesaid; that is to say, if ye shall perceive the affair of the cardinal de Medices to be in such perfect train, that he is like to have the said dignity, ye then proceed to that which may be his furtherance, using nevertheless your particular labours for me, if you think it may do good, after such sort as ye shall not conceive any ingratitude or unkindness therein. And if ye may see that the said cardinal de

Medices be not in such great likelihood thereof; then consider-
[p 437.] ing, that as the king's grace, and I think verily he will do his best for me, ye shall effectually set forth your practices for attaining and winning as many friends for me as possible may be, delivering your letters for that intent, as ye shall see cause. Wherein ye being now furnished for both purposes, and also having one of the commissions general and indifferent, without any person therein specially recommended, things be to be done or omitted, as ye shall know to stand with the state and commodity of the affairs there, with the ground of the king's mind to you now declared, shall be your best and perfect instruction; and as ye shall do or know herein, so the king's grace desireth you often and speedily to advertise me, by your letters, having no doubt but that his highness will see your travails, diligence, and pains in this behalf, so to be considered, as ye shall have cause to think the same well employed and bestowed.

And my lord of Bath, as ye do know well, because Mr. Pace, at the time of the last vacation, was sent purposely from hence with commission and instruction for that matter; the king, and I, supposing that upon knowledge of these news, he being at Millayne, would incontinently repair unto Rome; hath therefore made the foresaid commissions, and also this letter to be directed unto you, jointly and severally, willing you, in such substantial and discreet wise to proceed in that matter, not forbearing any thing that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his grace, and my special trust, is in you: and thus most heartily fare ye well.

At my manor of Hampton Court, the 4th day of October.

The rest is the cardinal's own hand.

My lord of Bathe, the king hath willed me to write unto you, that his grace hath a marvellous opinion of you; and ye knowing his mind as ye do, his highness doubteth not but this matter shall be by your policy set forth in such wise, as that the same may come to the desired effect, not sparing any reasonable offers, which is a thing, that amongst so many needy persons is more regarded, than per-case the qualities of the person; ye be wise, and ye wot what I mean; trust yourself best, and be not seduced by fair words, and specially of those which (say what they will) desire more their own preferment than

mine. Howbeit great dexterity is to be used; and the king thinketh that all the imperials shall be clearly with you, if faith be in the emperor. The young men, which for the most part being needy, will give good ears to fair offers, which shall
198 be undoubtedly performed; the king willeth you neither to spare his authority, or his good money, or substance. Ye may be assured, whatsoever ye promise shall be performed; and our Lord send you good speed.

Your loving friend,

T. Car^lis Ebor.

Number XLIX. [p. 148.][65]

A memorial given by the king's majesty, with the advice of his highness' council, to the lord Russel lord privy seal, the lord Paget of Beaudesert, sir William Petre knight, and one of his highness' two principal secretaries, and sir John Mason knight, his majesty's secretary for the French tongue; being sent at this present in commission, to treat and conclude upon a peace, with certain commissioners sent from the French king at this time for the same purpose. An original.

EDWARD R.

Cotton lib. Caligula. E. [iv. fol. 272.]

FIRST, As touching the place of their meeting, the same to be at Calais or Bulloign, if it may be so brought to pass: otherwise to be at such convenient place, either within our dominion, or the French; or sometime in the one, and[66] sometime the other[67], as may be best agreed upon. In the appointing whereof, we would no ceremony to be so much sticked upon, as the same should be any occasion of hindrance to the good success looked for at this meeting.

Secondly[68], If the French commissioners shall require Bulloign, with the members; and all such grounds and lands as was of late conquered by our late father, of most noble memory, to be restored to the French king, we be pleased our said[69] commissioners shall on our name agree and assent thereunto; so as the said French commissioners do, and will likewise covenant and agree, in the name of the said French king, to any of[70] our requests hereafter ensuing.

[65] [The reference for this and the following document was erroneously given to Caligula E. i. by the author. A great deal of the present document has been destroyed, but there exists a copy amongst the Sloane MSS., 4149. Art. 5. p. 28, which is so badly executed that the editor has thought it better to leave the text of such parts as are not extant in the original, just as the author printed them, noting the variations of the Sloane MS. at the foot of the page. Where the original exists it has been corrected by it, without any notice being taken of the variations of the copy. The first of these two documents was printed in Halliwell's Letters of the Kings, from the Sloane MS., the editor being apparently not aware of the existence of the original.]

[66] *and* om. Sloane.

[67] *in the other.* Sloane.

[68] *Second.* Sloane.

[69] *said* om. Sloane.

[70] *of* om. Sloane.

First, Our said commissioners shall demand, in recompence for Bulloign, and the members and grounds as aforesaid, that the treaties last made, between our said father of famous memory, and the realm of Scotland, may in all things be performed; and the person of the young Scottishe queen delivered to us, to the intent the marriage between[71] us and her may be performed. They shall also demand, that the fortifications at Newhaven and Blackness may be utterly ruinated, and no fortifications made from henceforth at any of those places. They shall also require the continuance of payment of our perpetual pension, and all the debts due unto us, by force of any former
199 treaties, before the commencement of these last wars.

And this for the first degree, which if it may not be obtained, then for the second degree, we be pleased to accept for a recompence, if they will covenant for performance of the said treaties with Scotland, to[72] deliver the Scottishe queen, and continue from henceforth the payment of the perpetual pension.

But if that shall also be refused, then for the third degree, our said commissioners shall require the continuance of payment of our pension, the arrearages due by any former treaties, between our said father and the late French king; and that the forts of Newhaven, Hambletue[73], and Blackness, may be utterly ruinated, and no new fortifications commenced at any of the said places hereafter.

And if this may not be obtained, then for the fourth and last degree our pleasure is, that our said commissioners shall require the continuance of payment of our said pension, and all such debts as were due unto our said late father before the commencement of his last war[74].

In the debating and discoursing whereof, we will that our said commissioners shall employ themselves to their uttermost, to make as good and honourable a bargain for us, and to attain all or as much of the premises as they may; remembering unto the French commissioners, our great charges sustained in these last wars commenced by them, contrary to the former treaties.

[71] *then covenanted between.* Sloane.
[72] *to* om. Sloane.
[73] *alias Hambletue.* Sloane.
[74] *wars.* Sloane.

[Caligula E. iv. fol. 272.]

Touching the place, day, time, and other circumstances to be used, as well[75] in the delivery of Bulloign, the base town, the old man, the young man, with the ground, territories, and members, to the said pieces, or any of them belonging; as also of payment of such sums of money as shall be agreed upon for the same; our said commissioners shall, by their good discretions, devise with the said French commissioners, all such ways as they can or may think most for our honour and surety: and such overtures or discourses as shall be made by the said French commissioners, touching the premises, our said commissioners shall advertise unto us or our council.

And if any motion shall be made to have Scotland comprehended in this peace, our said commissioners shall say, that forasmuch as the Scots be common enemies to us and the emperor, we may not assent to the comprehension of them, without the emperor's consent; or at the least, without such respect to our treaties with the emperor, and his subjects, as the amity between us requireth. And therefore if the Scotts will covenant to stand to our arbitrement and judgment for all such matters as be in difference between the said emperor and them, we will be pleased that the Scots shall be comprehended; and one such article, or of like effect, made for comprehension of them, as was made at the conclusion of the last peace.

And if the delivery, or razing of any pieces, now[76] by us possessed in Scotland, shall be required, we be pleased that our commissioners travailling first by all ways and means they may, to induce the other commissioners to assent, that all the said pieces, and the lands by us now possessed, may remain to us and our heirs and successors for ever, shall nevertheless, if that may not be received, assent in the end, that Borthwick-craig, Lauder, and Dounglasse, shall be restored upon a convenient recompence in money, so as the forts of Roxborough and Aymouth, with their grounds adjoining, may be covenanted to remain to us and our successors for ever.

[Caligula E. iv. fol. 272 b.]

If the French commissioners shall make any motion of treaty for marriage, between us and the lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to the French king; our said commissioners excusing the pre-

[75] [From this place the original exists, but very much mutilated.]

[76] [From *by us* to *successors for* has been destroyed.]

sent talk thereof, in respect of our young years, and for such other causes as they may think good, shall do all that they may to cut off that talk. But if they shall be much pressed therein, in respect of such overtures as have been made already, our pleasure is, that our said commissioners shall, by general words, entertain the talk of that matter; and thereof, and of such other matters as shall be proponed touching the same, advertise us, or our council.

In all this treaty it must be remembered, to reserve and have special regard to the preservation of our treaties with the emperor, and other our friends.

And if it shall seem expedient to our said commissioners, for the better expedition of our affairs committed to their charge, that a surceaunce or abstinence of wars be granted, as well on our behalf, as on the behalf of the French king, we be pleased that our right trusty, and right well-beloved cousin, the earl of Huntingdon, our lieutenant general of that side, shall, by the advice of our said commissioners, grant a surceaunce or abstinence for such time, and in such manner and sort, as by our said commissioners shall be thought best, so as the like be also granted on the behalf of the said French king. [Caligula E. iv. fol. 273.]

Finally, Our said commissioners shall advertise us, or our council attendant about our person, from time to time, of their proceedings; and further do as we or our council shall appoint them, either by our letters, or the letters of our said council accordingly[78].

T. Cant.	T. Cheyne.
R. Ryche Canc.	A. Wyngfeld.
W. Seint John.	W. Herbert.
H. Dorset.	T. Darcy.
W. Northt.	N. Wotton.
J. Warwyk.	Edward North.
Thomas Southampton.	Edward Montague.
Thomas Ely.	Ja. Baker.
Cuth. Duresm.	Ric. Southwell.
T. Wentworth.	

[77] [From *right* to *so as* has been destroyed.]

[78] [The names as usual are signed in a straggling manner in three columns, and the third column is nearly destroyed by fire.]

Number L. [p. 148.] 201

Articles devised by the king's majesty, with the advice of his highness' council, answering to certain doubts moved in the letters, bearing date the 27th of February last past, sent from his majesty's commissioners, being on the other side the seas, for the treaty of peace. An original.

EDWARD.

Cotton lib. Caligula. E. [iv. fol. 270.]

FIRST, If the French deputies require to have Roxburgh and Aymouth to be rendered unto the Scots, we will that our commissioners shall, by all the best means they can devise, induce them to agree, that the said two places may and shall remain to us.

And in case the French will not so be persuaded, but require still to have them rendered, our pleasure is, that our commissioners shall stand most stiffly in the denial of it, so far forth, that they shall come to the breaking of that day's talk, rather than to condescend unto it.

And in case, that move not the French to relent of their request, our commissioners shall afterwards send to the French deputies to meet, or to talk again, and then they shall say, that rather than such a good work of peace should fail, they will grant to the razing and abandoning of both the said pieces; with special capitulation, that neither the French nor the Scots shall re-fortify, nor cause to be re-fortified, in neither of those two places; with the like covenant for our part, if the French deputies do require it.

[fol. 270 b.] *Item.* We are pleased, that the reservance of our rights and titles, mentioned in our former articles sent to our said commissioners, be in general words, so as severally general reservance be made, as well for our rights and titles as to Scotland, as for our matters with France.

Item. We are pleased, that for such sums of money as shall be agreed upon to be paid unto us for the delivery of Bulloine, our said commissioners shall take hostages of the French, ac-

cording to our former articles sent unto them in that behalf; the said hostages to remain here, till the whole and last sum so agreed upon be fully answered unto us.

And likewise in case the French deputies will ask hostages for the sure delivery of the town of Bulloyne, with the members, our said commissioners may agree to the assigning of such hostages as shall be thought sufficient for the same; which hostages nevertheless shall not be bound to remain or continue there any longer, than till the said town is delivered; but shall thereupon be suffered to return home at their pleasure.

Item. Upon the conclusion between our commissioners, and the French deputies, for the delivery of Bulloine, our pleasure is, that the term of the delivery of the same be appointed, as
202 short as may be conveniently, having consideration to a reasonable respite for the removing and safe conveyance away of the artillery, munition, armour, and goods belonging to us or our subjects, either by sea or by land, as shall be thought most commodious: and that our men departing out of the town in [fol. 271 a.] the forenoon, the French shall abstain from entry into it till a three or four hours after, for avoiding of the inconveniences which may chance upon the coupling of our men with the French.

Item. Forasmuch as our said commissioners being upon the place, can better consider any other thing not touched in the premises, concerning the manner and fashion of the delivery of Bulloine, or retire of our men, artillery, and other things there, than we can do here, we are pleased to remit that to their wisdoms and discretions.

Item. As for Alderney and Sark, forasmuch as both those places are ours, reason would that the French should raze their fortification at Sark, and the fortification at Alderney, being lawfully done by us upon our own ground, to remain at our arbitrement.

That in case the French deputies shall make no mention, neither of the one, nor the other, we are pleased that our commissioners shall also pass it over in silence; but if the French deputies shall mention the same, and without the razing the fortifications at Alderney, will not condescend to a peace, we are pleased, our commissioners shall conclude with them upon

the razing and abandoning of the one and the other of the aforesaid fortifications; standing first as much in denial of the French deputies' demands herein, as they may.

T. Cant.
R. Riche Canc.
W. Wiltes.
J. Warwick.
W. Northt.
T. Wentworth.
T. Ely.
T. Cheyne.
A. Wyngfeld.
W. Herbert,
T. Darcy.
John Gage.
N. Wotton.
Edward North.
R. Sadleyr.

Number LI. [p. 154.]

The king's letters patents to John a Lasco, and the German congregation.

[*De Fundatione Templi in Civitate Londoniæ pro Germanis.*]

EDWARDUS Sextus Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ rex, fidei defensor, et in terrâ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum sub Christo caput, omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint salutem. Rot. pat. 4to. reg. par. 5. m. 3 [ap. Rymer xv. 242.]

Cum magnæ quædam et graves considerationes nos ad præsens specialiter impulerunt, tum etiam cogitantes illud, quanto studio et charitate Christianos principes in sacrosanctum Dei evangelium, et religionem apostolicam ab ipso Christo inchoatam, institutam et traditam, animatos et propensos esse conveniat, sine quâ haud dubie politia et civile regimen neque consistere
203 diu, neque nomen suum tueri potest, nisi principes, cæterique præpotentes viri, quos Deus ad regnorum gubernacula sedere voluit, id inprimis operam dent, ut per totum reipublicæ corpus, casta sinceraque religio defundatur, et ecclesia in vere Christianis et apostolicis opinionibus et ritibus instituta, et adulta per sanctos, ac carni et mundo mortuos ministros conservetur: pro eo quod Christiani principis officium esse statuimus, inter alias gravissimas de regno suo bene splendideque administrando cogitationes, etiam religioni et religionis causæ calamitate fractis et afflictis exulibus consulere,

Sciatis, quod non solum præmissa contemplantes et ecclesiam a papatûs tirannide per nos vindicatam in pristinâ libertate conservare cupientes, verum etiam exulum et peregrinorum conditionem miserantes, qui tam bonis temporibus in regno nostro Angliæ commorati sunt, voluntario exilio, religionis et ecclesiæ causâ mulctati, quia hospites et exteros homines propter Christi evangelium ex patriâ suâ profligatos, ejectos in regnum nostrum profugos, præsidiis ad vitam degendum necessariis in regno nostro egere, non dignum esse neque Christiano homine neque principis magnificentiâ dignum esse duximus, cujus liberalitas nullo modo in tali rerum statu restricta, clausave esse debet.

Ac quoniam multi Germanæ nationis homines ac alii pere-

grini qui confluxerunt, et in dies singulos confluunt in regnum nostrum Angliæ, ex Germaniâ et aliis remotioribus partibus, in quibus papatûs dominatu evangelii libertas labefactari et premi cœpta est, non habent certam sedem et locum in regno nostro ubi conventus suos celebrare valeant, ubi inter suæ gentis et moderni idiomatis homines religionis negotia et res ecclesiasticas pro patrio ritu et more intelligenter obire et tractari possint: idcirco de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris, necnon de avisamento concilii nostri volumus concedimus et ordinamus quod de cætero sit et erit unum templum sive sacra ædes in civitate nostrâ Londoniæ, quod vel quæ vocabitur TEMPLUM DOMINI JESU, ubi congregatio et conventus Germanorum aliorumque peregrinorum fieri et celebrari possit, eâ intentione et proposito, ut a ministris ecclesiæ Germanorum aliorumque peregrinorum, sacrosancti Evangelii incorrupta interpretatio, sacramentorum juxta verbum Dei et apostolicam observationem administratio fiat,

Ac templum illud, sive sacram ædem illam de uno superintendente et quatuor verbi ministris erigimus, creamus, ordinamus et fundamus per præsentes, et quod iidem superintendens et ministri in re et nomine sunt et erunt unum corpus corporatum et politicum, de se, per nomen superintendentis et ministrorum ecclesiæ Germanorum et aliorum peregrinorum ex fundatione regis Edwardi Sexti in civitate Londoniæ, per præsentes incorporamus: ac corpus corporatum et politicum per idem nomen realiter et ad plenum creamus, erigimus, ordinamus, facimus et constituimus per præsentes: et quod successionem habeant.

Et ulterius de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris, necnon de avisamento concilii nostri dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentes damus et concedimus præfatis superintendenti et ministris ecclesiæ Germanorum et aliorum peregrinorum in civitate Londoniæ, totum illud templum sive ecclesiam nuper Fratrum Augustinentium in civitate nostrâ Londoniæ, ac totam terram, fundum et solum ecclesiæ prædictæ, excepto toto choro dictæ ecclesiæ, terrâ, fundo et solo ejusdem, habendum et gaudendum, dictum templum sive ecclesiam ac cætera 204
præmissa, (exceptis præexceptis,) præfatis superintendenti et ministris et successoribus suis, tenendum de nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris in puram et liberam Eleemosinam.

Damus ulterius de avisamento prædicto, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris prædictis per præsentes concedimus præfatis superintendenti et ministris et successoribus suis plenam facultatem, potestatem et auctoritatem amplificandi et majorem faciendi numerum ministrorum et nominandi ac appunctuandi de tempore in tempus, tales et hujusmodi subministros, ad serviendum in templo prædicto, quales præfatis superintendenti et ministris necessarium visum fuerit, et quod hæc omnia ad beneplacitum regium.

Volumus præterea quod Johannes a Lasco natione Polonus, homo propter integritatem et innocentiam vitæ ac morum, et singularem eruditionem valde celebris, sit primus et modernus superintendens dictæ ecclesiæ, et quod Gualterus Deboemis, Martinus Flandrus, Franciscus Riverius, Ridulphus Gallus, sint quatuor primi et moderni ministri.

Damus præterea et concedimus præfatis superintendenti et ministris et successoribus suis facultatem, auctoritatem et licentiam, post mortem vel vacationem alicujus ministri prædictorum, de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi et surrogandi aliam Personam habilem et idoneum in locum suum; ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus et electus præsentetur et sistatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel successoribus nostris, et per nos, hæredes vel successores nostros instituatur in ministerium prædictum.

Damus etiam et concedimus præfatis superintendenti, et ministris et successoribus suis facultatem, auctoritatem et licentiam, post mortem seu vacationem superintendentis, de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi et surrogandi alium, personam doctam et gravem in locum suum; ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus et electus præsentetur et sistatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel successoribus nostris, et per nos, hæredes vel successores nostros instituatur in officium superintendentis prædicti.

Mandamus et firmiter injungendo præcipimus, tam majori, vicecomitibus et aldermannis civitatis nostræ Londoniæ Episcopo Londoniensi et successoribus suis, cum omnibus aliis archiepiscopis, episcopis, justiciariis, officiariis et ministris nostris quibuscumque, quod permittant præfatos, superintendentem et ministros, et successores suos libere et quiete frui, gaudere, uti, et exercere ritus et ceremonias suas proprias, et disciplinam ecclesiasticam propriam et peculiarem, non obstante quod non con-

veniant cum ritibus et ceremoniis in regno nostro usitatis, absque impetitione, perturbatione, aut inquietatione eorum, vel eorum alicujus, aliquó statuto, actu, proclamatione, injunctione, restrictione, seu usu in contrarium inde antehac factis, editis, seu promulgatis in contrarium non obstantibus.

Eo[77] quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmissorum, sive eorum alicujus, aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos præfatis superintendenti, ministris et successoribus suis ante hæc tempora factis, in præsentibus minime facta existit, aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione, provisione, sive restrictione inde in contrarium factis, editis, ordinatis seu provisis, aut aliquâ aliâ re, causâ vel materiâ quâcunque in aliquo non obstante.

In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, 205

Teste Rege apud Leighes, vicesimo quarto die Julii, anno regni nostri quarto.

Per breve de privato sigillo, et de datis prædictâ auctoritate parliamenti.

R. Southwell.

W. Harrys.

[77] [This paragraph is neither printed by Rymer, nor does it occur in the Patent Roll. There is an attested copy of the Document in the State Paper Office, Domestic Papers, vol. X. art. 15; and likewise a French translation, which contains the passage at length. This latter has been printed in the Appendix to the 2nd vol. of Collier's Church History, p. 74. The patent for the naturalization of him, and his wife and children, and for an annual pension of 100*l.*, appears in Rymer, xv, 238.]

Number LII. [p. 158.]

Injunctions given in the visitation of the reverend father in God, Nicolas bishop of London, for an uniformity in his diocese of London, in the fourth year of our sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, king of England, &c.

London, anno Domini M.D.L.

First, That there be no reading of such injunctions as extolleth and setteth forth the popish mass, candles, images, chantries; neither that there be used any superaltaries, or trentals of communions. Regist. Ridley, fol. 305 [b.]

Item. That no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, in kissing the Lord's board; washing his hands or fingers after the gospel, or the receipt of the holy communion; shifting the book from one place to another; laying down and licking the chalice after the communion; blessing his eyes with the sudarie thereof, or patten, or crossing his head with the same, holding up his fore-fingers and thumbs joined together toward the temples of his head, after the receiving of the sacrament; breathing on the bread, or chalice; saying the Agnus before the communion; shewing the sacrament openly before the distribution, or making any elevation thereof; ringing of the sacryng bell, or setting any light upon the Lord's board. And finally, that the minister, in the time of holy communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the popish mass.

Item. That none be admitted to receive the holy communion, but such as will, upon request of the curate, be ready, with meekness and reverence, to confess the articles of the Creed.

Item. That none make a mart of the holy communion, by buying and selling the receipt thereof for money, as the popish mass in times past was wont to be.

Item. Where as in divers places, some use the Lord's board after the form of a table, and some of an altar, whereby dissention is perceived to arise among the unlearned; therefore wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese; and for

that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the popish mass, and to the right use[78] of the Lord's supper, we exhort the curates, 206
church-wardens, and questmen here present, to erect and set up the Lord's board, after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the quire or chancel, as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers, with the communicants, may have their place separated from the rest of the people: and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables.

Item. That the minister, in the time of the communion, immediately after the offertory, shall monish the communicants, saying these words, or such-like, *Now is the time, if it please you to remember the poor men's chest with your charitable alms.*

Item. That the Homilies be read orderly, without omission of any part thereof.

Item. That common prayer be had in every church upon Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the king's grace's ordinance; and that all such as conveniently may, shall diligently resort to the same.

Item. That every curate be diligent to teach the Catechism, whensoever just occasion is offered, upon the Sunday or holy-day, and at the least every six weeks once, shall call upon his parishioners, and present himself ready to instruct and examine the youth of the same parish, according to the book of service touching the same.

Item. That none maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bederoules, images, reliques, rubrick primars, with invocation of saints, justification of man by his own works, holy bread, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchre paschal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of the fire or altar, or any other such-like abuses, and superstitions, now taken away by the king's grace's most godly proceedings.

Item. That all ministers do move the people to often and worthy receiving of the holy communion.

Item. That every minister do move his parishioners to come diligently to the church; and when they come, not to talk, or walk, in the sermon, communion, or divine service-

[78] [These words, *the right use of*, are repeated by accident in the register.]

time, but rather at the same to behave themselves reverently, godly, and devoutly in the church; and that they also monish the church-wardens to be diligent overseers in that behalf.

Item. That the church-wardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outrageous noise or tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth in the church, church-porch, or church-yard, during the time of common prayer, sermon, or reading of the homily.

Item. That no persons use to minister the sacraments, or in open audience of the congregation, presume to expound the holy scriptures, or to preach, before they be first lawfully called and authorised in that behalf.

God save the king.[78]

[78] At bottom follow Proverbs the xvth. "The ear that hearkeneth to the reformation of life, shall dwell among the wise. He that refuseth to be reformed, despiseth his own soul; but he that submitteth himself to correction is wise." 3 Reg. xviii. "Elias: How long halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal be he, go after him." [S.]

Number LIII. [p. 160.] 207

Dr. Oglethorp's[79] *submission and profession of his faith.*

[Ex MS. C. C. C. CXXVII. ad fin.]

I DID never preach or teach openly any thing contrary to the doctrine and religion set forth by the king's majesty, and authorised by his grace's laws, sithen the making and publishing of the same.

I suppose, and think his grace's proceedings (concerning religion) to be good and godly, if they be used accordingly, as his grace hath willed they should, by his laws and injunctions.

And further, I suppose the order and form of doctrine, and religion, now set forth by his grace, and used, in many things to be better and much nearer the usage of the apostolical and primitive church, than it was before-times: if it be used godly and reverently, accordingly as I think it to be meant by his grace's highness, and his most honourable council; namely, in these things, in prohibiting that none should commune alone, in making the people whole communers, or in suffering them to commune under both kinds, in the catechisation of younglings in the rudiments of our faith, in having the common prayer in English, in setting forth the Homilies, and many other things; which I think very good and godly, if they be used as is aforesaid.

The foolish[80] and lately received doctrine, concerning the sacrament, and namely the attribute of transubstantiation, I do not like, and I think it not consonant to the scriptures, and ancient writers; although I suppose that there is a certain and ineffable presence of Christ's body there, which I can neither comprehend nor express, because it so far passes the compass and reach of my wit and reason: wherefore I think it ought to both be ministered and received with a godly and reverent fear, and not without great premeditation and examination before had, as well of the minister, as of the receiver, 1550.

Your grace's poor well-willer, with his
prayer and service, as he is bound,
Owynne Oglethorpe.

[79] [At the top of the page is written in the same hand *Dr. Oglethorpe*, and there has been added in another hand *in Quene Marys tyme torned quyte.*]

[80] [This word was omitted by the author, and appears to be spelled *pholysshe.*]

208 ## Number LIV. [p. 162.]

A letter from Dr. Smith to arch-bishop Cranmer[81].

An original.

Right honourable, and my especial good lord;

I COMMEND me to your grace most humbly, giving to the same thanks as I am bound, for your grace's kindness towards me shewed; for the which you have (and shall whiles I live) my good word and prayer. *Ignatii Epistolæ adhuc extant in gymnasio Magdalenæ.* If it might please your lordship, I would very gladly see some part of your Collection against my book, *De Cœlibatu Sacerdotum;* which I wrote then to try the truth out, not to the intent it should be printed, as it was, against my will. Would God I had never made it, because I took therein for my chief ground, that priests of England made a vow when they were made, which I now perceive is not true. Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. Cant. [CXIX. 41 p. 109.]

My lord, I received my cap-case, &c. *Sed tribus nummorum meorum partibus sublatis; quod damnum æquo animo mihi est ferendum, quod furti revinci non possit, qui abstulit.* My lord, I am glad that your grace is reported both gentle and also merciful, of all such which have had to do with you for religion, of this university. For my part, if ever I may do your grace's basest servant any pleasure, I will do it indeed. *Si aliter, atqui sentio, loquor, dispeream. Ignoscat tua honoranda dominatio tam diutinum silentium mihi, quippe quod crebrioribus literis posthac pensabo.*

Deus Optimus Maximus tuam amplitudinem diu servet incolumem Christianæ pietati propagandæ ac provehendæ. Oxonii 28.

Tibi addictissimus,
Ricardus Smythæus.

[81] This letter was not written to archbishop Cranmer, but to archbishop Parker [S.] [See the notes in the History, p. 162.]

Number LV. [p. 166.] 209

Articles agreed upon by the bishops and other learned men, in the convocation held at London, in the year 1552, *for the avoiding diversities of opinions, and stablishing consent touching true religion.*

Published by the king's authority.

With marginal[82] *notes of the differences between these and those set out by queen Elizabeth, anno* 1562.

I. *Of faith in the holy Trinity.*

THERE is but one living and true God everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in the unity of this Godhead, there are three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

II. *The Word of God made very man.*

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood were join'd together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.

[1562.]

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, *begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father:* took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, &c.

III. *Of the going down of Christ into hell.*

As Christ died for us, and was buried; so also is it to be believed that he went down into hell: *For* his body lay in the grave till his resurrection, but his soul being separate from his body, remained with the spirits which were detained in prison, that is to say, in hell, and there preached unto them;* as witnesseth that place of Peter.

[1562.]

* These words were left out.

[82] [In this edition these notes follow each article.]

IV. *The resurrection of Christ.*

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth till he return to judge all men at the last day.

[1562.]

210 *Of the Holy Ghost.*

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father, and the Son, very and eternal God.

V. *The doctrine of the holy scripture is sufficient to salvation.*

Holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, *although sometimes it may be admitted by God's faithful people as pious, and conducing unto order and decency;* yet is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

[1562.]

Holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought necessary or requisite to salvation.

In the name of the holy scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the church; that is to say, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1*st of Samuel,* 2*nd of Samuel, &c. And the other books (as Hierome saith) the church doth read for example of life, and instruction of manners, but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following, the* 3*rd of Esdras, the* 4*th of Esdras, the Book of Tobias, the Book of Judith, the rest of the Book of Esther, the Book of Wisdom, &c. All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them canonical.*

VI. *The Old Testament is not to be rejected.*

The Old Testament is not to be rejected, as if it were contrary to the New, but to be retained. Forasmuch as in the Old Testament, as in the New, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator betwixt God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, who feign, that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises.

[1562.]

Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any common-wealth; yet notwithstanding no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

VII. *The three Creeds.*

The three Creeds, Nice Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received*; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of the holy scripture.

* [1562.] and believed.

VIII. *Original sin.*

Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk, *and at this day is affirmed by some Anabaptists**,) but it is the fault and corruption of every man, that naturally is engendered of the off-spring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his 211
own nature inclined to evil; so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *φρόνημα σαρκὸς*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

* [1562.] left out.

IX. *Of free-will.*

We have no power to do good works, pleasant and accept-

able to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

[1562.]

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable unto God, &c.

X. *Of grace.*

The grace of Christ, or the Holy Ghost which is given by him, doth take from man the heart of stone, and giveth him a heart of flesh. And though it rendereth us willing to do those good works, which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do those evil works, which before we did, yet is no violence offered by it to the will of man; so that no man when he hath sinned can excuse himself, as if he had sinned against his will, or upon constraint; and therefore that he ought not to be accused or condemned upon that account.

XI. *Of the justification of man.*

Justification by faith only in Jesus Christ, in that sense wherein it is set forth in the homily of Justification, is the most certain and most wholesome doctrine for a Christian man.

[1562.]

We are accounted righteous before God only, for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore that we are justified by faith, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the homily of Justification.

Of good works.

Albeit the good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable unto God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them, a lively faith may be as evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruit.

212 XII. *Works before justification.*

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ; neither do they make men meet

to receive grace, or (as the school-authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

XIII. *Works of supererogation.*

Voluntary works besides, over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety; for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake, than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, *When you have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.*

XIV. *None but Christ without sin.*

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, (sin only excepted,) from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh and in his spirit: he came to be a Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him: but all we the rest (although baptized and born in Christ) yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us.

XV. *Of the sin against the Holy Ghost.*

Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God (we may) arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned which say, they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny *the place of penance** to such as truly repent.

* [1562.] place of forgiveness.

XVI. *The Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.*

The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is then committed, when any man, out of malice and hardness of heart, doth wilfully reproach and persecute in an hostile manner the truth of God's word, manifestly made known unto him. Which sort of men, being made obnoxious to the curse, subject themselves to the most grievous of all wickednesses; from whence this kind

of sin is called unpardonable, and so affirmed to be by our Lord and Saviour.

213 XVII. *Of predestination and election.*

Predestination unto life, is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret unto us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen* out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose, by his Spirit working in due season, they through grace obey the calling, they be justified freely, they are made sons of †adoption, they are made like the image of the ‡only begotten Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of predestination and election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfal, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchlesness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, *though the decrees of predestination be unknown to us, yet* ‖ must we receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in holy scripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.

[1562.]

* in Christ. † God by. ‡ His. ‖ Left out.

XVIII. *Everlasting salvation to be obtained only in the name of Christ.*

They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he pro-

fesseth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature: for holy scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

XIX. *All men are bound to keep the precepts of the moral law.*

Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any common-wealth; yet notwithstanding no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called Moral. Wherefore they are not to be heard which 114
teach, that the holy scriptures were given to none but to the weak, and brag continually of the Spirit, by which they do pretend, that all whatsoever they preach is suggested to them, though manifestly contrary to the holy scripture.

XX. *Of the church.*

The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the church of Rome hath erred, not only in their livings, and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

XXI. *Of the authority of the church.*

It is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of scripture, that it be repugnant to another: wherefore although the church be a witness and keeper of holy writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.

[1562.]

The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith. It is not lawful for the church, &c.

XXII. *Of the authority of general councils.*

General councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they are ga-

thered together, forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, (whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them, as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared, that they be taken out of holy scripture.

XXIII. *Of purgatory.*

The doctrine of the school-men concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping, and adoration, as well of images as of reliques, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of scripture, but rather *perniciously* repugnant to the word of God.

XXIV. *No man to minister in the church except he be called.*

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent,
215 which be chosen and called to this work by men, who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

XXV. *All things to be done in the congregation in such a tongue as is understood by the people.*

It is most fit, *and most agreeable to the word of God,* that nothing be read or rehearsed in the congregation, in a tongue not known unto the people; which Paul hath forbidden to be done, unless some be present to interpret.

[1562.]

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the *primitive church,* to have public prayers in the church, or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understood by the people.

XXVI. *Of the sacraments.*

Our Lord Jesus Christ gathered his people into a society, by sacraments very few in number, most easy to be kept, and of most excellent signification; that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use

them; and in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation; not as some say, *Ex opere operato*, which terms, as they are strange and utterly unknown to the holy scripture, so do they yield a sense which savoureth of little piety, but of much superstition: but they that receive them unworthily, receive to themselves damnation.

The sacraments ordained by the word of God, be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession; but rather they be certain sure witnesses, effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us; and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

[1562.]

Sacraments ordained of Christ, be not only badges and tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called sacraments, that is to say, *confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony*, and *extreme unction*, are not to be counted for sacraments of the gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the scriptures, but yet have not like nature of sacraments, with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed on, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith.

XXVII. *The wickedness of the ministers takes not away the efficacy of divine institutions.*

Although in the visible church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the

ministration of the word and sacraments; yet forasmuch as
216 they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their ministry both in hearing the word of God, and in receiving of the sacraments: neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith rightly do receive the sacrament, ministered unto them, which be effectual because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless it appertaineth to the discipline of the church, that inquiry be made after **them*, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally, being found guilty, by just judgment be deposed.

* [1562] evil ministers.

XXVIII. *Of baptism.*

Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is also a sign of regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly, are grafted into the church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased, by virtue of prayer unto God. *The custom of the church for baptising young children, is both to be commended, and by all means to be retained in the church.

* [1562.]

The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the church, as most agreeable to the institution of Christ.

XXIX. *Of the Lord's supper.*

The supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have amongst themselves one to another; but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy

writ; * but it is repugnant to the plain words of scripture, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

Since the very being of humane nature doth require, that the body of one and the same man cannot be at one and the same time in many places, but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place; therefore the body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time. And since (as the holy scriptures testify) Christ hath been taken up into heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the world; it becometh not any of the faithful to believe or profess, that there is a real or corporeal presence (as they phrase it) of the body and blood of Christ in the holy eucharist.

The sacrament of the Lord's supper was not by Christ's 217
ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

* [1562.]

— but it is repugnant to the plain words of scripture, *overthroweth the nature of a sacrament,* and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper, is faith.

[1562.]

XXIX. *Of the wicked which eat not the body of Christ in the Lord's supper.*

The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as St. Austin saith) the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

[1562.]

XXX. *Of both kinds.*

The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay-people: for both the parts of the Lord's sacrament (by Christ's ordinance and commandment) ought to be ministered to all Christian people alike.

XXX. *Of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the cross.*

The offering of Christ once made is a perfect redemption,

propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone: wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said, that the priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were *fables, and dangerous deceits.

* [1562] blasphemous.

XXXI. *A single life is imposed on none by the word of God.*

Bishops, priests, and deacons, are not commanded by God's law, either to vow the estate of a single life, or to abstain from marriage.

[1562.]

Therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

XXXII. *Excommunicated persons are to be avoided.*

That person which by open denunciation of the church is rightly cut off from the unity of the church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful, as an heathen and publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the church, by a judge that hath authority thereunto.

XXXIII. *Of the tradition of the church.*

It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one and utterly alike; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word. Whosoever through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the church, which be not repugnant to the word
218 of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth against the common order of the church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

[1562.]

Every particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change or abolish ceremonies or rites of the church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

XXXIV. *Of the Homilies.*

The *Homilies lately delivered* and commended to the church of England by the king's Injunctions, do contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and fit to be embraced by all men; and for that cause they are diligently, plainly, and distinctly to be read to the people.

[1562.]

The second book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for the times; as doth the former book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the 6th: and therefore we judge them to be read in churches by the ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.

The names of the Homilies.

Of the Right Use of the Church. Of Repairing Churches. Against the Peril of Idolatry. Of Good Works, &c.

XXXV. *Of the Book of Common Prayer, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England.*

The book lately delivered to the church of England by *the authority of the king and parliament*, containing the manner and form of public prayer, and the ministration of the sacraments, in the said church of England; as also the book published by the same authority for ordering ministers in the church, are both of them very pious, as to truth of doctrine, in nothing contrary, but agreeable to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel, which they do very much promote and illustrate. And for that cause they are by all faithful members of the church of England, but chiefly of the ministers of the word, with all thankfulness and readiness of mind, to be received, approved, and commended to the people of God.

[1562.]

The book of Consecration of Arch-bishops and Bishops, and ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering. Neither hath it any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly; and therefore whosoever are consecrated and ordered according to the rites of that

book, since the second year of the afore-named king Edward, unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered, according to the same rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

219 XXXVI. *Of civil magistrates.*

The king of England is after Christ the supreme head on earth of the church of England and Ireland.

The bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The civil magistrate is ordained and approved by God, and therefore is to be obeyed, not only for fear of wrath, but for conscience-sake.

Civil or temporal laws may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons, and to serve in the wars.

[1562.]

The queens majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all cases doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the queen's majesty the chief government by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended: we give not to our princes the ministry, either of God's word, or of the sacraments; the which thing the Injunctions lately set forth by Elizabeth our queen, do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in holy scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.

The bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The laws *of this realm* may punish Christian men with death, &c.

XXXVII. *The goods of Christians are not common.*

The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

XXXVIII. *It is lawful for a Christian to take an oath.*

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his apostle; so we judge that Christian religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth.

These articles were left out in queen Elizabeth's time. 220

XXXIX. *The resurrection of the dead is not past already.*

The resurrection of the dead is not past already, as if it belonged only to the soul, which by the grace of Christ is raised from the death of sin, but is to be expected by all men in the last day: for at that time (as the scripture doth most apparently testify) the dead shall be restored to their own bodies, flesh and bones; to the end that man, according as either righteously or wickedly he hath passed this life, may, according to his works, receive rewards or punishments.

XL. *The souls of men deceased do neither perish with their bodies, nor sleep idlily.*

They who maintain that the souls of men deceased do either sleep, without any manner of sense, to the day of judgment, or affirm that they die together with the body, and shall be raised therewith at the last day, do wholly differ from the right faith, and othodox belief, which is delivered to us in the holy scriptures.

XLI. *Of the millenarians.*

They who endeavour to revive the fable of the millenarians, are therein contrary to the holy scriptures, and cast themselves down headlong into Jewish dotages.

XLII. *All men not to be saved at last.*

They also deserve to be condemned, who endeavour to restore that pernicious opinion, that all men (though never so ungodly) shall at last be saved; when for a certain time, appointed by the divine justice, they have endured punishment for their sins committed .

[88] [These versions of the Articles have been left just as the author printed them, with the exception of the removal from the margin of the alterations of 1562 to the middle of the page, and the insertion of the date thus [1562] before each addition or alteration. The version of the forty-two articles differs from any that the editor has ever seen, and cannot pretend to be of any authority. There is no English version of these Articles in any Registry to which the editor has had access. The Latin original may be seen in the Norwich Registry, and at Exeter. They are also in Ridley's Register, but (what is very remarkable) they do not appear in Cranmer's. The English version was probably made by the author, who perhaps had never seen the printed copy, which came out in 1543. The version of the thirty-nine Articles of 1562, in the main corresponds with the authentic copies, though it exactly agrees with none, the slight variations being due to the author's carelessness in transcribing.]

Number LVI. [p. 217.] 221

Instructions given by the king's highness, to

his right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Frauncis earl of Salop, and lord president of his grace's council, resident in the north parts; and to all others hereafter named and appointed by his highness to be of his said council, to be observed by the said counsellors, and every of them, according as the same hereafter is declared.

Ex. MS. Dr. Johnstone. [G. I. p. 137.]

[The ends for which the commission was granted.]

FIRST, his majesty much desiring the quietness and good governance of the people and inhabitants in the north parts of this his realm of England, and for the good, speedy, and indifferent administration of justice to be there had, betwixt party and party, intendeth to continue in the same north parts, his right honourable council, called, The king's majesty's council in the north parts. And his highness knowing the approved wisdom and experience of his said cousin,

[The character of the president.]

with his assured discretion and dexterity in the execution of justice, hath appointed him to be lord president of the said council; and by these presents doth give unto him the name of lord president of the said council, with power and authority to call together all such as be, or hereafter shall be, named and appointed to be of the said council at all times, when he shall think expedient: and otherwise by his letters, to appoint them, and every of them, to do such things for the advancement of justice, and for the repression and punishment of malefactors, as by the advice of such of the said council as then shall be present with him, he shall think meet, for the furtherance of his grace's affairs, and for the due administration of justice between his highness' subjects.

[His power.]

And further, his majesty giveth unto the said lord president, by these presents, a voice negative in all councils, where things shall be debated at length for the bringing forth of a most perfect truth or sentence, which his highness would have observed in all cases that may abide advisement and consultation, to the intent that doubtful matters should as well be maturely consulted upon, as also that the same should not pass without the consent and order of the said lord president. [His negative voice.]

And his highness willeth and commandeth, that all and every of the said counsellors, named and to be named hereafter, shall exhibit and use to the said lord president, all such honour, reverend behaviour, and obedience, as to their duty appertaineth; and shall receive and execute in like sort, all the precepts and commandments to them, or any of them, for any matter touching his majesty, to be addressed, or any process to be done or served in his grace's name. [What assistance the rest of the council shall shew to the lord president.]

And his highness' pleasure is, that the said lord president shall have the keeping of his grace's signet, therewith to seal letters, processes, and all such other things as shall be thought
222 convenient by the said lord president, or by two of the council, being bound by these articles, to daily attendance upon the said lord president, with his assent thereunto. [The lord president to have the custody of the king's signet.]

And to the intent the said lord president thus established, for the above-said purposes, may be furnished with such numbers and assistants, as be of wisdom, experience, gravity and truth, meet to have the name of his grace's counsellors; his majesty, upon good advisement and deliberation, hath elected those persons whose names ensue hereafter, to be his counsellors, joined in the said council in the north parts, with the said lord president; that is to say, his right trusty and right well-beloved cousins, Henry earl of Westmorland, Henry earl of Cumberland; his right trusty and well-beloved Cuthbert bishop of Duresme; William lord Dacres of the north; John lord Conyers; Thomas lord Wharton; John Hinde knight, one of his majesty's justices of the common-pleas; Edmonde Moleneux knight, serjeant-at-law; Henry Savell knight; Robert Bowes knight; Nicholas Fairefax knight; George Conyers knight; Leonarde Becquith knight; William Babthorpe knight; Anthonye Nevell knight; Thomas Gargrave knight; Robert Mennell serjeant-at-law; Antony Bellacis esq.; John Rokeby [That well qualified persons are necessary to be assistants to the lord president.] [The names of the council.]

doctor of law; Robert Chaloner; Richard Norton; and Thomas Eymis, esquires.

[Thomas Eymis, esquire, secretary.]

And his highness, by these presents, doth appoint the said Thomas Eymis to be secretary to the said council, diligently and obediently to exercise the same room as he shall be appointed by the said lord president, or by two of the council, whereof the one to be of the *quorum*, with the assent of the lord president. And his highness' pleasure is, that the said lord president, and two others of the said council, being of the *quorum*, shall be sworn masters of the Chancery, to the intent that every of them may take recognisance in such cases, as by the said lord president, or two of the said council, being of the *quorum*, shall be thought convenient, and the case so requiring.

[The lord president and two of the council to be sworn masters of Chancery.]

[What is expected by the king from these counsellors.]

[They are to be ready to promote the king's wishes.]

[To administer justice impartially.]

All which number of councellors before specified, as his majesty doubteth not but that they, and every of them, according to his grace's expectation and trust reposed in them, will be, at all times, diligent and willing towards, and ready to do unto his grace such service as they can devise or imagine may be best to his contentation, and to the discharge of their duties towards his highness, leaving apart all respects and affections in all matters that may touch their nighest kinsman, friend, servant, tenant, or others, when the same shall come in question before the same lord president and council. So his grace trusteth that every of the same will have such regard to malefactors as appertaineth, and to bring all such unto the said lord president and council, when they shall be thereunto appointed, or may otherwise do it conveniently of themselves; informing the said lord president and council of their offences, as the same shall happen, in place where they have rule and authority, within the limits of their commission.

[To have regard to malefactors.]

[With the constant attendance of which of the council the king dispenseth with.]

And forsomuch as it should be very chargeable to many of the said counsellors, if they should continually attend upon the said lord president and council, therefore his highness, of his grace's goodness, minding to ease that charge, and to instruct every of the same counsellors how to demean themselves for their attendance; that is to wit, who shall be bound to con- 223
tinual attendance upon the same council, and who shall attend but at times most requisite, at their pleasures, unless the same lord president shall require them to remain for a time, for

[Except when the lord presi-

some weighty affairs or purposes; the which request in such cases, every of them shall accomplish. [dent upon special occasions requires it.]

His majesty therefore ordaineth that his cousins, the earls of Westmorland and Cumberland; the bishop of Durysme, the lord Dacres, the lord Conyers, the lord Wharton, sir John Hinde, sir Edmond Moleneux, sir Henry Savell, sir Nicolas Fairefax, George Conyers, Anthonye Nevell, knights; Robert Mennell serjeant-at-law; Anthony Bellasis, John Rokebey doctor of law, and Richard Norton, shall not be bound to continual attendance, but to go and come at their pleasures, unless they be required by the said lord president to remain with him for a time, for some weighty and great causes which then they shall accomplish. [The names of those who are dispensed with.]

And further, his grace's pleasure is, that they shall be present at such of the general sittings as shall be kept near unto their dwelling places, and at other sittings and places, where they shall be commanded by the said lord president, all excuses set apart as appertaineth. [They shall be present at the general sitting when it is near their dwelling houses.]

And because it shall be convenient that a number shall be continually abiding with the said lord president, with whom he may consult and commit the charge and hearing of such matters as shall be exhibited unto him for the more expedition of the same; his highness, by these presents, doth ordain, that sir Robert Bowes, sir William Babthorp, sir Leonarde Becquith, sir Thomas Gargrave, knights; Robert Chaloner, and Thomas Eymis secretary, esquires, shall give their continual attendance on the said lord president, or at the least two of them; and that none of them, appointed to continual attendance on the said lord president, shall depart at any time from him, without his especial license, and the same not to exceed above six weeks at one season. [That a convenient number of the council be obliged to constant residence.] [The names of those who are to be constantly resident, unless they have the lord president's license for six weeks.]

And his highness, by these presents, for the better entertainment of the said lord president and council of both sorts, when they, or any of them shall be present, doth give a yearly stipend of one thousand pounds by the year to the said lord president, towards the furniture of the diet of himself and the rest of the said counsellors, with such number of servants as hereafter shall be appointed and allotted to every of them; that is to wit, every knight, being bound to continual attendance, four servants; and every esquire, being bound to like [One thousand pound per annum allowed to the lord president for the diet of himself and the council and servants.]

[What number of servants knights may have; what number esquires may have.]

attendance, three servants. And his highness ordaineth every of the said counsellors, to sit with the said lord president at his table, or in some other place in his house, to be by him conveniently prepared for their degrees and haviours; and their servants allowed, as is before-said, to have sitting and diet in the said lord president's hall, or in some other convenient place in his house.

[The council to sit at table with the lord president.]

[The servants to eat in the hall.]

And further, his highness, of his mere goodness, and great benignity, for the better entreatment, as well of such of the said council as be not well able to forbear their own affairs, and attend upon the said council, without further help for the charge of the housemeat and lodgings, when they shall attend in council to serve his highness; as for such others that might better themselves with their learning and policies, if they were not detained there about his grace's affairs, doth by these presents limit and appoint to divers of the aforesaid counsellors 224

[The fees to be paid to the particular members of the council; some 100*l.* a year, others 100 marks, and others 50*l.*]

hereafter named, certain particular fees, as ensueth; that is to say, to sir Robert Bowes, knight, in respect of his attendance, and towards his horsemeat and other charges, an hundred marks yearly; to sir William Babthorpe, knight, for the like, fifty pounds yearly; to sir Leonarde Becquithe, for the like causes, an hundred marks yearly; to sir Thomas Gargrave, knight, for the like, fifty pounds yearly; to Robert Challoner, esquire, for the like, fifty pounds yearly; to Richard Norton, esquire, for his fee, forty pounds; to Thomas Eymis, secretary, for the like yearly fee, thirty three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence. And further, his grace doth appoint one messenger to serve the said council, who shall give continual attendance upon the said lord president, and have his meat, drink, and lodging, in the said lord president's house, and to have yearly for his fee, six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence. And further, his grace's pleasure is, that the said thousand pounds for the lord president, and all the said other fees, shall be paid yearly at the feasts of the annunciation of our Lady, and Sainte Mychell the archangel, by even portions, of the revenues of his grace's lands in those parts; and that for that purpose an assignment and warrant to be made to the receiver-general of his grace's revenues there.

[The secretary's fee 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*]

[The times of payment of the lord president, and the fees to the rest of the council, by assignment out of the king's rents there.]

[Two commissions to be made to the lord

And to furnish the said lord president and council in all things with authority sufficient to execute justice, as well in

causes criminal, as in matters of controversy between party and party, his majesty hath commanded and appointed two commissions to be made out, under his grace's great seal of England, by virtue whereof they shall have full power and authority in either case, to proceed as the matter occurrent shall require.

[president and council; the one for criminal matters, and the other for trial of causes between the parties.]

And for the more speedy expedition to be used in all causes of justice, his majesty's pleasure is, that the said lord president and council, shall cause every complainant and defendant that shall have to do before them, to put and declare their whole matter in their bill of complaint and answer, without replication, rejoinder, or other plea or delay to be had or used therein; which order the said lord president and council shall manifest unto all such as shall be counsellors in any matter to be intreated and defined before them; charging and commanding the said counsellors and pleaders to observe this order upon such penalties as they shall think convenient, as they will eschew the danger of the same; and not in any ways to break it, without the special license of the said lord president, and that only in some especial causes.

[The bills of complaint and answer to contain the whole matter, without replication or rejoinder.]

[The counsellors who plead bound to observe the same.]

And further, his highness, by these presents, doth give full power and authority to the said lord president and council, as well to punish such persons as in any thing shall neglect, contemn, or disobey their commandments, or the process of the council, as all other that shall speak seditious words, invent rumours, or commit such-like offences, (not being treason,) whereof any inconveniences might grow, by pillory, cutting their ears, wearing of papers, imprisonment, or otherwise at their discretions.

[Power to the lord president and council, to punish all contempt and disobedience; to punish all seditious words, false rumours, &c. treason except, by pillory, cutting off ears, wearing papers, imprisonments, and other ways at discretion.]

And the said lord president and council, at their discretions, shall appoint counsellors, and other requisites, to poor suitors having no money, without paying fees or other things for the same.

And his highness giveth full power and authority to the said lord president and council being with him, or four of them at the least; whereof the said lord president, Sir John Hinde,
225 Sir Edmonde Moleneux, Sir Robert Bowes, Sir William Babthorpe, Sir Leonarde Becquith, Sir Anthony Nevell, Sir Thomas Gargrave, knights; Robert Mennell, and Robert Challoner, to be two with the lord president, to assess fines of all

[The lord president and council to appoint counsellors to plead for the poor

gratis; who have power to assess fines for riots.]

persons that shall be convict or indicted of any riot, how many soever they be in number, unless the matter of such riot shall be thought unto them of such importance, as the same shall be meet to be signified unto his majesty, to be punished in such sort, by the order of his council attending upon his grace's person, as the same may be noted for an example to others.

[Riots of importance to be certified to the council attending the king's person.]

And his grace giveth full power and authority to the said lord president and council, or four of them at the least, whereof the lord president and two others bounden to continual attendance to be three, to award and assess costs and damages, as well to the plaintiffs as to the defendants, by their discretions, and to award execution of their decrees and orders; and to punish the breakers of the same, being parties thereunto, by their discretions. All which decrees and orders, the secretary shall be bounden incontinently, upon the promulgation of the same, to write, or cause to be written, in one fair book, which shall remain in the hands and custody of the said lord president.

[The lord president and two more to assess damages in suits betwixt parties; to award execution of decrees and orders, and punish breakers of them.]

[All decrees and orders to be entered in a book by the secretary.]

And to the intent it may appear to all persons there, what fees shall be paid and taken for all processes and writings to be used by the said council, his majesty therefore appointeth, that there shall be a table affixed in every place where the said lord president and council shall sit, at any sessions; and a like table to hang openly, that all men may see it, in the office where the said secretary and the clerks shall commonly sit and expedite the said writings; wherein shall be declared what shall be paid for the same. That is to say, For every recognisance, wherein one alone or more standeth bounden, 12*d.*: for the cancelling of every like recognisance, 12*d.*: for the entering of every decree, 6*d.*: for the copy of the same, if it be asked, 6*d.*: for every letter, commission, attachment, or other precept or process sent to any person, 4*d.*: for every dismission before the said council (if it be asked) 4*d.*: for the copies of bills, and answers, and other pleas, for every ten lines, reasonably written, 1*d.*: for the examination of every witness, 4*d.* And his grace's pleasure is, that the examination of witnesses, produced in matters before the said council, shall be examined by such discreet person and persons, as shall be thought convenient and meet by the said lord president, and two of the said council, bound to continual attendance; and that the said lord presi-

[The particular fees of all processes, &c., and a table of fees to be fixed where the council sit, and at the secretary's office: 12*d.* for every recognisance, 12*d.* for cancelling a recognisance.]

[The entering every claim 6*d.* and copy 6*d.*]

[For every

dent, with such-like two of the said council, shall reform, appoint, and allow such persons to write bills, answers, copies, or other process in that court, as they shall think convenient, over and beside the said secretary and his two clerks; which clerks also, the said lord president and council shall reform and correct, as they shall have cause and occasion. In which reformation and appointments, the said lord president shall have a voice negative.

[letter, commission, attachment or other precept 4*d*.]
[Who to examine witnesses.]
[The lord president and 2 of the council to appoint clerks to write process—the secretary to have two clerks.]

And for the more certain and brief determination of matters in those parts, his majesty, by these presents, ordaineth, that the said lord president and council shall keep four general sittings or sessions in the year, every of them to continue by the space of one whole month: whereof one to be at Yorke; another at Kingston upon Hull; one at New-Castell; and an-
226 other at Duresme; within the limits whereof, the matters rising there shall be ordered and decreed, if they conveniently so may be. And they shall, in every of the same places, keep one gaol delivery; before their departure from thence, his grace yet nevertheless referring it to their discretions, to take and appoint such other place and places for their said four general sittings, as they, or the said lord president, with three of the council, bounden to continual attendance, shall think most convenient for the time and purpose; so that they keep the full term of one month in every such place, if they may in any wise conveniently so do.

[There shall be four general sittings in a year continued for a month, one to be at York, a second at Hull, a third at Newcastle, a fourth at Durham.]
[For all these places they shall keep a gaol delivery.]
[The lord president with three of the council may keep courts in other places.]

And forasmuch as a great number of his majesty's tenants and farmers have been heretofore retained with sundry persons by wages, livery, badge, or cognisance; by reason whereof, when his grace should have had service of them, they were rather at commandment of other men, than (according to their duties of allegiance) of his highness of whom they have their livings; his majesty's pleasure and express commandment is, That none of his said council nor others, shall by any means retain or entertain any of his grace's tenants, or farmers in such sort, as they or any of them should account themselves bounden to do him or them any other service, than as to his highness' officers, having office, or being appointed in service there; unless the same farmers and tenants shall be continually attend-

[His majesty's tenants and farmers shall not be excused from doing service upon certain limitations.]

ant in the house of him that shall retain them. And the said lord president and council, shall, in every their general sittings, give special notice and charge, that no nobleman or other shall retain any of the said tenants and farmers, otherwise than is aforesaid. Charging also the said farmers and tenants, upon pain of the forfeiture of their farms and holds, and incurring of his majesty's further displeasure and indignation, in no wise to agree to any such retainers, other than is beforesaid, but wholly to depend upon his highness, and upon such as his highness hath, or shall appoint to be officers, rulers, or directors over them.

[The charge to be given when the courts are held for the observance of the laws made about religion.]

And his grace's pleasure further is, that in every such sitting, and in all other places where the said lord president and council shall have any notable assemblies before them, they shall give strait charge and commandment to the people, to conform themselves in all things to the observation of such laws, ordinances, and determinations, as be made, passed, and agreed upon by his grace's parliament touching religion, and the most Godly service, set forth in their own mother tongue, for their comforts: And likewise to the laws touching the abolishing of the usurped and pretended power of the bishop of Rome, whose abuses they shall so beat into their heads, by continual inculcation, as they may smell and understand the same; and may perceive the same to be declared with their hearts, and not with their tongues only for a form.

[The laws for the service in the English tongue for, abolishing the pope's power.]

[What holydays abolished.]

And likewise they shall declare the order and determination taken and agreed upon, for the abrogation of certain vain holy days, being appointed by the bishop of Rome to blind the world; and to persuade the same, that they might make saints at their pleasures; and thereby, through idleness, do give occasion of the increase of many and great vices and inconveniences: which points his majesty doth earnestly require, and straitly command, the said lord president and council, to set forth with all dexterity, and to punish extremely, for example, 227 all offenders in the same.

[Offenders in these days to be severely proceeded against.]

And his majesty willeth the said council, as he doubteth not but they will most earnestly set forth all such other things and matters, as for the confirmation of the people in those matters, and other the king's majesty's proceedings, and things convenient to be remembered, be, or shall be set forth or devised, and sent unto them for that purpose.

Further, his highness' pleasure is, that the said lord president and council shall, from time to time, make diligent inquisition of the wrongful taking in and inclosing of commons and other grounds, and who be extreme therein; and in taking and exacting of unreasonable fines and gressomes, and overing or raising of rents; and to call the parties that have so evil used themselves therein before them; and leaving all respects and affections apart, they shall take such order for the redress of enormities used in the same, as the poor people be not oppressed; but that they may live after their sorts and qualities.

[The council to enquire against wrongful enclosure of commons.] [And that tenants pay not unreasonable fines nor oppressive rents.]

And if it shall chance that the said lord president and council shall vary in opinion, either in the law, or for any order to be taken in any matter or fact before them, if the case be of very great weight or importance, then the opinion of the greater, or more part of the number of counsellors appointed to give continual attendance, shall take place, and determine the doubt; and if they be of like number of the counsellors, bounden to continual attendance, then that part whereunto the lord president shall give his assent shall be followed and take place. And if the case and matter be of great importance, and the question of the law, then the lord president and council shall signify the case and matter to the judges at Westminster, who shall, with diligence, advertise them again of their opinions therein. And if the matter be of great importance, and an order to be taken upon the fact, then the said lord president and council shall in that case advertise the king's majesty or his council attendant upon his person upon the same, whereupon they shall have knowledge again how to use themselves in that behalf.

[What order to be taken when the council shall differ in their opinion.] [The majority of the counsellors who give constant attendance to carry it.] [If equal, then the lord president to have the casting vote.] [In cases of great importance and questions in law wherein they disagree, the case to be signified to the judges who are to deliver their opinion with speed. Or if it be in other matter to be sent up to the lords of the privy council, who are to signify the king's pleasure.]

And the said lord president and council shall take especial regard upon complaint or spoil, extortions, or oppressions, to examine the same speedily, that the grieved may have due and undelayed remedy and restitution. And for want of ability in the offenders thereunto, they to be punished to the example of others. And if any man, of what degree soever he be, shall, upon a good, lawful, and reasonable cause or matter, and so appearing to the lord president and council by information, or otherwise, demand surety of peace or justice against any great

[The lord president and council take special regard upon complaints of spoil, extortion and oppression.] [The lord president and coun-

[cil to grant surety of peace to the poorest man against the greatest lord.] lord or nobleman of that country, the said lord president and council shall in that case grant the petition of the poorets man, against the richest or greatest lord, being of the council or no, as they should grant the same (being lawfully asked) against men of the meanest sort, degree, and haviour.

[The occasion which may hinder the lord president's presence in the council.] And forasmuch as it may chance the said lord president to be sometime diseased, that he shall not be able to travel, for the direction of such matters as then shall occur; or to be 228
called to the parliament, or otherwise to be employed in the king's majesty's affairs, or about other business, for good reformation or order within his rule, or for other reasonable cause by his discretion; To the intent therefore that the said council may be and remain ever full and perfect, and that they may be at all times in the same, one person to direct and use all things in such and the same order, sort, and form, as the said lord president should and might do, by virtue of the aforesaid commissions, and these instructions, his majesty's pleasure is, that when the said lord president shall be so diseased, absent, or letted, as is beforesaid, that he cannot conveniently supply his room himself, that then he shall name and appoint one of the said commissioners, being appointed, to give continual attendance to supply his room for that season, during his said disease, absence, or lett; and shall deliver the signet to the person so appointed to keep, during the same time. And the king's highness, during the same time, giveth unto the said person so appointed the name of vice-president, which name nevertheless he shall no longer continue, than during the time that the said lord president shall so be sick, absent, or letted, as is beforesaid. And his majesty's pleasure is, that for the time only, that any of the said council, as is beforesaid, shall occupy the said room and place as a vice-president, that all the rest of the council shall in all things use him in like sort, and with like reverence, as they be bound by these instructions to use the lord president himself; whereunto his grace doubteth not but every of them will conform themselves accordingly.

[The vice-president to be one of the council who is appointed to be continually present.]

[The vice-president's office to continue no longer than the lord president is absent.]

[The rest of the council shall behave themselves to the vice-president as they are bound to do to the lord president.]

And further, his majesty by these presents giveth full power and authority to the said lord president and council, that when the condition of any recognizance taken before them shall be fulfilled, they shall in open court cause the same to be cancelled for the discharge of the parties.

Provided that no recognizance be in any wise cancelled but before the lord president, or vice-president, and three other at the least, sitting in open court with him. [When and before whom recognizances may be cancelled.]

And further, his highness ordaineth, that no attorney shall take, in one sitting or sessions, for one matter, above 12*d.* nor no counsellor above 20*d.* [No attorney in one matter at one session shall take above 12*d.* nor no counsellor above 20*d.*]

The rest are wanting[89].

[89] [Here the MS. terminates abruptly, the remainder of the page and the reverse being blank. The marginal analysis has been added from the original document, on which it has been written by Dr. Nathaniel Johnstone. For an account of Dr. Johnstone's Collection of MSS., see Number XXVII. p. 152, and the Editor's preface.]

Number LVII.[90] [p. 220.] 229

The memorial of the charge committed by the king's majesty to sir Richard Morison, knight, his majesty's ambassador with the emperor, the 24th of September.

An original.

Galba B. [xii. fol. 230.]

First, You sir Richard Morisyne shall, with all diligence, procure audience of our good brother the emperor; and at your access to him, deliver our letters of credence herewith sent to you, with our most hearty commendations, and earnest declaration, that we be most glad to have understanding of his good estate and health. After the same delivery and salutation, you shall further say, that we understanding his good and honourable advancement towards his Low Countries, to the great comfort of the same; and having also the same love and good-will towards the prosperous success of his said countries, that our late father and other our progenitors have had these many years passed, have willed you expressly in our name, to congratulate this his coming thitherward, and to shew him, that the good success which we wish to him, and his affairs and enterprises, is as much as we would to ourselves, and our own countries and patrimonies.

Item. When ye shall have opened thus much, with as good words as you may devise, ye shall then begin to descend to this that followeth, using therein your earnestness and frankness, as ye shall see by the former sayings, occasion given to you by our said brother's acceptation thereof, either by his good words, or other haviour in his gesture. Ye shall say, that where we have lately understanding of the great murders, spoils, and cruelties done and committed, both in Hungarye, and upon the coast of Naples, and other parts of Italy, by the Turke, the old common enemy to the name and religion of all Christianity; like as we cannot but from our very heart lament

[90] [The edges of this paper have been burned and some words lost, but none of any importance.]

the same, so we will, for our part, as may be thought expedient for the weal-public of Christendom, shew ourself willing to accord with our said good brother, and other Christian princes and states, for the repulse of the said Turk.

And if any such good means may, by the great wisdom and [fol. 231.] policy of our said good brother the emperor, be thought good and devised, to bring the same to some good purpose and effect; we for our part will shew ourself so ready and well-willing thereto, as our said good brother shall well perceive, that we have not only that zeal to the conservation and surety of Christendom, which in a Christian prince is duly required; but also such consideration and regard to our said good brother, and our ancient amity with the house of Burgundye, as to honour and reason appertaineth.

Thus much being declared in such good sort, as you shall see occasion doth require; we would you should stay and pause awhile, as it were, looking for some answer to be made hereto 230 by our said good brother; and if you shall perceive he taketh it in thankful part, then may you entertain the talk modestly, with such good words as may seem to your wisdom best to confirm our good affection to the continuance of the amity, and our great offence and grief, with the entry of the Turks into Christendom.

And if you shall perceive that the emperor doth in so good part receive this our overture, that he shall shew himself willing to enter any further talk, or devise for the further proceeding in the same, you may, as of yourself, shew your readiness and good-will to do all that you any wise well may, as a good minister, for the bringing this purpose to some profitable effect; which you may say, in your own opinion, shall the better take good entry and success, if by some special man to be sent hither, we might understand more fully our said good brother's mind in this matter.

Item. If ye shall perceive that the emperor doth not regard this overture, either in not liking the matter itself, or not so regarding our amity as reason would, and as it is on our part [fol. 232.] offered, then may you use yourself more coldly, and diminish the declaration of our earnestness, in like sort as our said brother sheweth himself; and conclude, that thus having done the

message committed to your charge, you will leave the consideration hereof to him as he shall think good.

And if in the opening of the premises, our said brother shall make any mention or interpretation against the French king, referring the Turk's invasions to the said French king as some occasion thereof; and so shall demand, directly or indirectly, whether this our overture be meant to extend against the French king, or any others of Christian name that shall join in league or amity with the said Turk. You may thereto say, that you had no more in charge presently than ye have said; and therefore for further opening of our mind therein, you think the same might be best had here.

And if at any time of this your talk, our said brother shall gather occasion to ask you, what we will do for giving aid against these invasions made by the French king upon the Low Countries? you may answer, you have nothing to say therein, but that you think the answer which was declared to his ambassador here resident upon the letters sent to us from our good sister the queen of Hungarye, hath both been signified to him long before his time; and also as ye trust in reason contented him.[91] And in this point, although ye know what was answered, yet would we not ye should enter into the dispute thereof, meaning in this and the rest of things to be treated with our said brother, that ye would rather procure the sending of some special man hither, than to treat any thing by his ambassador here, who hitherto hath not appeared the fittest man to increase or enlarge the amity betwixt us and our said brother.

[fol. 233.] Finally, Our pleasure is, that you shall, in the execution of this present charge, wholly extend your good policy and wisdom, to mark and well advise all such words of moment, as the emperor shall utter to you in this talk, by what order, behaviour, gesture, or other passion of joy or grief the same shall be spoken, so as we may simply, plainly, and very orderly 231
have the true declaration thereof from you; wherein we desire

[91] [*him* was written and erased, and *our said sister* substituted above the line; this was erased, and between the two erasures the word *stet* written, meaning that *him* was to stand. This the author not understanding, printed as *her*.]

so express and special a report of this matter, as upon the same we may better conceive what shall be expedient to be further done in this and other our weighty affairs.[92]

Winchester.

Northumberland.

J. Bedford.

W. Northampton.

F. Huntyngdon.

E. Clynton.

T. Darcy.

J. Cobham.

Richard Cotton.

John Gate.

[92] [There is a copy of these instructions in the State Paper Office, but as the text is taken from the original document, and presents no difficulties, the copy has not been collated. The copy is dated Sept. 19.]

Number LVIII. [p. 227.]

A letter written by bishop Ridley, setting out the sins of that time.

[*Litera exhortatoria Domini Episcopi Londoniensis prædicatoribus in diocese suâ.*]

Regist. Ridley. fol. 289 [b].

AFTER hearty commendations, having regard, especially at this time, to the wrath of God, who hath plagued us diversely, and now with extreme punishment of sudden death poured upon us, for causes certain, known unto his high and secret judgment, and as may seem unto man for our wicked living; daily increasing into such sort, that not only in our conversation the fear of God is, alas, far gone from before our eyes, but also the world is grown into that uncharitableness, that one (as it appeareth plainly) goeth about to devour another; moved with insatiable covetousness, both contrary to God's word and will, and to the extreme peril and damnation of Christ's flock, bought so dearly with his precious blood, and to the utter destruction of this whole common-wealth, except God's anger be shortly appeased: wherein, as according to my bounden duty I shall, (God willing,) in my own person be diligent and labour; so I exhort and require you, first in God's name, and by authority of him committed unto me in that behalf, and also in the king's majesty's name, from whom I have authority and special commandment thus to do, that as you are called to be setters forth of God's word, and to express in your living the same, so now in your exhortations and sermons, you do most wholesomely and earnestly tell unto men their sins, *juxta illud, Annuncia populo scelera eorum,* with God's punishments lately poured upon us for the same, now before our eyes; and specially to beat down and destroy, with all your power and wit, that greedy and devouring serpent of covetousness, that doth so now universally reign: calling upon them for repentance, and provoking to common prayer, and amendment of life, with most earnest petition. That hereby God's hand may be stayed, the world amended, and obedience of subjects, and faithfulness of ministers declared accordingly. Thus I bid you heartily well to fare. From London, 25 July, 1551.

Your's in Christ, Nic. London.

To his well-beloved, the preachers within the diocese of London.

232 **Number LIX. [p. 120.]**

Bishop Ridley's letter to the protector, concerning the visitation of the university of Cambridge.

Right honourable,

I WISH your grace the holy and wholesome fear of God, because I am persuaded your grace's goodness to be such infinitely, that even wherein your grace's letters doth sore blame me, yet in the same the advertisement of the truth shall not displease your grace; and also perceiving that the cause of your grace's discontentation was wrong information, therefore I shall beseech your your grace to give me leave to shew your grace, wherein it appeareth to me that your grace is wrong informed. [State Papers, Domestic, vol. 7, No. 27.]

Your grace's letters blameth me, because I did not (at the first, before the visitation began, having knowledge of the matter) shew my mind; the truth is, before God, I never had, nor could get any fore-knowledge of the matter, of the uniting of the two colleges, before we had begun, and had entered two days in the visitation, and that your grace may plainly thus well perceive.

A little before Easter, I being at Rochester, received letters from Mr. Secretary Smith, and the dean of Pouls, to come to the visitation of the university, and to make a sermon at the beginning thereof; whereupon I sent immediately a servant up to London, to the dean of Pouls, desiring of him to have had some knowledge of things there to be done, because I thought it meet that my sermon should somewhat have saffered of the same.

From Mr. Dean I received a letter, instructing me only, that the cause of the visitation was, to abolish statutes and ordinances, which mayntended papistry, superstition, blindness and ignorance; and to establish and set forth, such as might further God's word and good learning; and else, the truth is, he would shew me nothing, but bad me be careless, and said, there was informations how all things was for to be done; the which, I take God to witness, I did never see, nor could get knowledge what they were, before we were entered in the visi-

tation two days, although I desired to have seen them in the beginning.

Now, when I had seen the instructions, the truth is, I thought peradventure, the master and company would have surrendered up their college; but when their consent, after labour and travail taken therein two days, could not be obtained, and then we began secretly to consult (all the commissioners thinking it best that every man should say his mind plainly, that in execution there might appear but one way to be taken of all) there when it was seen to some, that without the consent the consent of the present incumbents, by the king's absolute power, we might proceed to the uniting of the two colleges, I did, in my course simply and plainly declare my conscience, and that there only secretly, among ourselves alone, with all kind of softness, so that no man could be justly offended, although I 233
perceive, by your grace's letters, I have been noted of some for my barking there. And yet to bark, lest God should be offended, I cannot deny, but indeed it is a part of my profession, for God's word condemneth the dumb dogs that will not bark and give warning of God's displeasure.

As for that that was suggested unto your grace, that by my foresaid barking, I should dishonour the king's majesty, and dissuade other from the execution of the king's commission, God is my judge, I intended, according to my duty to God and the king, the maintenance and safeness of his highness' royal honour and dignity. If that be true, that I believe is true, which the prophet saith, *Honor regis judicium diligit;* and as the commissioners must needs, and I am sure will all testify, that I dissuaded no man, but contrariwise, exhorted every man (with the quiet of other) to satisfy their own conscience; desiring only, that if it should otherwise be seen unto them, that I might, either by mine absence or silence, satisfy mine. The which my plainness, when some, otherwise than according to mine expectation did take, I was moved thereupon (both for the good opinion I had, and yet hath, in your grace's godliness; and also specially, because your grace had commanded me so to do) to open my mind, by my private letters, freely unto your grace.

And thus I trust your grace perceiveth now, both that anon, after knowledge had, I did utter my conscience; and also that

the matter was not opened unto me before the visitation was two days begun.

If in this I did amiss, that before the knowledge of the instructions, I was ready to grant to the execution of the commission; truly, I had rather herein acknowledge my fault, and submit myself to your grace's correction, than after knowledge had, then wittingly and [92]willingly commit that thing whereunto my conscience doth not agree, for fear of God's displeasure.

It is a godly wish that is wished in your grace's letters, that flesh, and blood, and country, might not more weigh with some men than godliness and reason; but the truth is, country in this matter (whatsoever some men do suggest unto your grace) shall not move me; and that your grace shall well perceive, for I shall be as ready, as any other, first thence to expel some of my own country, if the report which is made of them can be tried true.

And as for that your grace saith of flesh and blood, that is, the favour or fear of mortal man. Yea, marry sir, that is a matter of weight indeed, and the truth is, (alas mine own feebleness) of that I am afraid; but I beseech your grace, yet once again, give me good leave, wherein here I fear mine own frailty to confess the truth.

Before God, there there is no man this day living (the king's majesty for his honour only excepted) whose favour or displeasure I do either seek or fear, as your grace's favour or displeasure; for of God, both your grace's authority, and my bound duty for your grace's benefits bind me so to do; so that if the desire of any man's favour, or fear of displeasure, should weigh more with me than godliness and reason.

234 Truly, if I may be bold to say the truth, I must needs say, that I am most in danger to offend herein, either for desire of your grace's favour, or for fear of your grace's displeasure. And yet I shall not cease (God willing) daily to pray God so to stay and strengthen my frailty with holy fear, that I do not commit the thing for favour or fear of any mortal man, whereby my conscience may threaten me with the loss of the favour of

92 [The words *then after knowledge had, then wittingly and,* cannot be read now.]

the living God, but that it may please him, of his gracious goodness, (howsoever the world go) to blow this in the ears of my heart, *Deus dissipabit ossa eorum qui hominibus placuerint.* And this, *Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis.* And again, *Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus.*

Wherefore I most humbly beseech your grace, for God's love, not to be offended with[94] for renewing of this my suit unto your grace, which is that whereunto my conscience cannot well agree; if any such thing shall chance in this visitation, I may, with your grace's favour, have license, either by mine absence or silence, or otherlike means, to keep my conscience quiet.

I wish your grace, in God, honour, and endless felicity. From Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, the first of June, 1549.

Your grace's humble and daily orator,

Nic. Roffen.

[94] [The word *me* has been accidentally omitted. Several repetitions of words in the letter have been also retained, as being an original it has been printed exactly as the author wrote it.]

Number LX. [p. 120.]

The protector's answer to the former letter.

Ex chartophylac. regio. [Vol. 7, No. 30.]

After our right hearty commendations to your lordship, we have received your letters of the first of June, again replying to those which we last sent unto you. And as it appeareth, ye yet remaining in your former request, desires, if things do occur so, that, according to your conscience, ye cannot do them, that ye might absent yourself, or otherwise keep silence. We would be loth any thing should be done by the king's majesty's visitors, otherwise than right and conscience might allow and approve: and visitation is to direct things to the better, not to the worse; to ease consciences, not to clog them. Marry, we would wish that executors thereof should not be scrupulous in conscience, otherwise than reason would. Against your conscience, it is not our will to move you, as we would not gladly do, or move any man to that which is against right and conscience; and we trust the king's majesty hath not in this matter.

And we think in this ye do much wrong, and much discredit the other visitors, that ye should seem to think and suppose, that they would do things against conscience. We take them to be men of that honour and honesty, that they will not.

My lord of Canterburye hath declared unto us, that this maketh partly a conscience unto you, that divines should be diminished. That can be no cause; for, first, the same was meant before in the late king's time, to unite the two colleges together; as we are sure ye have heard, and sir Edward
235 Northe can tell: and for that cause, all such as were students of the law, out of the new-erected cathedral churches, were disappointed of their livings, only reserved to have been in that civil college. The king's hall being in manner all lawyers canonists, was turned and joined to Michael-house, and made a college of divines, wherewith the number of divines was much augmented, civilians diminished. Now at this present also, if in all other colleges, where lawyers be by the statutes, or the king's Injunctions, ye do convert them, or the more part of them, to divines, ye shall rather have more divines upon this

change than ye had before. The king's college should have six lawyers; Jesus college some; the Queen's college, and other, one or two apiece. And as we are informed, by the late king's Injunctions, every college in Cambridge one at the least; all these together do make a greater in number, than the fellows of Clare-hall be, and they now made divines, and the statutes in that reformed divinity shall not be diminished in number of students, but increased, as appeareth, although these two colleges be so united. And we are sure ye are not ignorant, how necessary a study that study of civil law is to all treaties with foreign princes and strangers, and how few there be at this present to do the king's majesty service therein. For we would the increase of divines, as well as you. Marry, necessity compelleth us also to maintain that science; and we require you, my lord, to have consideration how much you do hinder the king's majesty's proceedings in that visitation, if now you, who are one of the visitors, should thus draw back and discourage the other, ye should much hinder the whole doings; and peradventure that thing known, maketh the master and fellows of Clare-hall to stand the more obstinate: wherefore we require you to have regard of the king's majesty's honour, and the quiet performing of that visitation, most to the glory of God, and benefit of that university; the which thing is only meant in your instructions. To the performing of that, and in that manner, we can be content you use your doings as ye think best, for the quieting of your conscience.

Thus we bid you right-heartily farewell. From Richemond, the 10th of June, 1549.

Your loving friend,[95]

[95] [There is no signature. The author added E. Somerset in the original folio edition.]

236 Number LXI. [p. 196.]

A letter[96] *of Cranmer's to king Henry the 8th, concerning a further reformation, and against sacrilege.*

Ex chartophylac. regio.

It may please your highness to be advertised; that forasmuch as I might not tarry myself at London, because I had appointed, the next day after that I departed from your majesty, to be at Rochester, to meet the next morning all the commissioners of Kent at Sittingbourn; therefore the same night that I returned from Hampton-Court to Lambhith, I sent for the bishop of Worcester incontinently, and declared unto him all this your majesty's pleasure, in such things as your majesty willed me to be done. And first, where your majesty's pleasure was, to have the names of such persons as your highness, in times past, appointed to make laws ecclesiastical for your grace's realm, the bishop of Worcester promised me, with all speed, to enquire out their names, and the book which they made, and to bring as well the names, and also the book, unto your majesty; which I trust he hath done before this time.

And as concerning the ringing of bells upon Alhallowday at night, and covering of images in Lent, and creeping the cross, he thought it necessary that a letter of your majesty's pleasure therein, should be sent by your grace unto the two archbishops; and we to send the same to all other prelates within your grace's realm. And if it be your majesty's pleasure so to do, I have for more speed herein drawn a minute of a letter, which your majesty may alter at your pleasure. Neverthe-

[96] [The two following papers are on two sheets, headed, *The minute of the king's majesty's letters, to be addressed to the archbishop of Cant.* On the third page is, *The copy of the letters to the king's majesty*, ending at the words *at your pleasure.* Then follows, *And thus &c.*, which is scratched out; and then follows in the same hand, but in much lighter ink, as in the text, *Nevertheless &c.*, down to *And thus &c.*, omitting the words which follow.]

less, in mine opinion, when such things be altered or taken away, there would be set forth some doctrine therewith, which should declare the cause of the abolishing or alteration, for to satisfy the consciences of your people: for if the honouring of the cross, as creeping and kneeling thereto, be taken away, it shall seem to many that be ignorant, that the honour of Christ is taken away, unless some good teaching be set forth withal to instruct them sufficiently therein; which if your majesty command the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, with other your grace's other chaplains to make, the people shall obey your majesty's commandment willingly; giving thanks to your majesty if they know the truth, which else they would obey with murmuration and grudtching. And it shall be a satisfaction also unto all other nations, when they shall see your majesty do nothing but by the authority of God's word, and to the setting forth of God's honour, and not diminishing thereof. And thus Almighty God keep your majesty in his preservation and governance.

From my manor at Beckisbourn, the 24th of January, 45.

Your grace's most bounden chaplain
and beadsman.

POSTSCRIPT. 237

I BESEECH your majesty, that I may be a suitor unto the same, for your cathedral church of Caunterbury; who to their great unquietness, and also great charges, do alienate their lands daily, and as it is said, by your majesty's commandment. But this I am sure, that other men have gotten their best lands, and not your majesty. Wherefore this is mine only suit, that when your majesty's pleasure shall be to have any of their lands, that they may have some letter from your majesty, to declare your majesty's pleasure, without the which they be sworn, that they shall make no alienation. And that the same alienation be not made at other men's pleasures, but only to your majesty's use. For now every man that list to have any of their lands, make suit to get it into your majesty's hands; not that your majesty should keep the same, but by sale, or gift from your majesty, to translate it from your grace's cathedral church unto themselves.

The draught of a letter which the king was to send to Cranmer, against some superstitious practices.

To the arch-bishop of Canterbury.

FORASMUCH as you, as well in your own name, as in the name of the bishops of Wourcester and Chichestre, and other our chaplains and learned men, whom we appointed with you to peruse certain books of service, which we delivered unto you, moved us, that the vigil, and ringing of bells all the night long upon Alhallow-day at night, and the covering of images in the church in time of Lent, with the lifting up of the veil that covereth the cross upon Palm-Sunday, with the kneeling to the cross the same time, might be abolished and put away, for the superstition, and other enormities and abuses of the same; First, forasmuch as all the vigils of our Lady, and the apostles, and all other vigils, which in the beginning of the church were godly used; yet for the manifold superstition and abuses which after did grow, by means of the same, they be many years passed taken away throughout all Christendom, and there remaineth nothing but the name of vigil in the calendar, the thing clearly abolished and put away, saving only upon Alhallow-day at night; upon which night is kept vigil, watching, and ringing of bells all night long; Forasmuch as that vigil is abused as other vigils were, our pleasure is, as you require, that the said vigils shall be abolished as the other be, and that there shall be no watching, nor ringing, but as be commonly used upon other holy-days at night. [Saving that before Dirige be begun one peal shall be rung, to give every man warning to pray for all Christian souls departed.] We be contented and pleased also, that the images in the churches shall not be covered, as hath been accustomed in time passed; nor no veil upon the cross; nor kneeling thereto upon Palm-
238 Sunday, nor any other time. And forasmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the cross, which is a greater abuse than any thother; for there you say, *Crucem tuam adoramus Domine;* and the Ordinal saith, *Procedant clerici ad crucem adorandam nudis pedibus:* and after followeth in the same Ordinal, *Ponatur crux ante aliquod altare, ubi a populo adoretur;* which by your own book, called, *A Necessary Doc-*

trine, is against the Second Commandment; Therefore our pleasure is, that the said creeping to the cross shall likewise cease from henceforth, and be abolished, with other the abuses before rehearsed. And this we will, and straitly command you to signify unto all the prelates and bishops of your province of Caunterbury, charging them, in our name, to see the same executed, every one in his diocese, accordingly.[97]

[97] [Here occurs the word *Postscript*, and the paper is torn off, but does not appear to have contained any thing more. This is in four leaves, and is sealed and endorsed, *To the king's most excellent majesty*. The original draft is scarcely legible. Just before it is another letter, as follows:—'After my very hearty commendations, having sent by this bearer letters to be delivered unto the king's majesty by you, with a minute of another letter in the same, enclosed (the copy whereof you shall herewith receive) to be sent unto me from the king's majesty; these shall be to desire you to peruse the said minute, and if it be not formally made, I pray you to reform the same with such correction as shall seem unto you most requisite; and thereupon to deliver it unto the king's majesty, knowing his grace's further pleasure in the same.

Thus right heartily fare ye well.

From my manor at Bekesbourne, the 20th of January.

Your assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To the right honourable sir William Paget, knight, one of the king's majesty's two principal secretaries.']

239

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

BOOK II.

Number I. [p. 235.]

The proclamation[2] *of lady Jane Grey's title to the crown.*

JANE, by the grace of God, queen of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of Englande,

[1] This seems not to be the proclamation declaring Jane Grey to be queen, but rather her letters patents declarative of her right of succession. [S.]

[The only original copy of this Proclamation which the editor knows of, is in the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries at Somerset House. It has been reprinted several times. Besides the reprints mentioned in the Camden Society's volume, entitled, The Chronicle of Queen Jane, p. 107, there is one in Somers' Tracts, vol. i. p. 174. All these have been compared with the copy as printed by Burnet; they all agree with the original, but differ in the passage given in the next note. There are MS. copies in the State Paper Office, in the Lansdowne Collection (CXCI), and in Emmanuel College Library, Cambridge. There is a French translation of it in Noailles, Ambassades, ii. 57, and an Italian one in Rosso, p. 9. This latter curiously agrees with the Emmanuel MS. in omitting the words *whose soul God pardon* after the mention of the king's name. To the account of State Papers of the reign of Jane, given in the volume above referred to, should be added two warrants, signed by her, which are in the Library at New College, Oxford,—a description of which may be seen in the Catalogue. The first is a

and also of Irelande, under Christ in earth the supreme head. To all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, and to every of them, greeting. Where our most dear cousin Edwarde the 6, late king of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the faith; and in earth the supreme head, under Christ, of the church of Englande and Irelande; by his letters patents, signed with his own hand, and sealed with his great seal of Englande, bearing date the 21 day of June, in the 7 year of his reign; in the presence of the most part of his nobles, his counsellors, judges, and divers others grave and sage personages, for the profit and surety of the whole realm, thereto assenting and subscribing their names to the same, hath, by the same his letters patents, recited, that forasmuch as the imperial crown of this realm, by an act made in the 35 year of the reign of the late king, of worthy memory, king Henrie the 8, our progenitor, and great uncle, was, for lack of issue of his body lawfully begotten; and for lack of issue of the body of our said late cousin king Edwarde the 6, by the same act, limited and appointed to remain to the lady Marie by the name of the lady Marie, his eldest daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten: and for default of such issue, the remainder thereof to the lady Elizabeth, by the name of the lady Elizabeth his second daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten; with such conditions as should be limited and appointed by the said late king of worthy memory, king Henrie theight, our progenitor, and great uncle, 240
by his letters patents under his great seal, or by his last will in writing, signed with his hand. And forasmuch as the said limitation of the imperial crown of this realm being limited, as is afore-said, to the said lady Marie, and lady Elizabeth, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that that the marriage had, between the said late king, king Henrie theight, our progenitor, and great uncle, and the lady Katherine, mother to the said lady Marie; and also the marriage had between the said late king, king Henrie theight, our progenitor, and

warrant to sir Andrew Dudley, for the delivery of twenty yards of common velvet, &c., bearing date July 10, and consists of six lines. The other is a Note of certain Jewels and other things, delivered to the Queen's Highness by A. Stourton, esq., dated July 14, and is a closely written inventory of six folio pages. Both are signed 'Jane, the Quene.']

great uncle, and the lady Anne, mother to the said lady Elizabeth, were clearly and lawfully undone, by sentences of divorces, according to the word of God, and the ecclesiastical laws; And which said several divorcements have been severally ratified and confirmed by authority of parliament, and especially in the 28 year of the reign of king Henrie theight, our said progenitor and great uncle, remaining in force, strength, and effect, whereby, as well the said lady Marie, as also the said lady Elizabeth, to all intents and purposes, are, and been clearly disabled, to ask, claim, or challenge the said imperial crown, or any other of the honours, castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, as heir or heirs to our said late cousin king Edward the 6, or as heir or heirs to any other person or persons whosoever, as well for the cause before rehearsed, as also for that that the said lady Marie and lady Elizabeth, were unto our said late cousin but of the half blood, and therefore by the ancient laws, statutes, and customs of this realm, be not inheritable unto our said late cousin, although they had been born in lawful matrimony; as indeed they were not, as by the said sentences of divorce, and the said statute of the 28 year of the reign of king Henrie the eight, our said progenitor, and great uncle, plainly appeareth.

And forasmuch also, as it is to be thought, or at the least much to be doubted, that if the said lady Marie, or lady Elizabeth, should hereafter have, or enjoy the said imperial crown of this realm, and should then happen to marry with any stranger born out of this realm, that then the same stranger, having the government and the imperial crown in his hands, would adhere and practise, not only to bring this noble, free realm into the tyranny and servitude of the bishops of Rome, but also to have the laws and customs of his or their own native country or countries, to be practised and put in ure within this realm, rather than the laws, statutes, and customs here of long time used; whereupon the title of inheritance of all and singular the subjects of this realm do depend, to the peril of conscience, and the utter subversion of the common-weal of this realm: whereupon our said late dear cousin, weighing and considering with himself, what ways and means were most convenient to be had for the stay of the said succes-

sion, in the said imperial crown, if it should please God to call our said late cousin out of this transitory life, having no issue of his body. And calling to his remembrance, that we, and the lady Katherine, and the lady Mary, our sisters, (being the daughters of the lady Fraunces, our natural mother, and then, and yet, wife to our natural and most loving father, Henrie duke of Suffolke; and the lady Margaret, daughter of the lady Elianour, then deceased, sister to the said lady Fraunces, and 241
the late wife of our cousin Henrie Erle of Comberland) were very nigh of his grace's blood, of the part of his father's side, our said progenitor, and great uncle; and being naturally born here, within the realm. And for the very good opinion our said late cousin had of our and our said sisters' and cousin Margaret's good education, did therefore, upon good deliberation and advice herein had, and taken, by his said letters patents, declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself, our said late cousin king Edward the Sixt, to decease, having no issue of his body lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown of England and Ireland, and the confines of the same, and his title to the crown of the realm of France; and all and singular honours, castles, prerogatives, privileges, preeminencies, authorities, jurisdictions, dominions, possessions, and hereditaments, to our said late cousin King Edward the Sixt, or to the said imperial crown belonging, or in any wise appertaining, should, for lack of such issue of his body, remain, come, and be unto the eldest son of the body of the said lady Fraunces, lawfully begotton, being born into the world in his life-time, and to the heirs males of the body of the same eldest son lawfully begotten; and so from son to son, as he should be of auncienty in birth of the body of the said lady Fraunces, lawfully begotten, being born into the world in our said late cousin's life-time, and to the heirs males of the body of every such son lawfully begotten. And for default of such son born into the world in his life-time, of the body of the said lady Fraunces, lawfully begotten; and for lack of heirs males of every such son lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown, and all and singular other the premises, should remain, come, and be to us, by the name of the lady Jane, eldest daughter of the said lady Fraunces,

and to the heirs male of our body lawfully begotten; and for lack of such[3] heir male of our body lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown and all other the premisses should remain, come, and be to the said lady Katherine, our said second sister, and to the heirs males of the body of the said lady Katherine lawfully begotten, with divers other remainders, as by the same letters patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithens the making of which letters patents, that is to say, on Thursday, which was the 6 day of this instant month of July, it hath pleased God to call to his infinite mercy, our said most dear and entirely beloved cousin, Edward the 6, whose soul God pardon; and forasmuch as he is now deceased, having no heirs of his body begotten; and that also there remaineth at this present time no heirs lawfully begotten, of the body of our said progenitor, and great uncle, king Henrie theight, and forasmuch also as the said lady Fraunces, our said mother, had no issue male begotten of her body, and born into the world, in the lifetime of our said cousin king Edward the Sixth, so as the said imperial crown, and other the premises to the same belonging, or in any wise appertaining, now be, and remain to us, in our actual and royal possession, by authority of the said letters patents: we do therefore by these presents signify, unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, that likeas we for our part shall, by God's grace, shew ourself a most gracious and benign sovereign queen and lady to all our good subjects, in all their just and lawful suits and causes; and to the uttermost of our power, shall preserve
242 and maintain God's most holy word, Christian policy, and the good laws, customs, and liberties of these our realms and dominions: so we mistrust not, but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all times, and in all cases, shew themselves unto us, their natural liege queen and lady, most faith-

[2] [The passage in the folio editions runs as follows: "And for lack of such issue then to the lady Katherine aforesaid, our said second sister, and the heirs male of her body lawfully begotten, with divers," &c. The editor is unable to account for so material a variation from the original, and from all the copies he has ever seen. Possibly the original may have been printed in different forms, as the copy in the Harleian Collection professes to be made from an original in three sheets, whereas that from which the editor has corrected the text is on a single sheet of large sized paper.]

ful, loving, and obedient subjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiances, whereby they shall please God, and do the thing that shall tend to their own preservations and sureties; willing and commanding all men, of all estates, degrees, and conditions, to see our peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our laws, as they tender our favour, and will answer for the contrary at their extreme perils.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness our self, at our Tower of London, the tenth day of July, in the first year of our reign.

God save the queen.[3]

[*Londini in ædibus Richardi Graftoni*
Reginæ a typographia excusum
Anno Domini MDLIII.
Cum priuilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum[3].]

[3] [The printer's name has been added from the original, and the printing, partly in Italic partly in Roman characters, exactly copied.]

Number II. [p. 240.]

A letter sent by queen Catharine, to the lady Mary her daughter.

Ex. MSS. Norfolciaнis in col. Gresham.[4]

DAUGHTER, I heard such tidings this day, that I do perceive (if it be true) the time is near[5] that Almighty God will provide for you, and I am very glad of it, for I trust that he doth handle you with a good love; I beseech you agree to his pleasure with a merry heart, and be you sure, that without fail he will not suffer you to perish, if you beware to offend him. I pray God, you good daughter, to offer[6] yourself to him; if any pangs come to you[7], shrive yourself, first make yourself[8] clean; take heed of his commandments, and keep them as near as he will give you grace to do, for then[9] are you sure armed. And if this lady do come to you, as it is spoken, if she do bring you a letter from the king, I am sure, in the selfsame letter, you shall[10] be commanded what you shall do[11]. Answer you with [12] few words, obeying the king your father in every thing, save only that you will not offend God, and lose your soul, and go no further with learning and disputation in the matter; and wheresoever, and in whatsoever company you shall come, obey the king's commandments, speak few words, and meddle nothing. I will send you two books in Latin, one shall be *de Vitâ Christi*, with the declaration [13] of the Gospels; and the other, the Epistles of St. Hierome, that he did write always to[14] Paula and Eustochium, and in them I will trust you shall[15] see

[4] [The Norfolk MSS. from which this letter was printed by the author, have been destroyed. The letter has been printed by Miss Strickland in her 'Lives of the Queens,' vol. v. p. 164. The variations are numerous, and have been given at the foot of the page. It is to be regretted that the authoress gives no reference, and the editor has been unable to trace the copy from which she printed.]

[5] [very near when]
[6] [that you good daughter offer]
[7] [over]
[8] [you]
[9] [there]
[10] [will]
[11] [what to do]
[12] [Answer with very]
[13] [declarations]
[14] [write to]
[15] [I trust you will]

good things. And[16] sometimes, for your recreation, use your virginals, or lute, if you have any. But one thing specially I desire you, for the love that[17] you owe unto[18] God and unto me, to keep your heart with a chaste mind, and your body[19] from all ill and wanton company, not thinking or desiring any husband, for Christ's passion; neither determine your self to any manner of living, until this troublesome time be past, for I dare[20] make you sure, that[21] you shall see a very good end, and better than you can desire. I would God, good daughter, that you did 243
know with how good a heart I do[22] write this letter unto you: I never did one with a better, for I perceive very well that God loveth you, I beseech him of his goodness to continue it; and if it shall fortune that you shall have no body to be with you of your acquaintance[23], I think it best you keep your keys yourself, for whosoever it is, so[24] shall be done as shall please them. And now you shall begin, and by likelihood I shall follow, I set not a rush by it, for when they have done the uttermost[25] they can, then I am sure of the[26] amendment. I pray you recommend me unto my good lady of Salisbury, and pray her to have a good heart, for we never come to the kingdom of heaven, but by troubles. Daughter, wheresoever you become[27], take no pain to send to me, for if I may I will send to you.

By your loving mother,
Katharine the Quene.

16 [And *om.*]
17 [that *om.*]
18 [to]
19 [person]
20 [do]
21 [that *om.*]
22 [do *om.*]
23 [and——acquaintance *om.*]
24 [so *om.*]
25 [utmost]
26 [the *om.*]
27 [come.]

Number III. [p. 241.]

A humble submission[27] *made by queen Mary to her father. Anno* 1536. *An original*[28].

MOST humbly prostrate before the feet of your most excellent majesty, your most humble, faithful, and obedient subject, which hath so extremely offended your most gracious highness, that mine heavy and fearful heart dare not presume to call, you father, ne your majesty hath any cause by my deserts, saving the benignity of your most blessed nature doth surmount all evils, offences, and trespasses, and is ever merciful and ready to accept the penitent, calling for grace in any convenient time. Having received, this Thursday at night, certain letters from Mr. Secretary, as well advising me to make mine humble submission immediately to yourself; which because I durst not, without your gracious license, presume to do before, I lately sent unto him; as signifying that your most merciful heart, and fatherly pity, had granted me your blessing, Cotton. lib. Otho C. x. [fol. 262.]

[27] [See part i. of the History, p. 207. for the Confession which accompanied this letter. See also State Papers, vol. I. pp. 457—459. where they are printed together.]

[28] [The reference in the original edition to Otho C. 20. is incorrect, as there never was a volume so designated in the Cotton Library.—The volume (Otho C. x.) from which these letters were really taken is very much injured by fire; only a small portion of one of the four has survived. They are printed in Hearne's Sylloge, whose copies have been used in correcting the text. They are more correct than Burnet's, though the differences are slight. Where the reading was in the least degree uncertain, the variation is given at the foot of the page. The whole series of Mary's letters to the king, as well as those to Cromwell, are given in the appendix to the second volume of Tierney's edition of Dod's Church History. Many of them are printed in Heylyn, Fox, Collier, and elsewhere.]

with condition, that I should persevere in that I had commenced and begun, and that I should not eft-soons offend your majesty by the denial or refusal of any such articles and commandments as it may please your highness to address unto me, for the perfect trial of mine heart and inward affection; for the perfect declaration of the bottom of my heart and stomach. First, I knowledge myself to have most unkindly and unnaturally offended your most excellent highness, in that I have not submitted myself to your most just and virtuous laws. And for mine offences[30] therein, which I must confess were in me a thousand fold more grievous than they could be in any other living creature, I put myself wholly and entirely to your gracious mercy, at whose hand I cannot receive that punishment for the same that I have deserved.

Secondly, To open mine heart to your grace, in these things 244
which I have heretofore refused to condescend unto, and have now written with mine own hand, sending the same to your highness herewith, I shall never beseech your grace to have pity and compassion of me, if ever you shall perceive that I shall privily or apertly vary or alter from one piece of that I have written and subscribed, or refuse to confirm, ratify, or declare the same, where your majesty shall appoint me.

Thirdly, As I have, and shall, knowing your excellent learning, virtue, wisdom, and knowledge, put my soul into your direction; and by the same hath, and will in all things from henceforth direct my conscience, so my body I do wholly commit to your mercy, and fatherly pity, desiring no state, no condition, nor no manner degree of living, but such as your grace shall appoint unto me; knowledging and confessing, that my state cannot be so vile, as either the extremity of justice would appoint unto me, or as mine offences have required and deserved.

And whatsoever your grace shall command me to do, touching any of these points, either for things past, present, or to come, I shall as gladly do the same, as your majesty shall[31] command me. Most humbly therefore beseeching your mercy, most gracious sovereign lord and benign father, to have pity and compassion of your miserable and sorrowful child, and with the abundance of your inestimable goodness, so to over-

[30] [*offence* Hearne.] [31] [*can* Hearne.]

come mine iniquity towards God, your grace, and your whole realm, as I may feel some sensible token of reconciliation, which, God is my judge, I only desire, without[32] other respect. To whom I shall daily pray for the preservation of your highness, with the queen's grace, and that it may please him to send you issue.

From Hunsdon, this Thursday[33], at eleven of the clock at night.

Your grace's most humble
and obedient daughter
and handmaid,
MARYE.

[32] [*without any* Hearne.]

[33] [The date is June 15th, 1536. This letter has been most carefully edited in Wood's letters, vol. II. p. 255, from the original collated with the copy in Titus, C. vii. fol. 176. another copy in Harl. 283. fol. 111. and Smith MS. 68. fol. 13. In every instance Hearne's readings are confirmed. The letter has also been printed in State Papers, vol. I. p. 467. from the Harleian MS. together with the Confession in Part i. p. 207. The editor of the State Papers erroneously states that Burnet does not give this letter.]

Number IV. [p. 241.]

Another of the same strain confirming the former.

An original[34].

Cotton lib. Otho. C. [x. fol. 269.]

Most humbly, obediently, and gladly, lying at the feet of your most excellent majesty, my most dear and benign father, and sovereign lord, I have this day perceived your gracious clemency, and merciful pity, to have overcome my most unkind and unnatural proceedings towards you, and your most just and virtuous laws. The great and inestimable joy whereof, I cannot express, nor have any thing worthy to be again presented to your majesty for the same your fatherly pity extended towards me, most ingrately on my part abandoned, as much as in me lies, but my poor heart, which I send unto your highness to remain in your hand, to be for ever used, directed, and framed, whiles God shall suffer life to remain in it at your only pleasure, most humbly beseeching your grace to accept and receive the same; being all that I have to offer, which shall never alter, vary, or change, from that confession and submission which I have made unto your highness, in the presence of your council, and other attending upon the same; for whose preservation, with my most gracious mother the queen, I shall daily pray to God, whom eft-soons I beseech to send you issue, to his honour, and the comfort of your whole realm.

From Hunsdon, the 26th day of June.

Your grace's most humble
and obedient daughter
and handmaid,
MARYE.

[34] [Only the centre part of the leaf on which this document is written has survived. It is written in a large and very legible hand. It has been printed in Wood's Letters, vol. II. p. 258. and the defects supplied from Smith's MS. No. 68. fol. 6. It has been printed also in Hearne's Sylloge, p. 128. The latter has only one variation from the copy printed in the text, *lay* being written for *lies*. This reading is also adopted in Wood, who prints *own* for *only*, by mistake, as this word occurs in the original paragraph in that part which has survived.]

246 ## Number V. [p. 241.]

Another letter[11] *written to her father to the same purpose.*

An original.

Cotton lib. Otho C. [x. fol. 266.]

My bounden duty most humbly remembered to your most excellent majesty: whereas I am unable and insufficient to render and express to your highness those most hearty and humble thanks for your gracious mercy and fatherly pity, surmounting mine offences at this time extended towards me, I shall prostrate at your most noble feet, humbly and with the very bottom of my stomach, beseech your grace to repute that in me, which in my poor heart remaining in your most noble hand, I have conceived and professed towards your grace, whiles the breath shall remain in my body; that is, that as I am now in such merciful sort recovered, being more than almost lost with mine own folly, that your majesty may as well accept me justly your bounden slave by redemption, as your most humble, faithful, and obedient child and subject, by the course of nature planted in this your most noble realm; so shall I for ever persevere and continue towards your highness, in such conformity and due obedience, as I doubt not, but with the help of God, your grace shall see and perceive a will and intent in me, to redouble again that hath been amiss on my behalf, comformably to such words and writings as I have spoken and send unto your highness, from the which I will never vary during my life, trusting that your grace hath conceived that opinion of me, which to remember is mine only comfort. And

[11] [This letter has entirely perished, but it has been printed in Hearne's Sylloge, with which copy it has been compared. The readings given in the text admit of no doubt. It has been edited also by Miss Strickland, (vol. v. p. 204,) but very incorrectly.]

thus I beseech our Lord to preserve your grace in health, with my very natural mother the queen, and to send you shortly issue, which I shall as gladly and willingly serve with my hands under their feet, as ever did poor subject their most gracious sovereign.

From Hunsdon, the 8th day of July.

Your grace's most humble
and obedient daughter
and handmaid,
MARYE.

247

Number VI.[13] [p. 241.]

A letter written by her to Cromwell, containing a full submission to the king's pleasure, in all the points of religion.

An Original.

Cotton lib. Otho C. x. [fol. ?]

Good Mr. Secretary, how much am I bound unto you, which have[14] not only travailed, when I was almost drowned in folly, to recover me, before I sunk, and was utterly past recovery, and so to present me to the face[15] of grace and mercy; but also desisteth not sithence, with your good and wholesome counsels, so to arm me from any relapse, that I cannot, unless I were too wilful and obstinate, (whereof now there[16] is no spark in me) fall again into any danger. But leaving the recital of your goodness apart, which I cannot recount; for answer to the particularities of your credence, sent by my friend Mr. Wriothsley[17]; First, concerning the princess, (so I think I must call her yet, for I would be loth to offend,) I offered, at her entry to that name and honour to call her sister; but it was refused, unless I would also add the other title unto it: which I denied not then more obstinately, than I am now sorry for it, for that I did therein offend my most gracious father, and his just laws. And now that you think it meet, I shall never call her by other name than sister. Touching the nomination of such women as I would have about me; surely, Mr. Secretary, what men or women soever the king's highness shall appoint to wait on me, without exception shall be unto me right-heartily and without respect, welcome; albeit to express my mind to you, whom I think worthy to be accepted for their faithful service done to the king's majesty, and to me, sithence they came into my company, I promise you, on my faith, Margery Baynton, and Susan Clarencieus, have, in every condition, used themselves as faithfully, painfully, and diligently,

[13] [This document has entirely disappeared. It has been printed by Hearne, p. 144, from a different copy. Where there is any doubt of the true reading the variation is given at the foot of the page.]

[14] [*hath.* Hearne.]

[15] [*fire.* Hearne.]

[16] [*there is now.* Hearne.]

[17] [*Master Wrythesley.* Hearne.]

as ever did women in such a case; as sorry when I was not so conformable as became me, as glad when I inclined any thing to my duty as could be devised. One other there is that was sometime my maid, whom, for her virtue, I love, and could be glad to have in my company, that is, Mary Brown, and here be all that I will recommend; and yet my estimation of these shall be measured at the king's highness, my most merciful father's pleasure and appointment, as reason is.

For mine opinion touching pilgrimages, purgatory, reliques, and such-like, I assure you I have none at all, but such as I shall receive from him that hath mine whole heart in keeping, that is the king's most gracious highness, my most benign father, who shall imprint in the same touching these matters, and all other, what his inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning, shall think convenient, and limit unto me; to whose presence I pray God I may once come or I die, for every day is a year till I may have the fruition of it. Beseeching you, good Mr. Secretary, to continue mine humble suit for the same, and for all other things whatsoever they be, to repute mine heart so firmly knit to his pleasure that I can by no 248
means vary from the direction and appointment of the same.

And thus most heartily fare you well. From Hunsdon, this Friday, at ten o'clock at night.

Your assured loving friend,
during my life,
MARYE.

Number VII. [p. 248.]

A letter of Bonner's, upon his being restored to his bishopric. An original.

To my most loving and dearly beloved friends, my cousin Thomas Shirley, the worshipful Richard Lechmore, and Roger Lechmore his brother.

In most hearty wise I commend me unto you, ascertaining, that yesterday I was, by sentence, restored again to my bishopric, and reposed in the same, even as fully as I was at any time before I was deprived; and by the said sentence, my usurper, Dr. Ridley, is utterly repulsed; so that I would ye did order all things at Kidmerly and Bushley at your pleasures, not suffering Sheeps-head, nor Ships-side, to be any meddler there, or to sell or carry away any thing from thence; and I trust, at your coming up now at the parliament, I shall so handle both the said Sheeps-heads, and the other Calves-heads, that they shall perceive their sweet shall not be without sour sauce. This day is looked that Mr. Canterbury must be placed where is meet for him; he is become very humble and ready to submit himself in all things, but that will not serve; in the same predicament is Dr. Smith, my friend, and the dean of Paul's, with others. Commend me to your bed-fellows most heartily, and remember the liquor that I wrote to you for; this bearer shall declare the rest, and also put you in remembrance for beeves and muttons for my house-fare. And thus our blessed Lord long and well keep you all.

Written in haste, this 6th[18] of September.

Assuredly all your own,

Edmond London.

[18] [The instrument of restitution bears date Sept. 5. and appears in Bonner's Register, fol. 331.]

Number VIII.[18] [p. 248.] 249

A manifesto set out by Cranmer, declaring his readiness to maintain the reformation in a public dispute.

PURGATIO RE-

VERENDISSIMI IN CHRISTO

patris ac Domini D. Thomæ Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, adversus infames sed vanos rumores a quibusdam sparsos, de missa restituta Cantuariæ.

From the copy printed that year.

QUAMQUAM Sathan vetus Christi hostis, mendax ipse atque mendacii parens, nullis unquam temporibus abstinuit suis

[18] This was printed an. 1554. by V. Pollanus, under the title *Reverendissimi in Christo patris ac domini D. archiepiscopi Cant. Epistola Apologetica ;* which seems a more proper expression for a subject. [B.] [From this note it would appear that Baker had not looked beyond the title page of the volume from which this document is taken. There is a copy in the British Museum, and another in the Bodleian. The text has been corrected from the former. The title is 'Vera expositio disputationis institutæ mandato D. Mariæ Reginæ Angl. Franc. et Hibern. &c. in Synodo Ecclesiastica, Londini in Comitiis regni ad 18. Octob. anno 1553. His accessit Reverendiss. in Christo patris ac Domini D. Archiepiscopi Cantuariens. epistola apologetica ex Anglico autographo Latina facta. Et precatio ad deum quam rex Eduuard. VI. habuit cum ageret animam. I. JOAN. 4. Probate spiritus, an ex deo sint. S. D. S. M. 1554. After the title page follows the preface occupying five leaves, signed V. Pollanus. Then follow two leaves containing the prayer of Edward in Latin, and the names of the disputants and the two subjects, the names being arranged under the heads of Euangelici and Papicolæ. Amongst the former he enumerates the dean of Rochester, Haddon dean of Exeter, Philpot archdeacon of Winchester, Cheyney archdeacon of Hereford, Aylmer archdeacon of Stow, Iong, Cantor of St. David's, who, he says, did not dispute, but signed, and Perne, who he said had incautiously subscribed, but afterwards came over to the truth, and disputed on the 4th day. On the other side he mentions Weston, Moreman, Watson, Harpsfield, Chedsey, Picus, and Morgan. Then follow the *acta* of the six days on 29 leaves, after which are 4 leaves not foliated containing the document in the text, and ending Impressum Romæ coram castro S. Angeli ad signum S. Petri. Anno 1554.]

armandis mancipiis et membris adversus Christum et veram ipsius religionem, variis subinde excogitatis mendaciis: idem tamen his nostris temporibus agit sane perquam sedulo. Nam cum rex Henricus 8. princeps illustrissimæ memoriæ deprehensis erroribus atque infandis abusibus Latinæ missæ, ipsam aliquousque cæpisset corrigere, deindeque filius qui proxime secutus est supremus dominus noster, Rex Edwardus 6. non ferens hos tantos, tamque manifestos errores atque abusus, omnes penitus sustulisset, restitutâ sacrosanctâ Christi cænâ plane ad ipsius institutum atque apostolorum et ecclesiæ primitivæ exemplum; Diabolus contra tentavit nuper si posset, rursum ejectâ Dominicâ cænâ, Latinam ac satisfactoriam missam (suum ipsius inventum et institutum scilicet) rursum hominibus nostris obtrudere. Atque id quo facilius posset effici, ausi sunt quidam abuti nomine nostro Thomæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, spargentes in vulgum missam meo jussu Cantuariæ restitutam meque adeo cantaturum fuisse missam in funere nuper principis nostri summi Edwardi sexti regis, imo idem quoque facturum recepisse coram majestate regineâ, et ad Paulum, ac nescio ubi præterea[19].

Porro tametsi jam 20 ab hinc annis multos ejusmodi rumores de me vanos et falsos pertulerim, utcunque fortiter et modeste, nunquam datâ hactenus significatione ullâ commoti animi ob res ejusmodi; attamen si quando in fraudem atque injuriam veritatis Dei talia jactarentur, haud quaquam diutius perferri posse judico. Quæ me res impulit, ut scripto hoc testatum universo orbi facerem nunquam me autore missam Cantuariæ cantatam, sed vanum quendam adulatorem, mendacem atque hypocritam monachum[20], me nec consultore, neque conscio ibidem hoc ausum fuisse: DOMINUS ILLI REDDAT IN DIE ILLO. Quod porro meipsum obtulerim ad legendam missam coram majestate regineâ aut usquam alibi, quam id vanum sit satis novit ipsius

[19] [Here in the original is placed in the margin the following note. 'Hoc vanum fuisse docuit eventus. Effecit noster Reverendissimus ut in funere omnia servarentur atque ipsa communio haberetur juxta ordinem libri. Quamvis concionem ibi habuerit D. Day dictus episcopus Cicestrensis quâ jam tanquam præcursor viam papismo parabat.']

[20] [The marginal note supplied by the author was] Thortoneus suffraganeus Dovorensis [In the margin of the original there is, 'Is est doctor Thorntonus suffraganeus; vere spinosus homo.']

majestas; a quâ si potestatem impetro, palam omnibus faciam, contraque omnes diversum putantes probabo, Omnia[22], quæ in communione (quam restituit innocentissimus idemque optimus princeps rex Edwardus 6. in comitiis regni) leguntur, respondere institutioni Christi atque apostolorum et primitivæ ecclesiæ exemplo, multis annis observato. Missam contra in plurimis non tantum hoc fundamento carere Christi et apostolorum et primitivæ ecclesiæ, sed imo adversari prorsus atque ex diametro pugnare, undiquaque erroribus atque abusibus refertissimam. Quamvis autem a nonnullis imperitis et malevolis dicatur D. 250
Petrus Martyr indoctus, si tamen nobis hanc libertatem det majestas reginea, ego cum Petro Martyre atque aliis quatuor, aut quinque quos mihi delegero, favente Deo, confido, nos idem omnibus approbaturos, non solum preces communes ecclesiasticas, administrationem sacram, cum cæteris ritibus et ceremoniis; verum doctrinam quoque universam, ac religionis ordinem constitutum a supremo nostro domino rege Edwardo sexto, puriora hæc esse et verbo Dei magis consentanea, quam quidquid mille retro annis in Angliâ usurpatum novimus. Tantummodo judicentur omnia per verbum Dei, ac describantur partis utriusque argumenta, quo primum possit orbis universus ea examinare et judicare, deinde nequeat pars ulla dicta factave sic descripta inficiari.

Quoniam vero gloriantur illi et jactant ecclesiæ fidem quæ fuit 1500 abhinc annis, nos hâc quoque in parte cum illis periclitari audebimus, quod eadem doctrina atque idem ordo ab omnibus servari debeat, qui fuit illo seculo ante annos 1500 ac præterea docebimus argumentis firmis, totam rationem cultûs divini ecclesiastici, quæ nunc in hoc regno servatur, autoritate comitiorum[23] eandem esse, atque illam ipsam quæ fuit ante annos 1500, id quod alii de suis nunquam probaverint.

[22] [Here there is a marginal note in the original. Idem non ita pridem pro concione coram Eduardo et senatu pronunciavit D. Cancellarius Gardinerus jam Wintoniensis dictus quamvis hodie fortiter propugnet eâdem prorsus licentiâ quâ suo scripto de obedientiâ jam adversatur hominibus, carceres et mortem intentans pro iis ipsis quæ ibi non tantum affirmat sed etiam docte probat.]

[23] [Here there is a marginal note as follows: Diserte autoritate comitiorum dictum, contra quam Papicolæ sua omnia revocârunt, non

FINIS.

Lecta publice Londini in vico mercatorum ab amico qui clam autographum surripuerat 5. Septemb. anno Dom. 1553[24].

expectatis aliis Comitiis uti facere leges ac jura regni cogebant. Sed cum metuerent congressum piorum et serium examen suarum nugarum abusi sunt potestate contra leges Regni non tantum contra Dei verbum.]

[24] [A translation of this paper exists in the C. C. C. Library at Cambridge, Vol. CV. Art. 32. p. 321. entitled 'A declaration of the reverend father in God, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the untrue and slanderous report of some which have reported that he should set up the mass again.']

Number IX.[24] [p. 260.]

The conclusion of cardinal Pole's instructions to Mr. Goldwell, sent by him to the queen. An original.

Cotton lib. Titus B. ii. [fol. 164. al. 150]

For the conclusion of all that is comprised in your instruction, as that the which containeth the whole sum of my poor advice and counsel, it pleaseth her grace to ask of me, you shall say, that my most humble desire is, that in all deliberation her grace shall make touching the maintenance of her state, the same will ever well ponder and consider, what the providence of God hath shewed therein, above that which hath been shewed in her predecessors, kings of this realm, in this one point; which is to have the crown, not only as a king's daughter and heir, but hath ordered, that this point of right inheritance shall depend as it doth, of the authority he hath given to his church, and of the see of Rome, which is the see apostolic, approving her mother to be legitimate wife of king Henrye the Eight; whereby she is bound, both afore God and man, as she will shew herself the very daughter of the said king Henrye the Eight, right heir of the crown; so also to shew herself right daughter of the church, and of them that be resident in the see apostolic, who be the right heirs to Peter; to whom, and his successors, Christe chief Head of the church in heaven, and in earth, hath given in earth to bear his 251
place, touching the rule of the same church, and to have the crown thereof; which well considered and pondered, her grace shall soon see how in her person, the providence of God hath joined the right she hath by her father in the realm, with the right of the church, that she cannot prevail by the one, except she join the other withal; and they that will separate these two, take away not only half her right, but her whole right, being not so much heir, because she is king Henryes only daughter, without issue male, as she is his lawful daughter, which she hath by the authority of the church.

[24] [The whole of these instructions have been printed from the Cotton MS. in the Ecclesiastical History Society's edition of Strype's Cranmer, vol. III. p. 466.]

Which thing, prudently and godly considered, she cannot but see what faithful counsel this is, that above all acts that in this parliament shall be made, doth advertise her grace to establish that, the which pertaineth to the establishing of the authority of the church, and the see of the same; with rendering to him that is right successor to Peter therein, his right title of head in the church in earth, without the which she cannot be right head in the realm; and this established, all controversy is taken away; and who will repine unto this, he doth repine to her right of the crown.

Wherefore this is my first advice, That this point, above all other, should be entreated and enacted in the parliament; and so, I know her grace's full mind was, and is, that it should be: but she feareth difficulties, and hereupon dependeth, that her grace asketh my poor advice, how these difficulties may be taken away.

Unto this you may say, That they must be taken away by the help of him, that by his high providence, above man's expectance, hath given her already the crown. Which will have as well this second act known, of the maintenance thereof to depend of him, as the first in attaining thereto. And to have his help, the mean is by humble prayer, wherein I would advertise her highness, not only to give herself to prayer, but also, by alms to the needy, excitate the minds of other to prayer; these be the means of most efficacy; and with this to take that ardent mind, to establish the authority of the church, casting away all fear of man, that she took to have her crown; and not so much for her own sake, as for the honour of God which gave her the crown. And if any difficulty should be feared in the parliament herein, leave the honour, to take away the difficulty thereof, to none other, but assume that person to herself, as most bound thereunto; and to propone it herself, which I would trust to be of that efficacy, that if inwardly any man will repugn, outwardly the reasons be so evident for this part, that joined with the authority of her person, being pro- [fol. 173.]
ponent, none will be so hardy, temerarious, nor impious, that will resist.

And if in this deliberation it should seem strange to put forth these matters in the parliament, as I have said in the instructions, without communicating the same with any of her

council, I would think it well her grace might confer it with twain of the chiefest that be counted of the people most near her favour, one spiritual and another temporal; with declaring to them, first, how touching her conscience afore God, and her right afore the world, she can never be quiet until this matter be stablished touching the authority of the church, requiring their uttermost help in that, as if she should fight for the crown, her majesty may be sure, she putting the same forth 252
with that earnest manner, they will not lack to serve her; and they may serve greatly in the parliament, after her grace hath spoken to prosecute and justify the same, with efficacy of words, to give all others example to follow, her grace leaving this part unto them, that if the name of obedience to the pope should seem to bring, as it were, a yoke to the realm, or any other kind of servitude, beside that it should be profitable to the realm, both afore God and man, that her grace that bringeth it in again, will never suffer it, nor the pope himself requireth no such thing. And herein also, if they say, that my person being the mean to bring it in, would never agree to be an instrument thereof, if I thought any thraldom should come thereby, they shall never be deceived of me. And if they would say beside, I would never have taken this enterprize upon me, except I thought by the same to bring great comfort to the country; wherein the pope's authority being accepted, I would trust, should be so used, that it might be an example of comfort, not only to that country, but to all other that hath rejected it afore, and for that cause hath been ever since in great misery.

This is the sum of all my poor advice at this time in this case; whereof I beseech Almighty God so much may take effect, as shall be to his honour, and wealth to her grace, and the whole realm besides.

Amen.

Number X.[25] [p. 274.]

Sent by the queen's majesty's commandment, in the month of March, anno Domini 1553.

By the QUEEN.

A copy of a letter, with articles sent from the queen's majesty unto the bishop of London; and by him and his officers, at her grace's commandment, to be put in speedy execution with effect in the whole diocese, as well in places exempt, as non-exempt whatsoever, according to the tenor and form of the same.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas heretofore, in the time of the late reign of our most dearest brother, king Edward the Sixth, (whose soul God pardon) divers notable crimes, excesses, and faults, with sundry kinds of heresies, simony, advoutry, and other enormities, have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions; the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder, since the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all; and the people, both of the laity and also of the clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have
253 been given to much insolency and ungodly rule, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to no little slander of other Christian realms, and in manner, to the subversion and clean defacing of this our realm. And remembering our duty to Almighty God, to be, to foresee, as much as in us may be, that all virtue and godly living should be embraced, flourish, and increase. And therewith also, that all vice and ungodly behaviour should be utterly banished and put away; or at the least ways, so nigh as might be, so bridled and kept under, that godliness and honesty might have the over-hand: understanding, by very credible report, and public fame, to our no small heaviness and [Registr. Bonner, fol. 342.]

[25] [This document has been collated with the original in Bonner's Register, and also with the printed copy. The two almost exactly correspond. The printed copy consists of eight pages, and may be seen amongst the manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. vol. CXXI. Art. 41.]

comfort, that within your diocese, as well in not exempted as exempted places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used; like also to continue and increase, unless due provision be had and made to reform the same, (which earnestly in very deed we do mind and intend) to the uttermost all the ways we can possible, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf.

For these causes, and other most just considerations us moving, we send unto you certain articles of such special matter, as among other things be most necessary to be now put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the reformation aforesaid; wherein ye shall be charged with our special commandment, by these our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our laws, as by your doings, of that is in the said articles contained, might any wise grieve you, whatsoever be threatened in any such case; and therefore we straitly charge and command you, and your said officers, to proceed to the execution of the said articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary. Given under our our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the fourth day of March, the first year of our reign.

Articles sent from the Queen's majesty unto the ordinary, and by him and by his officers, by her grace's commandment, to be put in speedy execution with effect in the whole diocese, as well in places exempt as not exempt whatsoever.

First. That every bishop, and his officers, with all other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall, with all speed and diligence, and all manner and ways to them possible, put in execution all such canons and ecclesiastical laws, heretofore in the time of king Henry the 8th used, within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same, not being direct and expressly contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm.

Item. That no bishop, or any his officers, or other person aforesaid hereafter, in any of their ecclesiastical writings, in process, or other extra-judicial acts, do use to put in this clause or sentence, *regiâ auctoritate fulcitus.*

Item. That no bishop, or any his officers, or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the admission of any person to any ecclesiastical promotion, order, or office, any oath touching the primacy, or succession, as of late in few years passed hath been accustomed and used.

254 Item. That every bishop, and his officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant eye and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any ecclesiastical function, benefice, or office, being a sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of heresy, or other great crime; and that the said bishop do stay, and cause to be stayed, as much as lieth in him, that benefices, and ecclesiastical promotions, do not notably decay, or take hindrance, by passing or confirming of unreasonable leases.

Item. That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travail for the repressing of heresies, and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

Item. That every bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, do likewise travail for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred among the people, and discord among the same: and that school-masters, preachers, and teachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties, without teaching, or preaching, or setting forth any evil or corrupt doctrine; and that doing the contrary, they may be, by the bishop and his said officers, punished and removed.

Item. That every bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and amove, according to their learning and discretion, of all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who contrary to the state of their order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married, and used women as their wives, or otherwise, notably and slanderously disordered or abused themselves; sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices, and ecclesiastical promotions.

Item. That the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married,

whose wives be dead, than with other, whose women do yet remain in life. And likewise such priests, as with the consents of their wives, or women, openly in the presence of the bishop, do profess to abstain, to be used the more favourably; in which case, after penance effectually done, the bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may, upon just consideration, receive, and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice, whereof they be deprived, by discretion of the said bishop, or his officer, shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

Item. That every bishop, and all persons aforesaid, do foresee, that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman, or wife: but that all such persons, after deprivation of their benefice, or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced[24], every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

Item. That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction, with the parishioners of every benefice, where priests do want, to repair to the next parish for divine service; or to appoint, for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one curate to serve *alternis vicibus*, in divers parishes; and to allot to the said curate, for his 255
labour, some portion of the benefice that he so serveth.

Item. That all and all manner of processions of the church be used, frequented, and continued, after the old order of the church, in the Latin tongue.

Item. That all such holy-days and fasting-days be observed and kept, as was observed and kept in the latter time of king Henry the Eighth.

Item. That the laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the church, be hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

Item. That children be christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishops, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

[24] [The words *be also divorced* are repeated in the register twice, but not in the printed copy.]

Item. Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of order, considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister.

Item. That by the bishop of the diocese, a uniform doctrine be set forth by homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people; and that the said bishop, and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parishioners to come to their several churches, and there devoutly to hear divine service, as of reason they ought.

Item. That they examine all school-masters and teachers of children, and finding them suspect in any wise to remove them, and place catholic men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children so, as they may be able to answer the priest at the mass, and so help the priest to mass, as hath been accustomed.

Item. That the said bishop, and all other the persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting forth of the premises, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, with repressing also, and keeping under of vice and unthriftiness, as they, and every each of them may be seen to favour the restitution of true religion; and also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation, and the profit of this our realm, and dominions of the same.

[*Excusum Londini in ædibus Johannis Cawodi, Typographi Reginæ Mariæ. Anno* 1553. *Mense Martio.*]

Number XI. [p. 274.] 256

A commission to turn out some of the reformed bishops.

Rot. pat. prim. Mariæ pars septima, [m. 1.]

REGINA Dei gratiâ, &c. perdilectis et fidelibus consiliariis suis, Stephano Wintoniensi episcopo, summo suo Angliæ cancellario et Cuthberto Dunelmensi episcopo, necnon reverendis et dilectis sibi in Christo Edmundo Londoniensi episcopo, Roberto Assavensi episcopo, Georgio Cicestrensi episcopo, et Anthonio Landavensi episcopo salutem.

Quia omne animi vicium tanto conspectius in se crimen habet, quanto qui peccat major habetur, et quoniam certis et indubitatis testimoniis, una cum facti notorietate et famâ publicâ referente, luculenter intelleximus et manifeste comperimus Robertum archiepiscopum Eboracensem, Robertum Menevensem, Joannem Cestrensem, et Paulum Bristoliensem episcopos, aut certe pro talibus se gerentes, Dei et animarum suarum salutis immemores, valde gravia et enormia dudum commisisse et perpetrâsse scelera atque peccata, et inter cætera quod dolenter certe, et magnâ cum amaritudine animæ nostræ proferimus, post expressam professionem castitatis, expresse, rite et legittime emissam, cum quibusdam mulieribus nuptias de facto, cum de jure non deberent, in Dei contemptum et animarum suarum peccatum manifestum necnon in grave omnium ordinum, tam clericorum quam laicorum scandalum; denique cæterorum omnium Christi fidelium perniciosissimum exemplum contraxisse et cum illis tanquam cum uxoribus cohabitâsse.

Ne igitur tantum scelus remaneat impunitum ac multos alios pertrahat in ruinam, vobis tenore præsentium committimus et mandamus, quatenus vos omnes, aut tres saltem vestrûm qui præsentes literas commissionales duxerint exequendas, dictos archiepiscopum Eboracensem, episcopum Menevensem, episcopum Cestrensem, et episcopum Bristoliensem, diebus, horis et locis, vestro, aut trium vestrum arbitrio, eligendis et assignandis ad comparendum coram vobis, ceu tribus vestrûm, vocetis aut vocari faciatis, vocent, aut vocari faciant, tres vestrûm: (ceu saltem) si ita vobis aut tribus vestrûm videatur, eosdem archiepiscopum et episcopos prædictos adeatis, aut tres vestrûm

adeant, et negocio illis summarie et de plano sine ullo strepitu et figurâ judicii exposito et declarato, si per summariam examinationem et discussionem negotii per vos aut tres vestrûm fiendam, eundem archiepiscopum et episcopos prædictos sic contraxisse, aut fecisse constiterit; eosdem a dignitatibus suis prædictis, cum suis juribus pertinentibus universis, omnino amoveatis, deprivetis et perpetuo excludetis, ceu tres vestrûm sic amoveant, deprivent, perpetuo excludant: pœnitentiam salutarem et congruam pro modo culpæ vestro aut trium vestrûm arbitrio imponendam eisdem injungentes, cæteraque in prædictis cum eorum incidentibus emergentiis annexis et connexis quibuscumque, facientes quæ necessaria fuerint, ceu quomodolibet oportuna.

Ad quæ omnia et singula facienda expedienda et finienda, nos tam auctoritate nostrâ ordinariâ, quam absolutâ, ex mero motu certâque scientiâ nostrâ, vobis et tribus vestrûm potestatem, auctoritatem et licenciam concedimus, et impertimur per præsentes cum cujuslibet cohercionis et castigationis severitate et potestate in contrarium facientes, non obstantibus quibuscumque.

In cujus rei, &c. Teste Reginâ apud Westmonasterium 13. die Martii.[24]

[24] [This and the following Number appear in Rymer, XV. pp. 370, 371. There are a few unimportant variations in the spelling of the Latin words, which may perhaps serve to shew the difficulty of producing an exact copy of a document when the Latin is badly spelled, and which is full of contractions.]

Number XII. [p. 274.]

257

Another commission to turn out the rest of them.

MARY by the grace of God, &c. to the right reverend fathers in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellors, Stephine bishop of Winchester, our chancellor of Englond; Cuthbert bishop of Duresme; Edmond bishop of London; Robert bishop of Sainte Asaphe; George bishop of Chichester, our almoner: and Anthonye bishop of Landaff, greeting.

Where John Taylor, doctor of divinity, naming himself bishop of Lincolne; John Hoper, naming himself bishop of Worcester and Glocester; John Harley, bishop of Hereford; having their said several pretensed bishoprics given to them, by the letters patents of our late deceased brother, king Edward the Sixte, to have and to hold the same during their good behaviours, with the express clause, (*quamdiu se bene gesserint*) have sithence, as hath been credibly brought to our knowledge,
[m. 2.] both by preaching, teaching, and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, and also by inordinate life and conversation, contrary both to the laws of Almighty God, and use of the universal Christian church, declared themselves very unworthy of that vocation and dignity in the church.

We minding to have their several cases duly heard and considered, and thereupon such order taken with them, as may stand with justice, and the laws, have, for the special trust we have conceived of your wisdoms, learning, and integrity of life, appointed you four, three, or two of you, to be our commissioners in this behalf: giving unto you four, three, or two of you, full power and authority to call before you, if you shall think so good, the said John Taylor, John Hoper, John Harley, and every of them; and thereupon, either by order of the ecclesiastical laws, or of the laws of our realm, or of both, proceed to the declaring of the said bishoprics to be void, as they be already indeed void. To the intent some such other meet personages may be elected thereunto, as for their godly life, learning, and sobriety, may be thought worthy the places.

In witness, &c. Teste Reginâ *apud Westm.* 15 *die Martii.*

258 ## Number XIII. [p. 275.]

Bonner's certificate, that bishop Scory had put away his wife.

EDMUNDUS permissione divinâ Londoniensis episcopus, universis et singulis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentes literæ nostræ testimoniales pervenerint; ac eis præsertim quos infra scripta tangunt, seu tangere poterunt quomodolibet in futurum, salutem in auctore salutis et fidem indubiam præsentibus adhibere. Quia boni pastoris officium tunc nos rite exequi arbitramur, cum ad exemplar Christi errantes oves ad caulam Dominici gregis reducimus, et ecclesiæ Christi, quæ redeunti gremium non claudit, restituimus: et quia dilectus confrater noster Johannes nuper Cicestriensis episcopus in diocese et jurisdictione nostris London. ad præsens residentiam et moram faciens; qui olim laxatis pudiciciæ et castitatis habenis, contra sacros canones et sanctorum patrum decreta ad illicitas et prohibitas convolavit nuptias; se eâ ratione non solum ecclesiasticis sacramentis pertractandis omnino indignum; verum etiam a publicâ officii sui pastoralis functione privatum et suspensum reddens, suæ transactæ licentiosæ vitæ valde pœnitentem et deplorantem, plurimis argumentis se declaravit, ac pro commissis pœnitentiam alias per nos sibi injunctam salutarem, aliquo temporis tractu in cordis sui amaritudine et animi dolore peregit, vitam hactenus degens laudabilem, spemque faciens id se imposterum facturum atque ob id ad ecclesiasticæ ac pastoralis functionis statum, saltem cum quodam temperamento, justiciâ exigente, reponendus, hinc est quod nos præmissa ac humilem dicti confratris nostri petitionem pro reconciliatione suâ habendâ et obtinendâ considerantes, ejus precibus favorabiliter inclinati, eundem confratrem nostrum ad publicam ecclesiastici ministerii et officii sui pastoralis functionem et executionem, infra diocesim nostram Londoniæ exercendum quatenus de jure possumus et absque cujuscunque præjudicio restituimus, rehabilitavimus et redintegravimus, prout tenore præsentium sic restituimus, rehabilitamus, et redintegramus[25]; sacrosanctæ

Registr. Bonner, fol. 347.

[25] [The words from *prout* to *redintegramus* are in the margin.]

ecclesiæ clemenciâ et Christianâ charitate id exigentibus. Vobis igitur universis et singulis supradictis præfatum confratrem nostrum, sic ut præmittitur restitutum, rehabilitatum et redintegratum fuisse, et esse ad omnes effectus supradictos significamus et notificamus per præsentes sigillo nostro sigillatas.

Dat. in manerio nostro de Fulham die [26] mensis Julii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto nostræ translations anno decimo quinto.

[26] [The day was left open in the register, and it has never been inserted.]

259

Number XIV. [p. 288.]

A letter of the queen's, to the justices of the peace in Norfolk.

MARYE the queen.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well.

And whereas we have heretofore signified our pleasure, both by our proclamation general, and by our letters to many of you particularly, for the good order and stay of that our county of Norffolk, from rebellions, tumults, and uproars; and to have especial regard to vagabonds, and to such as did spread any vain prophecies, seditious, false, or untrue rumors, and to punish them accordingly; we have nevertheless, to our no small grief, sundry intelligences of divers and sundry lewd and seditious tales, forged and spread by certain malicious persons, touching the estate of our person; with many other vain and slanderous reports, tending to the moving of sedition and rebellion, whose faults passing unpunished, seemeth either to be winked at, or at least little considered, which is to us very strange. We have therefore thought good, eftsoons, to require and command you, to be not only more circumspect in the good ordering of that our county, according to our trust conceived of you, but also to use all the best means and ways ye can, in the diligent examining and searching out, from man to man, the authors and publishers of these vain prophecies, and untrue bruits, the very foundation of all rebellion: and the same being found, to punish them as the quality of their offence shall appear unto you to deserve; whereby the malicious sort may be the more feared to attempt the like, and our good loving subjects live in more quiet. And for our better service in this behalf, we think good that ye divide yourselves into several parts of that our county, so that every of you have some part in charge, whereby ye may the better butte out the malicious; and yet nevertheless to meet often together for the better conferring herein. And that you signify your doings, and the state of that shire, by your general letters, once every

[Cotton MSS. Titus B. ii. fol. 119.]

month at least, to our privy council. And like as we shall consider such of you to your advancements, whose diligence shall set forwards our service in this part, so shall we have good cause to note great negligence and fault in them that shall omit their duties in this behalf.

Given under our signet, at our manor of St. James, the 23th of May, the first year of our reign.

260 ## Number XV. [p. 289.][27]

The title of Bonner's whole book.

Articles to be enquired of in the general visitation of Edmond bishop of London, exercised by him the year of our Lord God 1554, *in the city and diocese of London; and set forth by the same, for his own discharge towards God, and the world, to the honour of God, and his catholic church; and to the commodity and profit of all those that either are good, (which he would were all) or delighteth in goodness, (which he wisheth to be many) without any particular grudge or displeasure to any one, good or bad, within this realm; which articles he desireth all men, of their charity, especially those that are of his diocese, to take, with as good intent and mind as the said bishop wisheth and desireth, which is to the best. And the said bishop withal desireth all people to understand, that whatsoever opinion, good or bad have conceived of him, or whatsoever usage or custom hath been heretofore, his only intent and purpose is to do his duty charitably, and with that love, favour, and respect, both towards God and every Christian person, which any bishop should shew to his flock in any wise.* [Bonner's Register, fol. 365.]

[*Articuli ministrati per Reverendum patrem Edmundum Bonerum Londoniensem Episcopum in visitacione suâ generali.*]

[*The first Articles are concerning the clergy: because they should of duty give good example, and that their fault is more in deed and more worthy punishment, than the faults of the laity.*]

[27] [There is no reference for these articles given in the folio edition. The editor discovered them in Bonner's Register, where they would naturally be, and from it they have been corrected. It seems probable that the author took them from the copy printed by Cawood in September 1554, a copy of which is amongst the books bequeathed to the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, by Baker.]

Article 1.

First. WHETHER the clergy, to give example to the laity, have in their living, in their teaching, and in their doing, so behaved themselves, that they (in the judgment of indifferent persons) have declared themselves to search principally the honour of God and his church, the health of the souls of such as are committed to their cure and charge, the quietness of their parishioners, and the wealth and honour of the king and queen of this realm?

Article 2.

Item. Whether your parson, vicar, or any other ministering as priest within your parish, have been, or is married or taken for married, not yet separated from his concubine, or woman taken for wife? Or whether the same woman be dead, or yet living; and being living, whether the one resorteth to the other, openly, secretly, or slanderously, maintaining, supporting, or finding the same in any wise to the offence of the people?

Article 3.

Item. Whether there be any person, of what estate, condition or degree he be, that doth, in open talk, or privily, defend, maintain, or uphold the marriage of priests, encouraging or bolding any person to the defence thereof?

Article 4. 261

Item. Whether ye have your parson or vicar resident continually with you upon his benefice, doing his duty in the serving of the cure; and whether being able he do keep hospitality upon the same, feeding his flock with his good living, with his teaching, and his relieving of them to his power?

Article 5.

Item. Whether your parson or vicar, being absent, have a sufficient dispensation and license therein; and whether, in his absence, he do appoint an honest, able, and sufficient learned curate to supply his room and absence to serve his cure?

Article 6.

Item. Whether your parson, or vicar, by himself, or his good and sufficient deputy for him, do relieve his poor parishioners; repair and maintain his house, or mansion, and things

thereunto appertaining; and otherwise do his duty, as by the order of the law, and custom of this realm, he ought to do?

Article 7.

Item. Whether the said curate so appointed in the absence of your parson, or vicar, do in all points the best he can, to minister the sacraments and sacramentals, and other his duty, in serving the same cure, specially in celebrating divine service at convenient hours, chiefly upon Sundays, and holy-days, and procession-days, and ministering the said sacraments, and sacramentals, as of duty and reason he ought, moving and exhorting earnestly his parishioners to come, and devoutly to hear the same: and whether he himself do reverently celebrate, practise, minister, and use the same as appertaineth?

Article 8.

Item. Whether he the said curate, parson, or vicar, have been, or is of suspect doctrine, erroneous opinion, misbelief, or evil judgment; or do set forth, preach, favour, aid, or maintain the same, contrary to the catholic faith, and order of this realm?

Article 9.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, doth haunt or resort to ale-houses, or taverns, otherwise than for his or their honest necessity and relief; or repair to any dicing-houses, common bowling-alleys, suspect houses, or places; or do haunt and use common games, or plays, or behave themselves otherwise unpriestly and unseemly?

Article 10.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, be familiar, or keep [fol. 366.] company, and be conversant with any suspect person of evil conversation and living, or erroneous opinion or doctrine, or be noted to aid, favour, or assist the same in any wise, contrary to the good order of this realm, and the usage of the catholic church?

Article 11.

Item. Whether there be dwelling within any your parishes, any priest, foreigner, stranger, or other, who, not presented to the bishop of this diocese, or his officers, examined and admitted by some one of them, doth take upon him to serve any cure,
262 or to minister any sacraments, or sacramentals, within the said parish?

Article 12.

Item. Whether there be dwelling within any your parishes, or repairing thither any priest, or other, naming himself minister, which doth not come diligently to church to hear the divine service, or sermons there; but absenteth himself, or discourageth other by his example, or words, to come unto the same, expressing their name and sur-name, with sufficient knowledge of them?

Article 13.

Item. Whether there be any married priests, or naming themselves ministers, that do keep any assemblies, or conventicles, with such-like as they are, in office or sect, to set forth any doctrine or usage not allowed by the laws, and laudable customs of this realm; or whether there be any resort of any of them to any place, for any privy lectures, sermons, plays, games, or other devices, not expressly in this realm by laws allowable?

Article 14.

Item. Whether there be any of them, which is a common brawler, scolder, a sower of discord among his parishioners, a hawker, a hunter, or spending his time idly and unthriftily; or being a fornicator, an advoulterer, a drunkard, a common swearer or blasphemer of God or his saints, or an unruly or evil-disposed person; or that hath come to his benefice or promotion, by simony, unlawful suit, or ungodly means, in any wise?

Article 15.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, to the best of their powers, at all times have exhorted and stirred the people to quietness and concord, and to the obedience of the king and queen's majesties, and their officers, rebuking all sedition and tumult, with all unlawful assemblies, moving the people to charity and good order; and charging the fathers and mothers, masters and governors of youth, to keep good rule, and to instruct them in virtue and goodness, to the honour of God, and of this realm; and to have them occupied in some honest art and execution, to get their living thereby?

Article 16.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do admit any person to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, who are openly known or suspected to be adversaries and speakers against the

said sacrament, or any other article of the catholic faith; or to be a notorious evil person in his conversation or doctrine; an open oppressor, or evil doer to his neighbour, or being in hatred and malice with his said neighbour, not being confessed, reconciled, and having made satisfaction in that behalf?

Article 17.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, have of their own authority admitted and licensed any to preach in their cure, not being authorised and admitted thereunto, or have denied or refused such to preach as have been lawfully licensed: and whether they, or any of them, having authority to preach within their cures, doth use to preach, or at the least doth procure other lawful and sufficient persons to do the same according to the order of this realm?

263 *Article* 18.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, since the queen's majesty's proclamation, hath, or doth use to say, or sing, divine service, minister the sacraments, or sacramentals, or other things, in English, contrary to the order of this realm?

Article 19.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, in their suffrages, collects, and prayers, doth use to pray for the king and queen's majesties, by the names of king Phillipp and queen Mary, according to a letter and commandment therein lawfully given now of late unto them by their ordinary?

Article 20.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, have diligently moved and exhorted their parishioners, how and in what manner children should be baptized in time of necessity; and they the said parishioners, reverently and devoutly to prepare themselves to receive and use the sacraments, especially of the sacrament of the altar, and whether any person have refused or contemned to receive the said sacrament of the altar, or to be confessed and receive at the priest's hands, the benefit of absolution, according to the laudable custom of this realm?

Article 21.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, hath diligently visited his and their parishioners, in the time of sickness and

need, and ministered sacraments and sacramentals to them accordingly; and whether they have exhorted and monished them to have due respect to their soul's health; and also to set and order in their temporal lands and goods, declaring their debts perfectly, and what is owing unto them; and they so to make their testaments, and last wills, that as much as may be, all trouble and business may be excluded; their wives and children, with their friends, may be holpen and succoured, and themselves decently buried and prayed for; and to have an honest memory and commendations for their so doing?

[fol. 366. b.]

Article 22.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, have so solemnized matrimony, between any his parishioners, or any other person, the banes not before asked, three several Sundays, or holydays; or without certificate of the said banes, from the curate of any other parish, if any of them be of another parish: and whether touching the solemnization and use of this sacrament of matrimony, and also of all other the sacraments of the church, they have kept and observed the old and laudable custom of the church, without any innovation or alteration in any of the same?

Article 23.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, upon the Sunday, at the service-time, doth use to set forth, and declare unto the people, all such holy-days, and fasting-days, as of godly usage and custom hath heretofore laudably been accustomed to be kept and observed in the week following and ensuing; and whether they, and every of them doth observe and keep themselves the said holy-days, and fasting-days?

Article 24. 264

Item. Whether the parson, or vicar, doth repair and maintain his chancel, and mansion-house, in sufficient reparation; and the same being in decay, whether he doth bestow yearly the fifth part of his benefice, till such time the same be sufficiently repaired; doing also further his duty therein, and otherwise, as by the law he is charged and bound in that behalf, distributing and doing as he is bound by the law?

Article 25.

Item. Whether there be any person that doth serve any

cure, or minister any sacraments, not being priest; or if any do take upon them to use the room and office of the parson, or vicar, or curate, of any benefice or spiritual promotion, receiving the fruits thereof, not being admitted thereunto by the ordinary?

Article 26.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, doth go in priestly apparel and habit, having their beards and crowns shaven, or whether any of them doth go in lay-mens habits and apparel, or otherwise disguise themselves, and they cannot easily be discerned or known from lay-men?

Article 27.

Item. Whether such as have churches or chapels appropriated, or mansions or houses thereto appertaining, do keep their chancels or houses in good and sufficient reparations; and whether they do all things in distributions and almose, or otherwise, as by law and good order they ought to do?

Article 28.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, have many promotions and benefices ecclesiastical, cures, secular services, yearly pensions, annuities, farms, or other revenues, now in title or possession; and what the names of them be, and where they lie, giving all good instruction, and perfect information therein?

Article 29.

Item. Whether any such as were ordered schismatical, and contrary to the old order and custom of the catholic church, or being unlawfully and schismatically married, after the late innovation and manner, being not yet reconciled nor admitted by the ordinary, have celebrated or said, either mass or other divine service, within any cure or place of this city or diocese?

Article 30.

Item. Whether any parson, or vicar, or other, having ecclesiastical promotion, do let[28] out the same to farm, without consent, knowledge, and licence of his ordinary, especially for an unreasonable number of years, or with such conditions, qualities, or manners, that the same is to the great prejudice of the church, and the incumbent of the same, and especially of him that shall succeed therein?

[28] [The author printed both here and in the text of his History, Part ii. p. 289, *set* for *let*.]

Article 31.

Item. Whether there be any parson, vicar, curate or priest, that occupieth buying and selling as a merchant, or occupieth usury, or layeth out his money for filthy lucre's sake and gain, to the slander of priesthood?

Article 32.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do wear swords, daggers, or other weapon, in times and places not convenient or seemly?

Article 33. 265

Item. Whether any priest, or ecclesiastical person, have reiterated or renewed baptism, which was lawfully done before, or invented and followed any new fashion or form, contrary to the order of the catholic church?

Article 34.

Item. Whether the parson, vicar, or curate, do (according to the law) every quarter in the year, upon one solemn day, or more, it is to wit, upon the Sunday, or solemn feast (when the parishioners, by the order of the church, do come together) expound and declare by himself, or some other sufficient person, unto the people, in the vulgar, or common tongue, plainly, truly, and fruitfully, the articles of the catholic faith, the ten commandments expressed in the old law, the two commandments of the gospel, or new law; that is, of earnest love to God, and to our neighbour; the seven works of mercy; the seven deadly sins, with their off-spring, progeny, and issue; the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments of the church?

Article 35.

Item. Whether that every priest, having cure, do admonish
[fol. 367.] the women, that are with child, within his cure, to come to confession, and to receive the sacrament, especially when their time draweth nigh, and to have water in readiness to christen the child, if necessity so require it?

Article 36.

Item. Whether stipendiary priests do behave themselves discreetly and honestly, in all points, towards their parson, and vicar, giving an oath, and doing according to the law, and ecclesiastical constitutions, ordinances, and laudable customs in that behalf?

Article 37.

Item. Whether any parson, vicar, or other, having any ecclesiastical promotion, have made any alienation of any thing pertaining to their church, benefice, or promotion; what it is, and what warrant they had so to do.[29]

[29] [These Articles are not numbered in the Register, but are written straight off, *Item* being in large letters.

Afterwards follow articles concerning archdeacons, their officials and ministers, printed in Collier, ii. 86. Then articles concerning the things of the church, and ornaments of the same, also printed by Collier. Then articles concerning the laity. Then articles concerning schoolmasters. Then articles concerning midwives and such as come to the travail of women being with child. Then articles concerning the original patrons of benefices, and other that have advowsons of the said benefices. Lastly, 'The tenor, form, and effect of the oath given by the said bishop of London to the inquisitors and searchers for knowledge of things amiss, especially concerning the articles before rehearsed.' The 37 articles are also printed by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. 3, numb. xvi. p. 37, more correctly than in the original edition of Burnet; and also by Wilkins, Conc. iv. 105, who gives a reference to Bonner's Register, but evidently has copied Burnet's text.]

Number XVI. [p. 295.] 266

An address made by the lower house of convocation to the upper house.

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. Cant. [cxxi. 9. p. 5. l.

RIGHT reverend fathers in God, we the clergy of the province of Canterbury, of the lower house, do most humbly pray your good lordships, that touching the submission and order of the lands and possessions which sometime did appertain to divers bishops, cathedral churches, and to the late suppressed monasteries, priories, colleges, chantries, and free chapels, and other churches within this realm, and be now in the possession of the temporalty, that it may please your good lordships, by your discreet wisdoms, to foresee and provide, that by this our grant, nothing pass, which may be prejudicial or hurtful to any bishop, or other ecclesiastical person, or their successors, for or concerning any action, right, title, or interest, which by the laws of this realm are already grown, or may hereafter grow or rise to them, or any of them, and their successors, for any lands, tenements, pensions, portions, tithes, rents, reversions, services[30], or other hereditaments, which sometime appertained to the said bishops, or other ecclesiastical persons, in the right of their churches, or otherwise, but that the same right, title, and interest, be safe and reserved to them, and every of them and their successors, according to the said laws.

And further, whereas in the statute passed in the first year of Edward the Sixth, for the suppressing of all colleges, &c. proviso was made by the said statute, in respect of the same [5. m.] surrender, that schools and hospitals should have been erected and founded in divers parts of this realm, for the good education of youth in virtue and learning, and the better sustentation of the poor; and that other works, beneficial for the common-weal, should have been executed, which hitherto be not performed, according to the meaning of the said statute, it may please your good lordships to move the king's and the

[30] [This word appears to be a mistake; in the copy in Pole's Register it is *fruits*.]

queen's most royal majesty, and the lord cardinal, to have some special consideration for the due performance of the premises; and that as well the same may the rather come to pass, as the church of England, which heretofore hath been honourably endowed with lands and possessions, may have some recovery of so notable damages and losses which she hath sustained.

It may please their highness, with the assent of the lords and commons in this parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, to repeal, make frustrate and void, the statute of mortmain, made in the seventh year of Edward the First, otherwise entitled the statute *de Religiosis*, and the statute concerning the same, made the 15th year of king Richard the Second. And all and every other statute and statutes, at any time heretofore made concerning the same. And forasmuch as tithes and oblations have been at all times assigned and appointed for the sustentation of ecclesiastical ministers; and in
267 consideration of the same, their ministry and office, which as it cannot be executed by any lay person, so it is not meet that any of them should perceive, possess, or enjoy the same: that all appropriations, now being in the hands of any lay person, [5, n.] or persons, and appropriations made to any secular use, other than for the maintenance of ecclesiastical ministers, universities, and schools, may be, by like authority of parliament, dissolved, and the churches reduced to such state as they were in, before the same appropriations were made.

And in this behalf we shall most humbly pray your good lordships to have in special consideration, how lately the lands and possessions of prebends, in certain cathedral churches within this realm, have been taken away from the same prebends, to the use of certain private persons; and in the lieu thereof, benefices of notable value, appropried to the cathedral churches in which the said prebends were founded, to the no little decay of the said cathedral churches and benefices, and the hospitality kept in the same.

Further, right reverend fathers, we perceiving the godly forwardness in your good lordships, in the restitution of this noble church of England, to her pristine state and unity of Christ's church, which now of late years hath been grievously infected with heresies, perverse and schismatical doctrine, sown abroad in this realm by evil preachers, to the great loss and

danger of many souls, accounting ourselves to be called hither by your lordships, out of all parts of the province of Canterbury, to treat with your lordships concerning, as well the same, as of other things touching the state and quietness of the same church, in doctrine and in manners, have, for the furtherance of your godly doings herein, devised these articles following to be further considered and enlarged, as to your lordships'
[5, o.] wisdoms shall be thought expedient. Wherein, as you do earnestly think many things meet and necessary to be reformed; so we doubt not but your lordships, having respect to God's glory, and to the good reformation of things amiss, will no less travail to bring the same to pass. And we, for our part, shall be at all times ready to do every thing, as by your lordships' wisdoms shall be thought expedient.

1. First, we desire to be resolved, whether[31] that all such as have preached in any part within this realm, or other the king's and the queen's dominions, any heretical[32], erroneous, or seditious doctrine, shall[33] be called before the ordinaries of such places where they now dwell, or be beneficed, and upon examination, to be driven to recant openly such their doctrine in all places where they have preached the same? And otherwise, whether any order shall be made[34], and process to be made herein against them, according to the canons and constitutions of the church in such case used?

2. That the pestilent book of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, made against the most blessed and sacrament of the altar, and the[35] schismatical book, called, *The Communion Book*, and the book of ordering of ecclesiastical ministers; all suspect translations of the Old and New Testament, the authors whereof are recited in a statute made the year of king Henry the Eighth, and all other books, as well in Latin as in English, concerning any heretical, erroneous,

[31] [The reading here was *First, we think expedient*, the words being underscored, and above the line the words *desire to be resolved whether* are written.]

[32] [Here the word *schismatical* had been written, and was erased.]

[33] [This word *shall* is added above the line to suit the preceding alteration.]

[34] [The original reading was *they to be ordered*, which is underlined, and the words, *whether any order shall be made*, added above the line.]

[35] [The words from *pestilent* to *and the* are added above the line in the same hand.]

268 or slanderous doctrine, may be destroyed and burnt throughout this realm. And that public commandment be given in all places to every man having any such books, to bring in the same to the ordinary, by a certain day, or otherwise to be taken and reputed as a favourer of such doctrine. And that it [5, p.] may be lawful to every bishop, and other ordinary, to make enquiry and due search, from time to time, for the said books, and to take them from the owners and possessors of them for the purpose abovesaid.

3. And for the better represse of all such pestilent books, that order may be taken with all speed, that no such books may be printed, uttered, or sold, within this realm, or brought from beyond the seas, or other parts, into the same, upon grievous pains to all such as shall presume to attempt the contrary.

4. And that the bishops, and other ordinaries, may, with better speed, root up all such pernicious doctrine, and the authors thereof; we desire[36] that the statutes made, *anno quinto* of Richard the Second, *anno secundo* of Henry the Fourth, and *anno secundo* of Henry the Fifth, against heretics, Lollards, and false preachers, may be by your industrious suit revived and put in force, as shall be thought convenient. And generally, that all bishops, and other ecclesiastical ordinaries, may be restored to their pristine jurisdiction against heretics, schismatics, and their fautors, in as large and ample manner as they were, in the first year of king Henry the Eighth.

5. And that the premises may be the better executed by the presence of beneficed men in their cures, the statute made *anno* xxi° Henr. VIII^i, concerning pluralities of benefices, and non-residence of beneficed men; by reason whereof, a larger liberty or license is given to a great multitude of priests and chaplains to be absent from their benefices with cure, than was ever permitted by the canon laws, and all other statutes touching the same, may be repealed, void, and abolished; and that the bishops, and other ordinaries, may call all beneficed men to be resident upon their cures, as before the making of that act [5, q.] they might have done.

[36] [Here had been written *think good*, which has been erased, and *desire* substituted above the line.]

6. *Item.* That the ordinaries do, from time to time, make process for punishment of all simoniacal persons, of whom it is thought there were never so many within this realm. And that not only the clerks, but also the patrons, and all the mediators of such factions may be punished. Wherein we think good that order were taken, that the patrons should lose their patronage during their natural life, according to the ecclesiastical constitutions of this realm.

7. *Item.* That the ancient liberty, authority, and jurisdiction, be restored to the church of England, according to the article of the great charter, called *Magna Charta;* at the least wise, in such sort as it was in the first year of Henry the Eighth; and touching this article, we shall desire your lordships to be with us most humble suitors to the king's and queen's majesty, and to my lord legate for the remission of the importable burden of the first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies. In which suit, whatsoever advancement your lordships shall think good to be offered unto their majesties for the same, we shall therein be always glad to do as shall be thought good.

8. *Item.* That no attachment of premunire be awarded 269
against any bishop, or other ordinary ecclesiastical from henceforth in any matter, but that a prohibition be first brought to the same; and that it may please the king's and queen's majesty, to command the temporal judges of this realm, to explicate and declare plainly, all and singular articles of the premunire, and to make a certain doctrine thereof.

9. *Item.* That the statutes of the provisors be not drawn by unjust interpretation out of their proper cases, nor from the proper sense of the words of the same statutes.

[5, r.] 10. *Item.* That the statute of the submission of the clergy, made *anno* XXV of Hen. VIII, and all other statutes made during the time of the late schism, in derogation of the liberties and jurisdictions of the church, from the first year of king Henry the Eighth, may be repealed, and the church restored *in integrum.*

11. *Item.* That the statute made for finding of great horses by ecclesiastical persons, may likewise be repealed.

12. *Item.* That usurers may be punished by the common laws, as in times past hath been used.

13. *Item.* That those which lay violent hands upon any priest, or other ecclesiastical minister, being in orders, may be punished by the canon laws, as in times past hath been used.

14. *Item.* That all priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, and all other having prebends, or other ecclesiastical promotions, or benefices, do from henceforth use such priest-like habit, as the quality of his state and benefice requireth.

15. *Item.* That married priests may be compelled to forsake their women, whom they took as their wives.

16. *Item.* That an order be taken for the bringing up of youth in good learning and virtue; and that the schoolmasters of this realm may be catholic men, and all other to be removed that are either sacramentaries, or heretics, or otherwise notable criminous persons.

17. *Item.*[37] That all exempt and peculiar places may from henceforth be immediately under the jurisdiction of that archbishop, or bishop, and archdeacon, within whose several diocese and archdeaconry, the same are presently constitute and situate. And whereas divers temporal men, by reason of late purchases of certain abbeys, and exempt places, have by their letters patents, or otherwise, granted unto them ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the said places; that from henceforth the said jurisdiction be devolved to the archbishop, or bishop, and archdeacon, within whose diocese and archdeaconry the same now be.

18. *Item.* Where the mayor of London, by force of a decree [5, 8.] made *anno* Henrici VIII, hath attributed unto him the cognition of causes of tithes in London; that from henceforth the same cognition, and jurisdiction, may utterly cease, and be reduced immediately to the bishop of London ordinary there.

19. *Item.* That tithes may henceforth be paid according to the canon laws.

270 20. *Item.* That lands and places appropried to monasteries, which at the time of dissolution and suppression thereof, were exempt from payment of tithes, may be now allotted to certain parishes, and there chargeable to pay like tithes as other parishioners do.

21. *Item.* That there be a straight law made, whereby the

[37] The 17th Article is in the MS. scratched out, and crossed [S]. [It was meant not to stand, and accordingly in the copy in cardinal Pole's Register it is omitted, though the number of it is retained.]

reparations of chancels, which are notoriously decayed through the realm, may be duly repaired, from time to time, by such as by the law ought to do the same; and namely, such as be in the king's and queen's hands; and that the ordinaries may lawfully proceed in causes of dilapidations, as well of them as of all other parsonages, vicarages, and other ecclesiastical benefices and promotions[38].

22. *Item.* That order be taken for the more speedy payment of pensions to all priests, pensionaries; and that they may have the same, without long suits or charges.

23. *Item.* That an order be taken for payment of personal tithes, in cities, and towns, and elsewhere, as was used in *anno* xxi° of Hen. VIII.

24. *Item.* That such priests as were lately married, and refuse to reconcile themselves to their order, and to be restored to ministration, may have some special animadversion, whereby, as apostates, they may be discerned from other.

25. *Item.* That religious women, which be married, may be divorced.

26. *Item.* That in divorces, which are made from bed and board, provision may be made, that the innocent woman may enjoy such lands and goods as were hers before the marriage, or that happened to come to her use at any time during the marriage; and that it may not be lawful for the husband, being for his offence divorced from the said woman, to intermeddle himself with the said lands or goods, unless his wife be to him reconciled.

[5, t.] 27. *Item.* That the wardens of churches and chapels may render their accounts before the ordinaries, and may be by them compelled to do the same.

Item.[39] That all such ecclesiastical persons as lately have spoiled cathedral, collegiate, and other churches, of their own heads and temerity, may be compelled to restore all and singular things so by them taken away, or the true value thereof; and farther, to re-edify such things, as by them are destroyed and defaced[40].

[38] [The words *and promotions* are added in the margin.]

[39] [The number 28 has been accidentally omitted before this *item*.

[40] [This petition has been accurately printed in Wilkins', Conc. IV. p. 95, from Pole's Register, fol. 5.]

271 **Number XVII.** [p. 292.]

A bull, constituting cardinal Beaton archbishop of St. Andrews, legate a latere *in the kingdom of Scotland.*

An original.

Ex chartophylac. regio. [Scottish Series, vol. vii. art. 3.]

Paulus episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio David tt. Sancti Stephani in Celiomonte presbytero cardinali Sancti Andreæ nuncupato, apud carissimam in Christo filiam nostram Mariam Scotorum reginam illustrem, et in toto Scotiæ regno, ac universis et singulis provinciis, civitatibus, terris, castris, et locis præfatæ Mariæ reginæ mediate vel immediate subjectis, nostro et apostolicæ sedis legato, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem

Licet potestatis plenitudo desuper nobis sit commissa, et universi gregis Domini, divinâ disponente clementiâ, curam habeamus; fines tamen humanæ possibilitatis excedere non valentes, considerantesque quod circa singula per nos ipsos apostolicæ servitutis officium absolvere non possumus, nonnunquam aliquos, et præcipue sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinales, in sollicitudinis partem assumimus, ut ipsis vices nostras supplentibus, eorum cooperatione laudabili, nostri oneris gravitatem allevianes, ministerium nobis commissum, divinâ favente gratiâ, facilius et efficacius exequamur;

Animo itaque volventes multa quotidie eventura ob quæ opportunum atque necessarium erit, cum carissimâ in Christo filiâ nostrâ Mariâ Scotorum reginâ illustri, super pluribus, decus, dignitatem ac statum Christianæ reipublicæ, sanctæque sedis apostolicæ concernentibus, pertractare: ac nobis persuadentes quod circumspectio tua, quæ rerum maximarum usu et experientiâ, ac singulari in agendo studio et dexteritate, nec minori prudentiâ et ingenii acrimoniâ ita præstat, quod quæcunque contigerint cum illâ majestate, nostro et prædictæ sedis nomine communicanda, tractanda, et peragenda, quæ nostrum [lin. 5.] et dictæ sedis honorem ipsamque dignitatem respiciunt, necnon illa quæ eidem circumspectioni tuæ duxerimus committenda, eâ curâ, industriâ, et solertiâ prosequeris, et adimplere curabis ut voluntas nostra, quæ non nisi ad gregem custodiæ nostræ com-

missum, tuendum, et ampliandum invigilat, optatum finem sortiatur;

Habitâ super hiis cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalibus, maturâ deliberatione, de ipsorum fratrum consilio, circumspectionem tuam apud dictam Mariam reginam, necnon in toto Scotiæ regno, ac universis et singulis provinciis, civitatibus, terris, castris, et locis eidem Mariæ reginæ mediate vel immediate subjectis, nostrum et sedis prædictæ legatum, ad beneplacitum nostrum, creamus, constituimus et deputamus.

Circumspectio igitur tua munus hujusmodi devotâ mente suscipiens, se in illius executione sic sollicitam, ac verbo et opere studiosam diligentemque exhibeat, quod ex tuis laboribus divinâ favente gratiâ optati fructus, quos speramus, succedant: tuque per sollicitudinem tuam præter æternæ retributionis præmium, possis apud nos et sedem eandem merito commendari.

Nos autem, ut ipsi expectati fructus quantocius emanent, 272
et tu erga personas regni, provinciarum, civitatum, terrarum, castrorum, et locorum prædictorum, necnon familiares tuos continuos, commensales, undecunque originem et ubicunque domicilium habentes, tuis obsequiis insistentes, et tibi servientes, te possis reddere gratiosum, circumspectioni tuæ matrimoniales et beneficiales, ac alias ecclesiasticas necnon spirituales et prophanas causas quaslibet, ad forum ecclesiasticum quomodolibet pertinentes, tam primæ instantiæ, quam appellationum quarumcunque, etiam a quibuscunque judicibus, ordinariis et delegatis, etiam per nos et sedem prædictam, seu quoscunque alios etiam a latere legatos, et judices interpositarum pro tempore, et durante dictâ legatione interponendarum, etiam summarie, simpliciter, et de plano, sine strepitu et figurâ judicii, solâ facti veritate inspectâ; cum potestate citandi, et inhibendi, ac sequestrandi, et exequendi, etiam per edictum publicum constito, summarie et extrajudicialiter, de non tuto accessu,
[lin. 10.] etiam sub censuris et pœnis ecclesiasticis etiam pecuniariis, tuo vel tuorum delegatorum arbitrio moderandis, exigendis et applicandis, per te, vel alium seu alios, audiendas, cognoscendas, et sine debito terminandas, delegandi; illasque etiamsi per nos aut alios auctoritate apostolicâ delegatæ forent, seu alias coram quocunque penderent, cum tibi placuerit, ad te advocandi, et aliis etiam similiter committendi, et adversus quascunque

sententias, et res judicatas, ac contractus, et læsiones quascunque, dictis tuis familiaribus beneficium restitutionis in integrum concedendi.

Ac officium tabellionatûs quibuscunque personis idoneis, recepto ab eis in formâ solitâ juramento, concedendi: illosque tabelliones creandi, et notariatûs officio investiendi, alias juxta formam in Quinterno Cancellariæ apostolicæ descriptam: ac milites auratos, comitesque palatinos, et poetas laureatos creandi, constituendi, et deputandi: ac personas sufficientes et idoneas ad doctoratûs, seu licenciaturæ, et baccalariatûs in utroque vel altero jurium, et etiam ad magisterii tam in theologiâ quam artibus, et medicinâ, vel alios gradus hujusmodi promovendi; eisque insignia solita et debita conferendi et exhibendi, seu exhiberi et conferri faciendi, eisque quod omnibus et singulis gratiis, privilegiis, libertatibus, immunitatibus, exemptionibus, et indultis, quibus alii milites aurati, poetæ laureati, et comites palatini, per nos et sedem prædictam, creati et instituti, necnon ad hujusmodi gradus in universitatibus studiorum generalium, juxta illos actus et mores, ac servatis servandis promoti utuntur, potiuntur et gaudent; seu uti, potiri, et gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum, uti, potiri et gaudere, libere et licite possint et debeant, indulgendi.

Ac cum nobilibus et graduatis, ut quæcunque tria, et si cum eis ad duo incompatibilia beneficia ecclesiastica, insimul ad vitam obtinenda dispensatum foret, cum eis ut quodcunque tertium, cum aliis vero non nobilibus aut graduatis, ut quæcunque duo curata, seu alias invicem incompatibilia, etiam si dignitas, personatus, administrationes, vel officia in cathedralibus, etiam metropolitanis, vel collegiatis: et dignitates ipsæ in cathedralibus, etiam metropolitanis, post pontificales majores, [lin. 15.]
273 seu collegiatis ecclesiis hujusmodi principales, aut duo ex eisdem parrochiales ecclesiæ, vel earum perpetuæ vicariæ fuerint: et ad dignitates, personatus, administrationes, vel officia hujusmodi consueverint, qui per electionem assumi, eisque cura immineat animarum, necnon quæcunque duo dissimilia, vel similia, sub uno, duobus vel tribus tectis dictarum vel aliarum ecclesiarum consistentia; ac cum quibusvis personis, cujusvis ordinis, monachis, canonicis, et religiosis, ut quæcunque duo beneficia ecclesiastica, cum curâ vel sine curâ regularia, aut cum eorum altero, seu sine illis, unum curatum seculare, et cum quibusvis

clericis secularibus, ut unum beneficium ecclesiasticum cum curâ, vel sine curâ cujusvis ordinis regulare, etiam si beneficia regularia hujusmodi prioratus, præposituræ, præpositatus, dignitates, personatus, administrationes vel officia fuerint; et ad illos illas vel illa consueverint, qui per electionem assumi, eisque cura immineat animarum: regulares, videlicet unum ex dictis regularibus beneficiis quod maluerint, etiam si prioratus, præpositura, aut alia dignitas conventualis, aut officium claustrale fuerit, in titulum et ipsi regulares reliquum, ac seculare vel alterius ordinis regulare; necnon clerici seculares unum quod conventuale aut claustrale non sit, in commendam quoad vixerint, vel ad tempus de quo tibi videbitur retinere, ac de ipsius commendandi beneficii, fructibus, redditibus, et proventibus disponere, et ordinare, sicuti illud in titulum pro tempore obtinentes, de illis disponere et ordinare potuerunt, seu etiam debuerunt; alienatione tamen quorumcunque bonorum immobilium, et preciosorum mobilium, dicti beneficii in commendam retinendi, eis penitus interdictâ: necnon cum patientibus defectum natalium etiam regularibus, ut ad omnes etiam sacros ordines promoveri, et quæcunque, quotcunque, et qualiacunque beneficia ecclesiastica cum curâ vel sine curâ, ac se invicem compatientia, etiam si canonicatus, et prebendæ in cathedralibus, etiam metropolitanis vel collegiatis ecclesiis, hujusmodi ac alias ut præfertur qualificata fuerint; dummodo dignitates in metropolitanis vel aliis cathedralibus, post pontificales majores, et in collegia-
[lin. 20.] tis ecclesiis hujusmodi principales non existant; ac etiam cum eis si graduati non fuerint, ut præfertur, ad duo, si vero graduati fuerint, ad tria incompatibilia beneficia hujusmodi, non tamen dignitates majores ut præfertur, nec principales, vel cum dispensatis ad duo ad tertium curatum, vel alias incompatibile ut supradictum est, et cum regularibus etiam ad beneficia regularia ut præfertur, qualificata, et cum patientibus ætatis defectum etiam regularibus, supra decimum septimum suæ ætatis annum, ut seculare quodcunque beneficium ecclesiasticum curatum, vel alias incompatibile, etiam si dignitas, personatus, administratio, vel officium in cathedrali, vel metropolitanâ vel collegiatâ, etiam si dignitas ipsa in cathedrali vel metropolitanâ post pontificalem majorem, et in collegiatâ ecclesiâ hujusmodi principalis seu parrochialis ecclesia, vel ejus perpetua vicaria fuerit; et ad dignitates, personatus, administrationes, vel officia tam secularia

quam regularia, hujusmodi consueverint, qui per electionem assumi, eisque cura immineat animarum, regulares vero beneficium etiam seculare ut præfertur qualificatum, si eis alias canonice conferantur, aut ipsi eligantur, præsententur, vel alias assumantur ad illa et instituantur, in eis recipere et insimul quoad vixerint retinere, illaque simul vel successive, simpliciter vel ex causâ permutationis, quotiens sibi placuerit dimittere, et commendæ hujusmodi cedere, ac loco dimissi vel dimissorum, aliud vel alia, simile vel dissimile, aut similia vel dissimilia, beneficium seu beneficia, ecclesiasticum vel ecclesiastica, quæcunque, quotcunque et qualiacunque compatientia, seu duo aut
274 tria vel tertium curata, seu alias invicem incompatibilia, ac duo alia similia vel dissimilia, sub uno vel duobus aut tribus tectis consistentia, ac quæcunque, quotcunque et qualiacunque cum curâ vel sine curâ, se invicem et cum prædictis compatientia, aut supra dictum decimum septimum annum agentes, curatum vel alias incompatibile beneficia ecclesiastica respective similiter recipere, et dummodo inter ipsa tria incompatibilia plures quam duæ parrochiales ecclesiæ, vel earum perpetuæ vicariæ, aut duo canonicatus et prebendæ, seu duæ dignitates, personatus, administrationes, vel officia, sub eodem tecto ac pro dictis pa- [lin. 52.]
tientibus defectum natalium, dignitates ipsæ in eisdem cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis post pontificales majores, aut collegiatis ecclesiis hujusmodi modo principales non existant, insimul quoad vixerint vel ad tempus retinere.

Quodque constituti in sexto decimo, ut ad subdiaconatûs, et in decimo octavo ad diaconatûs, ac in vigesimo primo suarum ætatis annis, etiam si ratione beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum per eos obtentorum arctati fuerint, ad presbiteratûs ordines, et tam ipsi quam quicunque alii in ætate legitimâ constituti, et similiter arctati, promoveri volentes, ut ad omnes ordines prædictos, etiam extra tempora a jure statuta, quibusvis diebus Dominicis, vel festivis, et prout necessitas exegerit, ad duos ex ordinibus prædictis eodem die a quocunque maluerint, catholico antistite, gratiam et communionem dictæ sedis habente, alias tamen rite promoveri libere et licite possint.

Quodque obtinentes beneficia ecclesiastica curata, seu alias sacros et presbiteratûs ordines hujusmodi, tam de jure quam ex statuto, fundatione, vel alias requirentia, ut ratione illorum, usque ad septennium a fine anni eis a jure præfixi computan-

dum, ad aliquem ex diaconatûs et presbyteratûs ordinibus hujusmodi, dummodo infra primum dicti septennii biennium ad dictum subdiaconatûs ordinem promoti fuerint, se promoveri facere minime teneantur, nec ad id a quoquam, quâvis auctoritate inviti valeant coarctari; etiam unum, duo, vel plura septennia, vel alia tempora ad id per nos aut sedem eandem pluries concessa, et prorogata fuerint, et pendeant: et cum quibusvis personis tertio aut quarto, aut mixtim, tertio et quarto, etiam multiplici consanguinitatis seu affinitatis gradibus invicem conjunctis, et quocunque impedimento publicæ honestatis, aut cum hiis qui per adulterium se polluissent, dummodo in mortem defuncti conjugis quicquam machinati non fuissent, ut invicem matrimonialiter copulari, et in contractis per eos scienter vel ignoranter matrimoniis, cum absolutione a censuris quas sic
[lin. 30.] scienter contrahendo incurrissent, remanere possint, etiam prolem exinde susceptam legitimam decernendo, dispensandi.

Ac personis quibuscunque, ecclesiasticis secularibus et regularibus, ut quoad vixerint, vel ad aliud tempus in Romanâ curiâ, vel altero beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum per eos obtentorum residendo, aut litterarum studio in loco ubi illud vigeat generale insistendo, fructus, redditus et proventus omnium et singulorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, cum curâ vel sine curâ, quæ in quibusvis ecclesiis sive locis pro tempore obtinebunt, etiam si ut præfertur, qualificata fuerint cum eâ integritate, quotidianis distributionibus duntaxat exceptis, libere percipere valeant, cum quâ illos perciperent, si in eisdem ecclesiis sive locis personaliter residerent, et ad residendum interim in eisdem minime teneantur, nec ad id a quoquam valeant coarctari. Proviso quod beneficia prædicta debitis propterea non fraudentur obsequiis, et animarum cura in eis quibus illa immi- 275
neat nullatenus negligatur; sed per bonos et sufficientes vicarios, quibus de ipsorum beneficiorum proventibus necessaria congrue ministrentur, diligenter exerceatur, et deserviatur inibi laudabiliter in divinis.

Ac quibuscunque personis ut liceat habere altare portatile, cum debitis reverentiâ et honore, super quo in locis ad id congruentibus et honestis sine alieni juris præjudicio; et cum qualitas negotiorum pro tempore ingruentium id exegerit, antequam elucescat dies, circa tamen diurnam lucem, ita quod id nec eis, nec sacerdoti taliter celebranti ad culpam valeat imputari, et

cum eos ad loca ecclesiastico interdicto supposita contigerit declinare, in illis clausis januis, excommunicatis et interdictis exclusis, non pulsatis campanis, et submissâ voce possint etiam per se ipsos, si ecclesiastici et ad presbyteratûs ordinem rite promoti fuerint, aut per proprium vel alium sacerdotem, missas et alia divina officia in suâ et familiarium suorum domesticorum præsentiâ celebrare, et celebrari facere; dummodo ipsi vel illi causam non dederint interdicto, nec id ipsis vel illis contigerit specialiter interdici: proviso etiam quod parce hujusmodi concessione ante diem celebrandi et celebrari faciendi utantur; quia cum in altaris ministerio immoletur Dominus noster [lin. 35.] Jesus Christus Dei filius, qui candor est lucis æternæ, convenit hoc non noctis tenebris fieri, sed in luce.

Ac quibuscunque personis ut confessorem seu confessores idoneos eligere possint, qui eos et eorum quemlibet juxta formam in quinterno dictæ cancellariæ annotatam, poterit absolvere. Necnon quibusvis personis ecclesiasticis secularibus ut quoad vixerint, et quotiens eis placuerit, per seipsas aut cum uno presbytero, seu clerico, socio seu familiari, horas canonicas diurnas et nocturnas, ac alia divina officia secundum usum et morem Romanæ ecclesiæ, etiam juxta ritum Breviarii noviter impressi, extra tamen chorum ecclesiæ, dicere et recitare, libere et licite valeant; et ad alium usum super hoc observandum, etiam ratione beneficiorum per eas obtentorum, minime teneantur, nec ad id compelli possint, indulgendi.

Quodque quilibet sacerdos aut religiosus ecclesiastica sacramenta ministrare valeat, jure parrochialis ecclesiæ, et cujuslibet alterius in omnibus semper salvo concedendi.

Ac mulieribus honestis quibuscunque, ut quæcunque monasteria, et domos monialium quarumcunque etiam observantiæ regularis exempta et non exempta, quomodocunque reclusa, cum aliquibus matronis etiam honestis, de consensu eorum qui dictis monasteriis et domibus præfuerint, dummodo inibi non pernoctent, devotionis causâ ingredi valeant: Ac rectoribus parrochialium ecclesiarum, et aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, curatorum, vel quoscunque eorum, parrochianos utriusque sexûs, ab omnibus et singulis eorum peccatis, et criminibus, in casibus in quibus ordinarii locorum de jure vel consuetudine, aut alias absolvere possunt; et in illis qui sedi prædictæ reservati non fuerint, absolvere, Ac vota quæcunque per eos pro tempore emissa, præterquam

sedi prædictæ reservata, in alia pietatis opera commutare valeant: ac quibuscunque personis utriusque sexûs, secularibus, ecclesiasticis, religiosis, etiam mendicantibus, quæ zelo devotionis accensæ, sepúlchrum Dominicum, et alia pia loca et oratoria terræ sanctæ, desiderant personaliter visitare, quibusvis prohibitionibus apostolicis in contrarium factis non obstantibus,
[lin. 40.] sepulchrum et alia loca prædicta visitare. Et in locis in quibus usus olei non habetur, ut butiro et caseo et infirmi de consilio utriusque medici, carnibus vesci, et licite uti valeant, indulgendi.

Necnon quæcunque juramenta ad effectum agendi, ac etiam 276
simpliciter ut tibi videbitur, dummodo alicui exinde magnum præjudicium non fiat, relaxandi.

Ac quoscunque qui perjurii reatum incurrerint, ab illo absolvendi, et ad priores honores, statum, et famam restituendi, ac plenarie redintegrandi, omnemque inhabilitatis et infamiæ maculam sive notam, præmissorum occasione contractam, penitus abolendi.

Ac quoscunque per saltum, vel furtive, ad aliquos sacros ordines promotos, ab excessu quem propterea incurrerint, absolvendi; vel ut ad aliquos alios si promoti non essent, alias rite promoveri libere et licite possint, dispensandi: Absolvendi quoque omnes et singulos qui simoniæ labem, tam in beneficiis per eos habitis cujuscunque qualitatis fuerint, quam omnibus per eos susceptis contraxerint, ab illâ et excommunicationis aliisque censuris, et pœnis ecclesiasticis quas propterea incurrerint; et super irregularitate si quam illis ligati, missas et alia divina officia, non tamen in contemptum clavium, celebrando, seu alias se immiscendo, contraxissent, dispensandi; omnemque inhabilitatis et infamiæ maculam, similiter per eos dictâ occasione, ac etiam si forsan aliqua beneficia, curata vel alias incompatibilia, post et contra felicis recordationis Joannis papæ 22, prædecessoris nostri, quæ incipit, *Execrabilis*, constitutionem detinuissent, et detinerent, fructus percipiendo, ex eisdem contractam abolendi; dictaque beneficia eis, factâ tamen per eos prius de fructibus male perceptis, debitâ compositione pro camerâ apostolicâ, denuo conferendi: et eos qui etiam parrochiales ecclesias, vel alia beneficia ecclesiastica presbyteratûs vel alium ordinem requirentia, intra annum vel aliud tempus pacifice possedissent, et ea postmodum detinuissent et detineant, ad dictum presbyte-

ratûs ordinem legitimo cessante impedimento, nullâque per eos desuper dispensatione obtentâ, non promoti, fructus etiam percipiendo, absolvendi; omnemque inhabilitatis et infamiæ maculam, sive notam, similiter per eos dictâ occasione contractam, penitus tollendi, eisque de novo de beneficiis prædictis sic [lin. 45.] detentis providendi, factâ tamen debitâ de fructibus male perceptis, pro camerâ prædictâ ut prædictum est, compositione.

Ac quoscunque qui in clericos et presbyteros, citra tamen membri mutilationem et mortem, manus violentas temere injecissent, ab excommunicationis sententiâ, quam propterea incurrerint, si hoc humiliter petierint; et etiam qui tempore bellorum, rapinas, sacrilegia, furta, et alia mala perpetrârunt, debitâ satisfactione præviâ, et etiam illos, qui horas canonicas omiserunt, et debito tempore non recitaverunt, aut inadvertenter dixerunt, cujuscunque qualitatis, ordinis et conditionis fuerint, ab excessibus et omissione hujusmodi respective; necnon etiam quoscunque religiosos ordinum quorumcunque, qui ob sui habitus non delationem, aut alias, reatum Apostasiæ incurrissent, ab illâ ac etiam excommunicationis, aliisque sententiis, censuris et pœnis ecclesiasticis, quos propterea etiam juxta instituta suorum ordinum regularia incurrissent, absolvendi.

Ac super irregularitate quâcunque, præterquam homicidii voluntarii, aut bigamiæ, quovismodo, etiam per sententiam, etiam sanguinis, et ultimi supplicii inde secuti, aut mutilatione membrorum contractâ, ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratûs ordines, citra tamen altaris ministerium, et ad dignitates et beneficia ecclesiastica, cum curâ et sine curâ, quæcunque, quotcunque et qualiacunque, se invicem compatientia, eis alias
277 canonice conferenda, dispensandi; omnemque inhabilitatis et infamiæ maculam sive notam etiam inde contractam, penitus abolendi.

Et contra quoscunque tam ecclesiasticos quam laicos, literarum apostolicarum et supplicationum ac commissionum falsarios, scismaticos, hæreticos, usurarios, raptores, et aliorum quorumcunque criminum reos, cujuscunque dignitatis, statûs, gradûs, ordinis, vel conditionis existentes, inquirendi, procedendi, ac reos juxta criminum et excessuum exigentiam, prout canonicæ disponunt sanctiones, ut videbitur conscientiæ expedire, puniendi: Contradictores quoslibet et rebelles, per censuram ecclesiasticam, et alia juris remedia, appellatione post-

positâ, compescendi, et si opus fuerit auxilium brachii secularis invocandi, seu præmissa fieri faciendi: et si ad cor reversi, suum errorem recognoverint, et de præmissis doluerint, ipsique humi-
[lin. 50.] liter postulaverint, seu supplicaverint, et tibi videbitnr eos a criminibus, et excessibus ac sententiis, censuris, et pœnis hujusmodi quas propterea incurrerint, absolvendi: Ac cum eis, factâ tamen cum dictâ camerâ compositione, ad ordines, honores et dignitates, ac etiam beneficia ecclesiastica, quæcunque, quotcunque, et qualiacunque dispensandi, eosque in pristinum statum restituendi, reponendi, et plenarie redintegrandi, omnemque inhabilitatis et infamiæ maculam, sive notam per eos præmissorum occasione contractam, etiam penitus abolendi.

Ac cum dictis usurariis super male ablatis, et perceptis incertis, pro dictâ camerâ componendi, eisque, ut factâ compositione hujusmodi, ad aliam restitutionem faciendam non teneantur, concedendi.

Ac quascunque ecclesias, monasteria, domos, universitates, et collegia, ac pia loca quæcunque etiam exempta, et eidem sedi immediate subjecta, per te vel alium, seu alios idoneos, visitandi, et quæ ex eis correctione et emendatione tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus indigere cognoveris, tam in capite quam in membris reformandi, prout secundum Deum, et canonicas sanctiones, ac regularum suarum instituta, noveris expedire: ac quæcunque statuta, et ordinationes ecclesiarum, universitatum, et studiorum generalium, monasteriorum, ordinum, et conventuum, quæ tamen libertatem ecclesiasticam non confundant, aut illi derogent vel repugnent, confirmandi, et approbandi; supplendique omnes et singulos defectus, si qui forsan intervenissent in eisdem, illaque si tibi expedire videbitur, moderandi, corrigendi, et in melius reformandi, ac illis juxta illorum exigentiam addendi.

Necnon quotquot tibi videbitur in nostros et dictæ sedis accolitos, capellanos, et notarios apostolicâ auctoritate recipiendi, et aliorum nostrorum et dictæ sedis accolitorum, capellanorum, et notariorum numero et consortio favorabiliter aggregandi; ac eis quod omnibus et singulis privilegiis, prærogativis, indultis, honoribus, exemptionibus, gratiis, libertatibus et immunitatibus utantur, potiantur, et gaudeant, quibus utuntur, potiuntur et gaudent, ac uti, potiri et gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum alii nostri et dictæ sedis notarii: exhibendi quoque,

et exhiberi faciendi, eis insignia notariatûs hujusmodi, recepto tamen prius ab eis solito juramento, ac quibusvis personis ecclesiasticis etiam prælatis, secularibus, et regularibus, utriusque sexûs, etiam juxta formam quinterni Cancellariæ, hujusmodi licentiam testandi, concedendi. [lin. 55.]

Ac etiam per te vel alium seu alios quorumcunque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum cum curâ et sine curâ, secularium vel
278 regularium, etiam quæ dictæ sedi ex quâvis causâ præterquam ratione officialium sedis prædictæ, in Romanâ curiâ officia sua actu exercentium, generaliter reservata fuerint, resignationes simpliciter, vel ex causâ permutationis, ac commendatorum et litigiosorum tam in dictâ curiâ quam extra eam, cessiones litis, causæ juris ac commendarum recipiendi, et admittendi, ac causas desuper pendentes advocandi, et lites hujusmodi penitus extinguendi, dictaque beneficia tam simpliciter quam ex eâdem causâ, et alia quæcunque, quotcunque, et qualiacunque, etiam alias, etiam per obitum infra limites dictæ legationis, et quoad tuos familiares, continuos, commensales extra dictos limites ubicunque vacantia, et vacatura, etiam si ut præfertur reservata, vel affecta, et de jure patronatûs laicorum fuerint, etiam si dignitates majores et principales, et beneficia etiam regularia manualia, et alias quomodolibet qualificata fuerint, personis idoneis etiam quæcunque, quotcunque, et qualiacunque beneficia ecclesiastica obtinentibus et expectantibus, etiam secularibus vel regularibus conferendi, et de illis etiam providendi.

Necnon quibusvis monasteriis tam virorum quam mulierum, ordinum quorumcunque legationis prædictæ, quorum tamen videlicet virorum fructus, redditus, et proventus ducentorum florenorum auri, de camerâ secundam communem extimationem, valorem annuum non excedant, nunc et pro tempore vacantibus, de abbatibus et abbatissis providendi, ac monasteria et beneficia hujusmodi quibusvis ad vitam, vel ad tempus, per eos tenenda, regenda, et gubernanda; ita quod liceat eis, debitis et consuetis illorum supportatis oneribus, de residuis illorum fructibus, redditibus, et proventibus, disponere et ordinare, sicuti illa in titulum pro tempore obtinentes, de illis disponere et ordinare potuerunt, seu etiam debuerunt, Alienatione tamen quorumcunque bonorum immobilium, et preciosorum mobilium, monasteriorum et beneficiorum prædictorum eis penitus interdictâ commendandi. Necnon invicem, vel alias, vel ad tempus,

etiam quibusvis mensis, Episcopalibus, capitularibus, et conventialibus, uniendi, annectendi, et incorporandi, ac canonicos supernumerarios, de consensu capituli creandi, ac ad sententiarum,
[lin. 60.] rerum judicatarum, executorialium, et censurarum, per resignantes, seu cedentes in rotâ nostri palatii apostolici habitarum, prosecutionem, illos in quorum favorem resignaverint, seu cesserint, admittendi, seu admitti faciendi, et mandandi et ad ulteriorem executionem usque ad realem paritionem contra quoscunque etiam pontificali præditos dignitate procedendi, Ac verum et ultimum vacationis modum, etiam si ex eo quævis generalis reservatio resultet, pro expresso habendi ac super illorum et quorumcunque aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum fructibus, redditibus et proventibus, quascunque pensiones annuas, non tamen medietatem fructuum, reddituum et proventuum hujusmodi excedentes, ac etiam omnes fructus loco pensionum, prædictis resignantibus, vel cedentibus, aut aliis personis idoneis, quoad vixerint per prædicta beneficia, pro tempore obtinentes, et eorum successores, annis singulis, in locis et terminis etiam sub privationis et aliis pœnis, sententiis, censuris ecclesiasticis, in talibus apponi solitis persolvendas, etiam cum regressu, ingressu, vel accessu, ob non solutionem earum in formâ solitâ de consensu eorum qui dictas pensiones persolvere habebunt, reservandi, constituendi, et assignandi.

Ac easdem et alias hactenus et deinceps reservatas et reservandas pensiones, et fructuum reservationes, de consensu etiam 279
anticipatâ solutione, aliquorum annorum cassandi, et extinguendi, ac annullandi. Ac quoad familiares tuos prædictos qui transferendi facultatem habuerint eosdem pensiones, et fructus de eorum consensu, etiam in quoscunque per eos nominatos, transferendi, etiam cum hoc quod ipsi in quos transferentur, quæcunque transferentium debita persolvere, vel alia onera, et conditiones in ipsis translationibus apposita, adimplere, sub pœnâ invaliditatis translationis, teneantur: et tam de novo reservandis quam transferendis pensionibus et fructibus hujusmodi clausulam quod earum litteræ per te concedendæ pro expeditis et intimatis, habeantur, de consensu illorum qui solvere habebunt, apponendi: ac personas prædictas ad effectum gratiarum prædictarum, quas pro tempore per te eis concedi contigerit, ab omnibus et singulis excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et

pœnis, a jure vel ab homine quâvis occasione vel causâ latis, si [lin. 65.]
quibus quomodolibet innodatæ fuerint, absolvendi, et absolutas fore censendi.

Ac omnia et singula beneficia ecclesiastica cum curâ, et sine curâ, quæ etiam ex quibusvis dispensationibus apostolicis obtinent, et expectant, ac in quibus et ad quævis eis quomodolibet competit, quæcunque, quotcunque, et qualiacunque sint, eorumque fructuum, reddituum, et proventuum, veros annuos valores, ac hujusmodi dispensationum tenores, in litteris tuis, pro expressis, absque eo quod de illis vel eorum aliquo mentionem facere teneantur, aut propter non factam mentionem ipsam, litteræ per te concedendæ, surreptionis aut nullitatis vitio subjacere censeantur, habendi.

Necnon quascunque gratias expectativas, speciales reservationes, uniones, annexiones, et incorporationes, nominationes, nominandi et conferendi facultates, et mandata per nos et sedem prædictam, aut legatos ejusdem, in favorem quarumcunque personarum, etiam cujuscunque dignitatis, statûs, gradûs, ordinis, vel conditionis, aut cardinalatûs honore fulgentium, sub quibusvis verborum formis ac clausulis, etiam derogatariarum, derogatoribus fortioribus, efficacioribus, et insolitis, etiam motu proprio et ex certâ scientiâ, aut quâvis consideratione, intuitu vel respectu etiam quantumcunque grandi vel excogitabili; etiam regum, reginarum aliorumque principum et prælatorum, factas et concessas, ac faciendas et concedendas, imposterum illorumque vim et effectum omnino suspendendi.

Ac visitantibus quascunque ecclesias, seculares vel regulares, etiam ad illarum fabricas, seu pro conservatione et instauratione earum, manus porrigentibus adjutrices, in duabus festivitatibus duntaxat, septem annos et totidem quadragenas, vel infra dictum tempus illud quod tibi videbitur de injunctis pœnitentiis misericorditer in Domino relaxandi; ita quod perpetuo vel ad tempus prout tibi videbitur durare habeant. Ac quibusvis personis dictæ legationis, ac etiam familiaribus prædictis, ut bona immobilia eorundem monasteriorum, dignitatum, prioratuum, administrationum, et officiorum, aliorumque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, quæ obtinent, seu durante legatione hujusmodi obtinebunt, permutare, vendere, et ad tempus [lin. 70.]
longum locare, ac in feudum et emphiteosim, seu censum vel affectum concedere, et alias alienare valeant, cum evidenti ec-

clesiarum, monasteriorum et beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, ad quæ pertinent, utilitate : proviso quod pretia exinde proventia, in hujusmodi utilitatem convertenda, penes aliquam ædem sacram, aut fide et facultatibus idoneam personam, cum recognoscibilibus clausulis et cautelis in similibus apponi solitis, fideliter reponantur. Necnon regularibus personis utriusque sexûs, 280
etiam ordinum mendicantium, ut de eorum monasteriis, domibus et locis ad illa monasteria, domos et loca, etiam aliorum ordinum, etiam non mendicantium, in quibus benevolos invenerint receptores, se transferre, et nova loca recipere : ac personis quibuslibet, ecclesias, monasteria et domos ordinum mendicantium, et beneficia ecclesiastica quæcunque de novo fundare et dotare et collapsas reparare volentibus, ut illa in locis ad hoc honestis et commodis fundare et reparare, ac in fundatione hujusmodi licita et honesta onera illa pro tempore obtinentibus, imponere valeant ; reservato eis, et dictis tuis familiaribus, etiam quoad ecclesias per eos jam ubilibet constructas seu restauratas, et ulterius vel de novo construendas et restaurandas, ac eorum posteris, jure patronatûs, et præsentandi personam idoneam, ad illa dum vacabunt, licentiam concedendi ; ac locationes et alienationes de bonis immobilibus ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, prioratuum, administrationum, vel officiorum, aliorumque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, et locorum factas, si in evidentem utilitatem illorum cesserint, confirmandi et approbandi : ac singulos defectus, si qui intervenerint, in eisdem supplendi : necnon tempus præfixum executoribus ultimarum voluntatum, ad illas exequendum prorogandi.

Ac juri patronatûs laicorum, ad effectum provisionum et commendarum, ac unionum prædictarum canonice pro medietate, et si ex causâ permutationis fierent, vel lis penderet, aut jus patronatûs non ex fundatione vel dotatione acquisitum esset, in totum derogandi. Necnon omnia et singula, quæ major Pœnitentiarius noster, in dictâ curiâ ex speciali vel aliâ sibi concessâ facultate, quomodolibet facere potest et consuevit, ac quæ in prædictis et circa ea necessaria essent, seu quomodolibet
[lin. 75.] opportuna, faciendi, mandandi, ordinandi et decernendi, per te vel alium, seu alios, auctoritate apostolicâ tenore præsentium concedimus facultatem.

Decernentes te omnibus et singulis facultatibus prædictis, in quibuscunque partibus prædictis, et cum illorum seu in illis

residentibus personis ac familiaribus tuis, libere uti posse: non obstantibus defectibus, et aliis prædictis ac Lateranensis, Vienensis, Pictavensis, et generalium, ac aliorum consiliorum, necnon piæ memoriæ Bonifacii papæ VIII. etiam prædecessoris nostri, per quam concessiones percipiendi fructûs, in absentiâ, sine præfinitione temporis, fieri prohibentur: ac de unâ vel duabus dietis in concilio generali editâ, et aliis apostolicis, ac in provincialibus et sinodalibus conciliis editis, generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus, etiam quibusvis regulis cancellariæ apostolicæ editis et edendis, quarum tempora durantia, ac etiam pluries prorogata et decursa de novo concedere possis: quibus et aliis præmissis, et in specie valeas derogare statutis et consuetudinibus ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, universitatum, collegiorum, et civitatum hujusmodi, necnon ordinum quorumcunque, etiam juramento, confirmatione apostolicâ, vel quâvis firmitate aliâ roboratis, etiam si de illis servandis et non impetrandis litteris, contra ea, et illis etiam ab alio vel aliis impetratis, seu alias quovismodo concessis, non utendo personæ quibus indultum de percipiendis fructibus in absentiâ hujusmodi concessum fuerit præstitissent, eâtenus vel imposterum forsan præstare contigerit, juramentum ac quibusvis privilegiis et indultis generalibus vel specialibus, ordinibus quibuscunque etiam Cluniacens. et Cistercien. quomodolibet concessis, confirmatis et
281 innovatis, quæ præmissis quovismodo obstarent, per quæ præsentibus non expressa vel totaliter non inserta, effectus earum impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differri, et de quibus quorumque totis tenoribus de verbo ad verbum habenda sit in nostris literis mentio specialis, quæ quoad hoc nolumus cuiquam suffragari: quibus omnibus et fundationibus quibuscunque prout expedierit secundum rei et casûs exigentiam ut tibi placuerit valeas derogare; Quodque aliqui super provisionibus sibi faciendis de hujusmodi vel aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis in illis parti- [lin. 80.]
bus speciales vel generales dictæ sedis vel legatorum ejus literas impetratas, etiam si per eas ad inhibitionem, reservationem, et decretum, vel alias quomodolibet, sit processum: quibus omnibus personis, quibus per te de beneficiis prædictis providebitur, in eorum assecutione volumus anteferri; sed nullum per hoc eis quoad assecutionem beneficiorum aliorum præjudicium generari.

Seu si locorum ordinariis et collatoribus, vel quibusvis aliis

communiter, vel divisim ab eâdem sit sede indultum, quod ad receptionem vel provisionem alicujus minime teneantur, et ad id compelli, aut quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint, quodque de hujusmodi vel aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis ad eorum collationem, provisionem, præsentationem, electionem, seu quamvis aliam dispositionem, conjunctim vel separatim spectantibus, nulli valeat provideri, seu commenda fieri per literas apostolicas; non facientes plenam et expressam, ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem, et quâlibet aliâ dictæ sedis indulgentiâ, generali vel speciali, cujuscunque tenoris existat, per quam præsentibus non expressam, vel totaliter non insertam effectus literarum tuarum impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differri et de quâ cujusque toto tenore habenda sit in nostris literis mentio specialis.

Et quia difficile esset præsentes in singulis literis tuis super præmissis concedendis inseri, aut ad omnia loca, in quibus de eis fides facienda esset deferri; volumus et decernimus, earum transumptis etiam per impressionem factis et tuo sigillo munitis; ac manu tui secretarii aut regentis cancellariæ tuæ subscriptis, dictisque literis tuis absque earundem præsentium in toto vel in parte insertione, eam ubique fidem in judicio et extra adhiberi, quæ ipsis præsentibus adhiberetur, si originaliter exhiberentur.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo tertio.

Tertio kalend. Februarii, pontificatûs nostri anno decimo.

L. de Torres.

N. Richardus.

In Dorso.

Registrata in secretariâ apostolicâ.

De Torres.

282 Number XVIII. [p. 310.]

A letter of the queen's, recommending the promotion of cardinal Pole to the popedom; written to the bishop of Winchester, the earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget, then at Calais.

An original.

MARY the queen.

RIGHT reverend father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved; and right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, and right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, we greet you well. Cotton lib. Titus. B. [ii. fol. 113. al. 92.]

And where we do consider that Christe's catholic church, and the whole state of Christendom, having been of late so sundry ways vexed, it should greatly help to further some quiet stay and redress of that is amiss, if at this time, of the pope's holiness' election, some such godly, learned, and well-disposed person may be chosen to that place, as shall be given to see good order maintained, and all abuses in the church reformed; and known besides, to the world, to be of godly life and disposition. And remembering, on the other side, the great inconvenience that were like to arise to the state of the church, if (wordly respects being only weighed in this choice) any such should be preferred to that room, as wanting those godly qualities before remembered, might give any occasion of the decay of the catholic faith; we cannot, for the discharge of our duty to God and the world, but both earnestly wish, and carefully travail, that such a one may be chosen, and that without long delay or contention, as for all respects may be most fittest to occupy that place, to the furtherance of God's glory, and quietness of Christendom. And knowing no person in our mind more fit for that purpose, than our dearest cousin the lord cardinal Poole, whom the greatest part of Christendom hath heretofore for his long experience, integrity of life, and great learning, thought meet for that place, we have thought good to pray you, that taking some good occasion for that purpose, you do, in our name, speak with the cardinal of Lorrayne, and the constable, and the rest of the commissioners of our good brother, the French king, praying them to recommend unto

our said good brother, in our name, our said dearest cousin, to be named by him to such cardinals as be at his devotion, so as the rather, by his good furtherance and means, this our motion
[fol. 113. b.] may take place. Whereunto if it shall please him to give his assent, like-as upon knowledge thereof, we shall, for our part, also labour to set forwards the matter the best we may; so doubt we not, but if this our good purpose take effect, both he, and we, and the rest of all Christendom, shall have good cause to give God thanks, and rejoice thereat.

Assuring him, that if we had in our conscience thought any other person more fit for that place than our said dearest cousin, we would not, for any private affection, have preferred his 283
advancement before God's glory, and the benefit of Christendom: the furtherance whereof is (we take God to record) the only thing we seek herein, which moveth us to be the more earnest in this matter; the overture whereof we have taken in hand, (as you may assure them of our honour), without our said dearest cousin's other knowledge or consent. And because we need not to remember the wisdom, sincerity of life, and other godly parts, wherewith Almighty God hath endowed our said dearest cousin, the same being well enough known to our said good brother, and his said commissioners, and the rest of the world; we do refer the manner of the opening and handling of the rest of the matter unto your own wisdoms; praying you, we may understand from you, as soon as ye may, what answer ye shall have received herein at the said commissioners' hands.

Given under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 30th of May, the first and second years of our reigns.

[Endorsed:—

To the right reverend father in God our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellor the bishop of Winchester, our high chancellor of England; to our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor the earl of Arrundell, lord steward of our household; and our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor the lord Paget, our commissioners presently at Calleys.]

Number XIX. [p. 311.]

An order prescribed by the king and queen's majesties, unto the justices of peace of the county of Norffolk, for the good government of their majesties loving subjects within the same shire, 26to Martii, 1555.

An original.

PHILIP R., MARYE the queen.

FIRST, The said justices of the peace assembling themselves together, and consulting by what good means, good order and quietness may be best continued, shall after divide themselves into eight, ten, or twelve parts, more or less, as to their discretions, having regard to the quantity of the shire, and number of themselves, shall seem most convenient; endeavouring themselves, besides their general care, that every particular number may give diligent heed, within their limits appointed to them, for conservation of quietness and good order. Cotton lib. Titus. B. [ii. fol. 116.]

Item. The said justices of the peace shall not only be aiding and assisting unto such preachers as be, or shall be sent into the said county, but shall also be themselves present at sermons, and use the preachers reverently, travailling soberly with such, as by abstaining from coming to the church, or by any other open doings shall appear not persuaded to conform themselves, and to use such as be wilful and obstinate, more roundly, either by rebuking them, or binding them to good abearing, or committing them to prison, as the quality of the persons, and circumstance of their doings, may seem to deserve.

284 *Item.* Amongst all other things, they must lay special weight upon those which be preachers and teachers of heresy, or procurers of secret meetings for that purpose.

Item. The said justices of peace, and every of them, must by themselves, their wives, children, and servants, shew good example; and if they shall have any of their own servants faulty, they must first begin to reform them.

Item. The said justices of the peace, and every of them, shall, as much as in them lieth, procure to search out all such as shall by any means spread false tales, or seditious rumours,

causing them, when they shall be known, to be forthwith apprehended and punished according to the laws.

Item. They shall procure to have in every parish, or part of the shire, as near as may be, some one or more honest men, secretly instructed, to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants amongst or about them.

Item. They shall charge the constables, and four, or more of the most honest and catholic of every parish, with the order of the same parish, unto whom idle men, vagabonds, and such as may be probably suspected, shall be bound to give a reckoning how they live, and where they shall be come from time to time.

Item. They shall have earnest regard to the execution, and keeping of the statutes against rebellious vagabonds, reteinours, ale-houses, and for keeping of the statute of huy-and-cry; and shall give order for keeping of good and substantial watches, in places convenient, the same to begin the 20th day of April next.

Item. As soon as any offenders for murder, felony, or other offences shall be taken, the said justices of the peace shall cause the matter to be forthwith examined and ordered, as to justice shall appertain, according to the tenor of the commission of *oyer* and *terminer*, addressed presently unto them for that purpose.

[fol. 117.] Finally; The said justices of peace shall meet and consult together, at the sessions, every month, and more-often, as occasion may require, conferring among themselves, upon the state of all particular parts of the shire, and taking such order for all misorders, as to their wisdoms may seem requisite.

[Endorsed:—

To our trusty and well beloved the sheriffs and justices of peace of our county of Norfolk, and to every of them.]

285 ## Number XX. [p. 312.]

A letter written by the king and queen, requiring the bishop of London to go on in the prosecution of the heretics.

To the right reverend father in God our right trusty and well-beloved the bishop of London.

PHILLIPPUS, MARY the queen.

By the king and queen.

RIGHT reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Regist. Bon. fol. 363.

And where of late we addressed our letters unto the justices of the peace within every of the counties of this our realm; whereby, amongst other instructions given them, for the good order and quiet government of the country about them, they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons, as forgetting their duties towards Almighty God and us, do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refusing to shew themselves conformable to the catholic religion of Christ's church; whom, if they cannot by good admonition and fair means reform, they are willed to deliver unto the ordinary, to be by him charitably travailed withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions; or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf; understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disordered persons, being by the justices of the peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither so travailed with as Christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God,

and dangerous example of others. Like-as we find this matter very strange, so have we thought convenient, both to signify this our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you, to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said justices of peace brought unto you, ye do use your good wisdom and discretion, in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be, or else in proceeding against them, (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the laws; so as through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be the better advanced, and the commonwealth, the more quietly governed.

Given under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 24th of May, in the first and second years of our reigns.

286 Number XXI. [p. 316.]

Sir T. More's letter to Cromwell, concerning the Nun of Kent.

Right worshipful,

AFTER my most hearty recommendation, with like thanks for your goodness, in accepting of my rude long letter. I perceive, that of your further goodness and favour towards me, it liked your mastership to break with my son Roper, of that, that I had had communication, not only with divers that were of acquaintance with the lewd Nun of Canterbury, but also with herself: and had, over that, by my writing, declaring favour towards her, given her advice and counsel; of which my demeanour, that it liketh you to be content to take the labour and the pain to hear, by mine own writing, the truth, I very heartily thank you, and reckon myself therein right deeply beholden to you. Ex. MSS. Norfolciania in col. Gresham.[4]

It is, I suppose, about eight or nine years ago sith I heard of that housewife first; at which time, the bishop of Canterbury that then was, (God assoil his soul,) sent unto the king's grace a roll of paper, in which were written certain words of hers, that she had, as report was then made, at sundry times spoken in her trances; whereupon it pleased the king's grace to deliver me the roll, commanding me to look thereon, and afterwards shew him what I thought therein. Whereunto,

[4] [The collection of MSS. from which this document was printed, has been destroyed. Of the 562 MSS. which it contained, this letter formed part of No. 150, and is catalogued as 3049 in the Catalogi. 'The document consists of 'Matters concerning Sir Thomas More's Indictment. His letter concerning the Holy Maid of Kent. His letter to his daughter from the Tower in his own hand.' It appears therefore that the MS. from which this was printed, was probably not an original.

The previous letter of queen Catharine to the princess Mary was probably in No. 148 of this Collection, which is entitled, 'A large collection of matters relating to the divorce of king Henry VIII.' Anglice et Latine, No. 3047 of the whole Catalogue.]

at another time, when his highness asked me, I told him, That in good faith I found nothing in these words that I could any thing regard or esteem; for seeing that some part fell in rhythm, and that, God wots, full rude also; for any reason, God wots, that I saw therein, a right simple woman might, in my mind, speak it of her own wit well enough. Howbeit, I said, that because it was constantly reported for a truth, that God wrought in her, and that a miracle was shewed upon her; I durst not, nor would not, be bold in judging the matter. And the king's grace, as me thought, esteemed the matter as light as it after proved lewd.

From that time, till about Christmas was twelve-month, albeit that continually there was much talking of her, and of her holiness, yet never heard I any talk rehearsed, either of revelation of hers, or miracle, saving that I heard say divers times, in my lord cardinal's days, that she had been both with his lordship, and with the king's grace, but what she said, either to the one or to the other, upon my faith, I had never heard any one word. Now, as I was about to tell you, about Christmas was twelve-month, father Risby, friar Observant, then of Canterbury, lodged one night at mine house; where, after supper, a little before he went to his chamber, he fell in communication with me of the Nun, giving her high commendation of holiness, and that it was wonderful to see and understand the works that God wrought in her: which thing, I answered, That I was very glad to hear it, and thanked God thereof. Then he told me, that she had been with my lord legate in his life, and with the king's grace too; and that she had told my lord 287
legate a revelation of hers, of three swords that God hath put in my lord legate's hand, which if he ordered not well, God would lay it sore to his charge. The first, he said, was the ordering the spiritualty under the pope, as legate. The second, the rule that he bore in order of the temporalty under the king, as his chancellor. And the third, she said, was the meddling he was put in trust with by the king, concerning the great matter of his marriage. And therewithal I said unto him, That any revelation of the king's matters I would not hear of, I doubt not but the goodness of God should direct his highness with his grace and wisdom, that the thing should take such end as God should be pleased with, to the king's honour,

and surety of the realm. When he heard me say these words, or the like, he said unto me, That God had specially commanded her to pray for the king; and forthwith he brake again into her revelations concerning the cardinal, that his soul was saved by her mediation; and without any other communication went unto his chamber. And he and I never talked any more of any such manner of matter, nor since his departing on the morrow, I never saw him afterwards, to my remembrance, till I saw him at St. Paul's Cross.

After this, about Shrovetide, there came unto me, a little before supper, father Rich, friar Observant of Richmond; and as we fell in talking, I asked him of father Risby, how he did? and upon that occasion, he asked me, Whether father Risby had any thing shewed me of the holy Nun of Kent? and I said, Yea, and that I was very glad to hear of her virtue. I would not, quoth he, tell you again that you have heard of him already; but I have heard, and known, many great graces that God hath wrought in her, and in other folk, by her, which I would gladly tell you, if I thought you had not heard them already. And therewith he asked me, Whether father Risby had told me any thing of her being with my lord cardinal? and I said, Yea: then he told you, quoth he, of the three swords: Yea verily, quoth I. Did he tell you, quoth he, of the revelations that she had concerning the king's grace? Nay forsooth, quoth I, nor if he would have done, I would not have given him the hearing; nor verily no more I would indeed, for sith she hath been with the king's grace herself, and told him, methought it a thing needless to tell me, or to any man else. And when father Rich perceived that I would not hear her revelations concerning the king's grace, he talked on a little of her virtue, and let her revelations alone; and therewith my supper was set upon the board, where I required him to sit with me; but he would in no wise tarry, but departed to London. After that night I talked with him twice, once in mine own house, another time in his own garden at the Friars, at every time a great space, but not of any revelations touching the king's grace, but only of other mean folk, I knew not whom, of which things, some were very strange, and some were very childish. But albeit, that he said, he had seen her lie in her trance in great pains, and that he had at other times

taken great spiritual comfort in her communication; yet did he never tell me that she had told him those tales herself; for if he had, I would for the tale of Mary Magdalene which he told me, and for the tale of the hostie, with which, as I have heard, she said she was housled at the king's mass at Calice, if I had 288
heard it of him, as told unto himself by her mouth for a revelation, I would have both liked him and her the worse. But whether ever I heard the same tale of Rich or of Risby, or of neither of them both, but of some other man since she was in hold, in good faith I cannot tell: but I wot well when or wheresoever I heard it, methought it a tale too marvellous to be true, and very likely that she had told some man her dream, which told it out for a revelation. And in effect, I little doubted but that some of these tales that were told of her were untrue; but yet sith I never heard them reported as spoken by her own mouth, I thought nevertheless that many of them might be true, and she a very virtuous woman too; as some lies be peradventure written of some that be saints in heaven, and yet many miracles indeed done by them for all that.

After this, I being upon a day at Sion, and talking with divers of the fathers together at the grate, they shewed me that she had been with them, and shewed me divers things that some of them misliked in her: and in this talking, they wished that I had spoken with her, and said, they would fain see how I should like her. Whereupon, afterward, when I heard that she was there again, I came thither to see her, and to speak with her myself. At which communication had, in a little chapel, there were none present but we two: in the beginning whereof, I shewed that my coming to her was not of any curious mind, any thing to know of such things as folk talked, that it pleased God to reveal and shew unto her, but for the great virtue that I had heard so many years, every day more and more spoken and reported of her; I therefore had a great mind to see her, and be acquainted with her, that she might have somewhat the more occasion to remember me to God in her devotion and prayers: whereunto she gave me a very good virtuous answer, That as God did of his goodness far better by her than she, a poor wretch, was worthy, so she feared that many folk yet beside that spoke of their own favourable minds many things for her, far above the truth, and

that of me she had many such things heard, that already she prayed for me, and ever would; whereof I heartily thanked her. I said unto her, Madam, one Hellen, a maiden dwelling about Totnam, of whose trances and revelations there hath been much talking, she hath been with me of late, and shewed me, that she was with you, and that after the rehearsal of such visions as she had seen you shewed her, that they were no revelations, but plain illusions of the Devil, and advised her to cast them out of her mind: and verily she gave therein good credence unto you, and thereupon hath left to lean any longer unto such visions of her own: whereupon she saith, she findeth your words true, for ever since, she hath been the less visited with such things as she was wont to be before. To this she answered me, Forsooth sir, there is in this point no praise unto me, but the goodness of God, as it appeareth, hath wrought much meekness in her soul, which hath taken my rude warning so well, and not grudged to hear her spirit and her visions reproved. I liked her, in good faith, better for this answer, than for many of these things that I heard re-
289 ported by her. Afterward she told me, upon that occasion, how great need folk have, that are visited with such visions, to take heed, and prove well of what spirit they come of; and in that communication she told me, That of late the Devil, in likeness of a bird, was flying and fluttering about her in a chamber, and suffered himself to be taken; and being in hands, suddenly changed, in their sight that were present, into such a strange ugly-fashioned bird, that they were all afraid, and threw him out at a window.

For conclusion; we talked no word of the king's grace, or any great personage else, nor in effect, of any man or woman, but of herself and myself, but after no long communication had, for or ever we met, my time came to go home, I gave her a double ducate, and prayed her to pray for me and mine, and so departed from her, and never spake with her after. Howbeit, of a truth, I had a great good opinion of her, and had her in great estimation, as you shall perceive by the letter that I wrote unto her. For afterwards, because I had often heard that many right worshipful folks, as well men as women, used to have much communication with her; and many folk are of nature inquisitive and curious, whereby they fall sometimes

into such talking, and better were to forbear, of which thing I nothing thought while I talked with her of charity, therefore I wrote her a letter thereof; which sith it may be peradventure, that she brake or lost, I shall insert the very copy thereof in this present letter.

These were the very words.

Good madam, and my right dearly-beloved sister in our Lord God, after most hearty commendation, I shall beseech you to take my good mind in good worth, and pardon me, that I am so homely as of myself unrequired, and also without necessity, to give counsel to you, of whom for the good inspirations, and great revelations that it liketh Almighty God of his goodness to give and shew, as many wise, well-learned, and very virtuous folk testify, I myself have need, for the comfort of my soul, to require and ask advice. For surely, good madam, sith it pleased God sometime to suffer, such as are far under and of little estimation, to give yet fruitful advertisement to such other as are in the light of the Spirit so far above them, that there were between them no comparison; as he suffered his high prophet Moses to be in some things advised and counselled by Jethro, I cannot, for the love that in our Lord I bear you, refrain to put you in remembrance of one thing, which in my poor mind I think highly necessary to be by your wisdom considered, referring the end, and the order thereof, to God and his holy Spirit, to direct you. Good madam, I doubt not, but that you remember that in the beginning of my communication with you, I shewed you, that I neither was, nor would be, curious of any knowledge of other men's matters, and least of all of any matter of princes, or of the realm, in case it so were, that God had, as to many good folks before-time, he hath any time revealed unto you such things, I said unto your ladyship, that I was not only not desirous to hear of, but also would not hear of. Now, madam, I consider well that many folk desire to speak with you, which are not all peradventure of my mind in this point; but some hap to be curious and inquisitive of things that little pertain 290
unto their parts; and some might peradventure hap to talk of such things as might peradventure after turn to much harm; as I think you have heard how the late duke of Buckingham,

moved with the fame of one that was reported for an holy monk, and had such talking with him, as after was a great part of his destruction, and disheriting of his blood, and great slander and infamy of religion. It sufficeth me, good madam, to put you in remembrance of such things, as I nothing doubt your wisdom, and the Spirit of God shall keep you from talking with any person, specially with high persons, of any such manner things as pertain to princes' affairs, or the state of the realm, but only to commune and talk with any person, high and low, of such manner things as may to the soul be profitable for you to shew, and for them to know. And thus, my good lady, and dearly beloved sister in our Lord, I make an end of this my needless advertisement unto you, whom the blessed Trinity preserve and increase in grace, and put in your mind to recommend me and mine unto him in your devout prayers.

At Chelsey, this Tuesday, by the hand of

Your hearty loving brother and beadsman,

Thomas More kt.

At the receipt of this letter, she answered my servant, that she heartily thanked me: soon after this there came to mine house the prior of the Charterhouse at Shene, and one brother Williams with him, who nothing talked to me, but of her, and of the great joy that they took in her virtue, but of any of her revelations they had no communication. But at another time brother Williams came to me, and told me a long tale of her, being at the house of a knight in Kent, that was sore troubled with temptations to destroy himself; and none other thing we talked of, nor should have done of likelyhood, though we had tarried together much longer, he took so great pleasure, good man, to tell the tale, with all the circumstances at length. When I came again another day to Sion, on a day in which there was a profession, some of the fathers asked me how I liked the Nun? And I answered, that, in good faith, I liked her very well in her talking; howbeit, quoth I, she is never the nearer tried by that, for I assure you, she were likely to be very bad, if she seemed good, e're I should think her other, till she happened to be proved naught; and in good faith, that is my manner indeed, except I were set to search and examine the truth, upon likelyhood of some cloaked evil;

for in that case, although I nothing suspected the person myself, yet no less than if I suspected him sore, I would as far, as my wit would serve me, search to find out the truth, as yourself hath done very prudently in this matter; wherein you have done, in my mind, to your great laud and praise, a very meritorious deed, in bringing forth to light such detestable hypocrisy, whereby every other wretch may take warning, and be feared to set forth their own devilish dissembled falsehood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful work of God; for verily, this woman so handled herself, with help of that 291
evil spirit hath inspired her, that after her own confession declared at Paul's Cross, when I sent word by my servant unto the prior of the Charterhouse, that she was undoubtedly proved a false deceiving hypocrite; the good man had had so good opinion of her so long, that he could at the first scantly believe me therein. Howbeit it was not he alone that thought her so very good, but many another right good man besides, as little marvel was upon so good report, till she was proved naught.

I remember me further, that in communication between father Rich and me, I counselled him, that in such strange things as concerned such folk as had come unto her, to whom, as she said, she had told the causes of their coming, e're themselves spake thereof; and such good fruit as they said that many men had received by her prayer, he, and such other as so reported it, and thought that the knowledge thereof should much pertain to the glory of God, should first cause the things to be well and sure examined by the ordinaries, and such as had authority thereunto; so that it might be surely known whether the things were true or not, and that there were no letters intermingled among them, or else the letters might after hap to aweigh the credence of these things that were true. And when he told me the tale of Mary Magdalen, I said unto him, Father Rich, that she is a good virtuous woman, in good faith, I hear so many good folk so report, that I verily think it true; and think it well-likely that God worketh some good and great things by her; but yet are, you wot well, these strange tales no part of our creed; and therefore before you see them surely proved, you shall have my poor counsel, not to wed yourself so far forth to the credence of them, as to report

them very surely for true, lest that if it should hap that they were afterwards proved false, it might minish your estimation in your preaching, whereof might grow great loss. To this he thanked me for my counsel, but how he used it after that, I cannot tell.

Thus have I, good Mr. Cromwell, fully declared to you, as far as myself can call to remembrance, all that ever I have done or said in this matter, wherein I am sure that never one of them all shall tell you any further thing of effect; for if any of them, or any man else, report of me, as I trust verily no man will, and I wot well truly no man can, any word or deed by me spoken or done, touching any breach of my legal truth and duty toward my most redoubted sovereign, and natural liege lord, I will come to mine answer, and make it good in such wise as becometh a poor true man to do; that whosoever any such thing shall say, shall therein say untrue: for I neither have in this matter done evil, nor said evil, nor so much as any evil thing thought, but only have been glad, and rejoiced of them that were reported for good; which condition I shall nevertheless keep toward all other good folk, for the false cloaked hypocrisy of any of these, no more than I shall esteem Judas the true apostle, for Judas the false traitor.

But so purpose I to bear myself in every man's company, while I live, that neither good man nor bad, neither monk, friar, nor nun, nor other man or woman in this world, shall make me digress from my truth and faith, either towards God,
292 or towards my natural prince, by the grace of Almighty God; and as you therein find me true, so I heartily therein pray you to continue toward me your favour and good-will, as you shall be sure of my poor daily prayer; for other pleasure can I not do you. And thus the blessed Trinity, both bodily and ghostly, long preserve and prosper you.

I pray you pardon me, that I write not unto you of mine own hand, for verily I am compelled to forbear writing for a while, by reason of this disease of mine, whereof the chief occasion is grown, as it is thought, by the stooping and leaning on my breast, that I have used in writing. And thus, eft-soons, I beseech our Lord long to preserve you.

Number XXII.[40] [p. 317.]

Directions of queen Mary to her council, touching the reformation[41] *of the church to the Roman religion, out of her own original.*

Ex MS. D. G. Petyt. [No. 538. vol. XLIX. fol. 49.]

First, That such as had commission to talk with my lord cardinal at his first coming, touching the goods of the church, should have recourse unto him, at the least once in a week, not only for putting these matters in execution, as much as may be, before the parliament, but also to understand of him which way might be best to bring to good effect those matters that have been begun concerning religion, both touching good preaching, (I wish, that may supply and overcome the evil preaching in time past) and also to make a sure provision, that no[42] evil books shall either be printed, bought, or sold, without just punishment therefore; I think it should be well done, that the universities and churches of this realm should be visited by such persons as my lord cardinal, with the rest of you, may be well assured to be worthy and sufficient persons to make a true and just account thereof, remitting the choice of them to him and you. Touching punishment of heretics, me thinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the mean while to do justice to such, as by learning would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used, that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion, whereby they shall both understand the truth and beware to do the like. And especially in[43] London, I would wish none to be burnt, without some of the council's presence, and both there and every-where, good sermons at the same.

I verily believe that many benefices should not be in one man's hands, but after such sort as every priest might look to his own charge, and remain resident there, whereby they

[40] [This paper has also been copied in the Harleian Collection, 444. The variations are given at the foot of the page.]

[41] [*reforming*, Harl.]

[42] [*none*, Harl.]

[43] [*within*, Harl.]

should have but one bond to discharge towards God; whereas now they have many, which I take to be the cause that in most part[45] of this realm there is over-much want of good preachers, and such as should with their doctrine overcome the evil diligence of the abused preachers in the time of schism[46], not only by their preaching, but also by their good example, without which, in mine opinion, their sermons shall not so much profit as I wish. And like as their good example,
293 on their behalf, shall undoubtedly do much good, so I account myself bound, on my behalf also, to shew such example, in encouraging and maintaining those persons, well-doing their duty, (not forgetting, in the mean while, to correct and punish them which do contrary), that it may be evident to all this realm how I discharge my conscience therein, and minister true justice in so doing.

[Finis.]

[45] [*parts,* Harl.]

[46] [*the schism,* Harl.]

Number XXIII. [p. 319.]

Injunctions by Hugh Latimer bishop of Worcester, to the prior and convent of St. Mary house in Worcester, 1537[47].

Hughe, by the goodness of Gode, bishop of Worcestere, wisheth to his brethren, the prior and convent aforesaid, grace, mercy, peace, and true knowledge of God's word; from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

L. 3us reg. prior. et convent. Wigorn. [fol. 17 b]

FORASMUCH as in this my visitation, I evidently perceive the ignorance and negligence of divers religious persons in this monastery to be intolerable, and not to be suffered; for that thereby doth reign idolatry, and many kinds of superstitions, and other enormities: and considering withal, that our sovereign lord the king, for some part of remedy of the same, hath granted by his most gracious license, that the scripture of God may be read in English, of all his obedient subjects. I therefore, willing your reformation in most favourable manner, to your least displeasure; do heartily require you, all and every one of you, and also in God's behalf command the same, according as your duty is, to obey me as God's minister, and the king's, in all my lawful and honest commandments; that you observe and keep inviolably, all these injunctions following, under pain of the law.

First; Forasmuch as I perceive that some of you neither have observed the king's Injunctions, nor yet have them with you, as willing to observe them; therefore ye shall from henceforth, both have and observe diligently and faithfully, as well special commandments of preaching, as other injunctions given in his grace's visitation.

Item. That the prior shall provide, of the monastery's charge, a whole Bible in English, to be laid fast chained in some open place, either in their church or cloister.

Item. That every religious person have, at the least, a New 294

[47] [These Injunctions are printed in the new edition of the Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. i. p. 620, but are taken from Burnet's text.]

Testament in English, by the feast of the Nativity of our Lord next ensuing.

Item. Whensoever there shall be any preaching in your monastery, that all manner of singing, and other ceremonies, be utterly laid aside in the preaching time; and all other service shortened, as need shall be; and all religious persons quietly to hearken to the preaching.

Item. That ye have a lecture of scripture read every day in English amongst you, save holy-days.

Item. That every religious person be at every lecture, from the beginning to the ending, except they have a necessary lett allowed them by the prior.

Item. That every religious house have a layman to their steward, for all foreign businesses.

Item. That you have a continual schoolmaster, sufficiently learned, to teach you grammar.

Item. That no religious person discourage any manner of lay-man or woman, or any other from the reading of any good book, either in Latin or English.

Item. That the prior have at his dinner and supper, every day a chapter read, from the beginning of scripture to the end, and that in English, wheresoever he be in any of his own places, and to have edifying communication of the same.

Item. That the convent sit together, four to one mess, and to eat together in common, and to have scripture read in like wise, and have communication thereof; and after their dinner or supper, their reliques and fragments to be distributed to poor people.

Item. That the prior and convent provide distributions to be ministered in every parish, wherein ye be parsons and proprietaries, and according to the king's Injunctions in that behalf.

Item. That all these my injunctions be read every month, once in the chapter house, before all the brethren.

According

Number XXIV. [p. 321.]

A letter of Ann Boleyn's to Gardiner.

MASTER STEPHYNS,

Ex chartophylac. regio.

I thank you for my letter, wherein I perceive the willing and faithful mind that you have to do me pleasure, not doubting, but as much as is possible for man's wit to imagine, you will do. I pray God to send you well to speed in all your matters, so that you would put me to the study, how to reward your high service: I do trust in God you shall not repent it, and that the end of this journey shall be more pleasant to me than your first, for that was but a rejoicing hope[48], which causing the like of it, does put me to the more pain, and they that are partakers with me, as you do know: and therefore I do trust that this hard beginning shall make the better ending.

Master Stephyns, I send you here cramp-rings for you and Master Gregory, and Mr. Peter, praying you to distribute them as you think best. And have me kindly recommended to them both, as she, that you may assure them, will be glad to do them any pleasure which shall be in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God send you good health. Written at Grenwiche, the 4th day of April.

By your assured friend,

Anne Boleyn.

[To Master Stephyns this be delivered.]

[48] [*Jealousie*, had been written here for *rejoicing hope*, and was erased.]

295 ## Number XXV. [p. 321.]

The office of consecrating the cramp-rings.

Certain prayers to be used by the queen's highness, in the consecration of the cramp-rings.

Ex MS. in Biblioth. R. Smith. Lond.

DEUS misereatur nostri et benedicat nos Deus, illuminet vultum suum super nos et misereatur nostri.

Ut cognoscamus in terrâ viam tuam, in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum.

Confiteantur tibi populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes.

Lætentur et exultent gentes, quoniam judicas populos in æquitate, et gentes in terrâ dirigis.

Confiteantur tibi populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes, terra dedit fructum suum.

Benedicat nos Deus, Deus noster, benedicat nos Deus, et metuent eum omnes fines terræ.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui ad solatium humani generis, varia ac multiplicia miseriarum nostrarum levamenta uberrimis gratiæ tuæ donis ab inexhausto benignitatis tuæ fonte manantibus, incessanter tribuere dignatus es, et quos ad regalis sublimitatis fastigium extulisti, insignioribus gratiis ornatos, donorumque tuorum organa atque canales esse voluisti, ut sicut per te regnant aliisque præsunt, ita te authore reliquis prosint, et tua in populum beneficia conferant; preces nostras propitius respice, et quæ tibi vota humillime fundimus, benignus admitte, ut quod a te majores nostri de tuâ misericordiâ sperantes obtinuerunt, id nobis etiam pari fiduciâ postulantibus concedere digneris. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

The rings lying in one bason, or more, this prayer to be said over them.

Deus cœlestium terrestriumque conditor creaturarum, atque humani generis benignissime reparator, dator spiritualis gratiæ,

omniumque benedictionum largitor, immitte Spiritum Sanctum tuum Paracletum de cœlis super hos annulos arte fabrili confectos, eosque magnâ tuâ potentiâ ita emundare digneris, ut omni nequitiâ lividi venenosique serpentis procul expulsâ, metallum a te bono conditore creatum, a cunctis inimici sordibus maneat immune. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Benedictio annulorum. 29(

Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, exaudi misericors preces nostras, parce metuentibus, propitiare supplicibus, et mittere digneris sanctum Angelum tuum de cœlis qui sanctificet ✠ et benedicat ✠ annulos istos, ut sint remedium salutare omnibus nomen tuum humiliter implorantibus, ac semetipsos pro conscientiâ delictorum suorum accusantibus, atque ante conspectum divinæ clementiæ tuæ facinora sua deplorantibus, et serenissimam pietatem tuam humiliter obnixeque flagitantibus ; prosint denique per invocationem sancti tui nominis omnibus istos gestantibus, ad corporis et animæ sanitatem. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Benedictio.

Deus qui in morbis curandis maxima semper potentiæ tuæ miracula declarâsti, quique annulos in Judâ patriarchâ fidei arrabonem, in Aarone sacerdotale ornamentum, in Dario fidelis custodiæ symbolum, et in hoc regno variorum morborum remedia esse voluisti, hos annulos propitius ✠ benedicere et ✠ sanctificare digneris : ut omnes qui eos gestabunt sint immunes ab omnibus Satanæ insidiis, sint armati virtute cœlestis defensionis, nec eos infestet vel nervorum contractio, vel comitialis morbi pericula, sed sentiant te opitulante in omni morborum genere levamen. In nomine Patris ✠ et Filii ✠ et Spiritus Sancti ✠. Amen.

Benedic anima mea Domino : et omnia quæ intra me sunt nomini sancto ejus. *Here follows the rest of that Psalm.*

Immensam elementiam tuam misericors Deus humiliter imploramus, ut quâ animi fiduciâ et fidei sinceritate, ac certâ mentis pietate, ad hæc impetranda accedimus, pari etiam devotione gratiæ tuæ symbola fideles prosequantur ; facessat omnis superstitio, procul absit diabolicæ fraudis suspicio, et in gloriâ

tui nominis omnia cedant; ut te largitorem bonorum omnium fideles tui intelligant, atque a te uno quicquid vel animis vel corporibus vere prosit, profectum sentiant et profiteantur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

These prayers being said, the queen's highness rubbeth the rings between her hands, saying;

Sanctifica Domine annulos istos, et rore tuæ benedictionis benignus asperge, ac manuum nostrarum confricatione, quas olei sacri infusione externâ, sanctificare dignatus es pro ministerii nostri modo, consecra, ut quod natura metalli præstare non possit, gratiæ tuæ magnitudine efficiatur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

297 *Then must holy water be cast on the rings, saying;*

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Domine Fili Dei unigenite, Dei et hominum Mediator, Jesu Christe, in cujus unius nomine salus recte quæritur, quique in te sperantibus facilem ad Patrem accessum conciliâsti, quem quicquid in nomine tuo peteretur, id omne daturum, eum certissimo veritatis oraculo ab ore tuo sancto, quum inter homines versabaris homo pronunciâsti, precibus nostris aures tuæ pietatis accommoda, ut ad thronum gratiæ in tuâ fiduciâ accedentes, quod in nomine tuo humiliter postulavimus, id a nobis, te mediante, impetratum fuisse, collatis per te beneficiis, fideles intelligant. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo patre in unitate Spiritûs Sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Vota nostra quæsumus Domine, Spiritus Sanctus qui a te procedit, aspirando præveniat, et prosequatur, ut quod ad salutem fidelium confidenter petimus, gratiæ tuæ dono efficaciter consequamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Majestatem tuam clementissime Deus, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, suppliciter exoramus, ut quod ad nominis tui sanctificationem piis hic ceremoniis peragitur, ad corporis simul et animæ tutelam valeat in terris, et ad uberiorem felicitatis fructum proficiat in cœlis.

Qui vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Number XXVI. [p. 321.]

A letter of Gardiner's to king Henry the Eighth, concerning the divorce. An original.

Ex chartophylac. regio.

PLEASETH it your majesty to understand, that besides all other means used to the pope's holiness, for attaining and achieving your highness' purpose and intent, such as in our common letters to my lord legate's grace[49], and my several letters to the same be contained at length; I have also a part shewed unto the pope's holiness, that which your highness shewed me in your gallery at Hampton-Court, concerning the sollicitation of the princes of Almayn, and such other matter as should and ought to fear the pope's said holiness; adding also those reasons which might induce the same to adhere expressly to your highness, and the French king, and so to take the more courage to accomplish your highness' desires: using all ways possible to enforce him to do somewhat, being a man of such nature, as he never resolveth any thing, but by some violent affection compelled thereunto. And considering we can 298
speed no better at his hands, it agreeth with that your majesty, of your high wisdom before perpended, that his holiness would do nothing which might offend the emperor, unless he first determined himself to adhere to your highness, and the French king, and so to declare himself, containing himself no longer in neutrality; which he will not do: ne the state of the affairs here considered, it were for his wealth so to do, unless the league otherwise proceeded than they yet do, or that his holiness would determine himself to leave these parts, and establish his see in some other place; forasmuch, as here being, he is daily in the danger of the imperials, like as we have signified by our other letters. His holiness is in a great perplexity and agony of mind, ne can tell what to do. He seemeth in words,

[49] [There is in State Papers, vol. vii. p. 166, a letter of the same date from Bryan to the king, which also makes allusion to their joint letter to the cardinal. This letter is not known to exist at present.]

fashion, and manner of speaking, as though he would do somewhat for your highness; and yet, when it cometh to the point, nothing he doth. I dare not say certainly, whether it be for fear, or want of good will, for I were loth to make a lie of him, or to your highness, my prince, sovereign lord and master. Finally, I perceive this by the pope, and all other here, that so your highness' cause were determined there by my lords legates, they would be glad thereof: and, as I think, if the emperor would make any suit against that which shall be done there, they would serve him as they now do your highness, and so drive off the time, for they seem to be so minded, as in this cause they would suffer much, but do very little: wherefore if my lord Campegius will set apart all other respects, and frankly promise your highness to give sentence for you, there must be your highness' remedy short and expedite; ne there shall want wit, by another means, to meet with such delays, as this false counterfeit breve hath caused. For with these men here, your highness shall by no suit profit; which thing I write unto your highness, as of my most bounden duty I ought to do: there shall every day rise new devices, and none take effect, but long delays, and wasted time: wherefore doing what I can yet to get the best, although we be fully answered therein, I shall do what I can to get the commission amplified as much as may be, and at the least, to extend to the reprobation of the breve, if I can, for I dare promise nothing to your majesty at this man's hands; and that which shall be obtained, if any be obtained, shall be, according to your highness' pleasure, sent by master Bryan.

And whereas your highness, in your gracious letters directed to me and my colleagues, marvelleth that I have not or this time advertised the same, of such bulls as your majesty willed me to impetrate here; I thought verily, that forasmuch as the same be to be impetrate at the pope's hand, and that we signified unto your majesty, by our letters[50], of the pope's great sickness, and how we could not have access unto the same, that it had been superfluous for me, in my letters, to make any mention of the said bulls: signifying unto your highness now,

[50] [These have not been found, but the same allusion occurs in a letter to the king from Gardiner, dated March 3, printed in State Papers, vol. vii. p. 152.]

that having those matters, as it becometh me to have in good remembrance, I have not yet broken with the pope's holiness in them, ne thought good to interrupt the prosecution of your highness' matter, with the pursuit of those, saving that I spake a word to the pope's holiness, *de ecclesiis cathedralibus*, and his holiness said nothing could be done till the *Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor* be recovered. In other things I speak not; for our audience with the pope's holiness hath been so scarce, 299
that we thought it little enough to spend the same in your highness' principal matter.

And to advertise your highness what counsel is here conducted for the defence of your majesty's cause, the same shall understand that this court, as it hath suffered in all other things, so it is also much appeyred in learned men, and of them that be, we dare not trust every one, *ne causâ majestatis vestræ illis denudatâ*, they should *prodere illam adversariis;* wherefore counselling, as yet only with two, the one called *dominus Michael*, the other *dominus Sigismundus;* we perceiving nothing to be solicited openly on the other side, and that here as yet hath been no need to dispute openly, have not communicate your highness' matter to no more. And as for that article, *Quod papa non posset dispensare*, the pope himself will hear no disputations in it; and so he might retain your highness' good mind, he seemeth not to care for himself, whether your highness' cause be decided by that article or no, so he did it not: but surely it appeareth, as a man may gather by his fashion and manner, that he hath made his account no further to meddle in your highness' matter, neither with your majesty, ne against the same, but follow that shall be done by his legates there. Wherefore if my lord Campegius would promise your majesty to give sentence frankly and apertly, having *propitium judicem*, I would trust, being there with such consultations as I should bring from hence to say somewhat to this breve there, *Apud illos et ista est sacra anchora majestatis vestræ*, for from hence shall come nothing but delays; desiring your highness not to shew this to my lord Campegius, ne my lord's grace.

Master Gregory sendeth presently unto your highness the promise made by the pope's holiness, concerning your highness' cause, at such time as I went to Venise for his cause,

which promise in the first three words, viz. *Cum nos justiciam ejus causæ perpendentes, &c.* doth make as much, and more, for the maintenance of that shall be done in your highness' cause, than if the commission decretal, being in cardinal Campegius' hands, should be shewed: and this your highness shall have at your liberty to shew to whom of your council it shall please your grace, thinking in my poor opinion, that it were not the best therefore to move the pope in that matter again in this adverse time.

I most humbly desire your majesty, that I may be a suitor to the same for the said Master Gregory; so as by your most gracious commandment, payment may be made there to his factors, of such diets as your highness alloweth him: for omitting to speak of his true, faithful, and diligent service, which I have heretofore, and do now perceive in him here; I assure your highness, he liveth here sumptuously and chargeably, to your highness' honour, and in this great scarcity, must needs be driven to extremity, unless your highness be gracious lord unto him in that behalf.

Thus having none other matter whereof privately to write unto your majesty, besides that is contained in our common
300 letters to my lord legate's grace, desiring your highness, that I may know your pleasure what to do, in case none other thing can be obtained here; I shall make an end of these letters, praying Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royal estate, with a short expedition of this cause, according to your highness' purpose and desire.

From Rome, the 21th day of April.

Your highness most humble subject,
Servant, and daily orator,
Steven Gardyner.

[To the king's highness.]

Number XXVII. [p. 334.]

The writ for the burning of Cranmer.

Rot. pat. 2. et 3. Phil. et Mar. 2. par. [m. 18. d.]

PHILIPP and Marye, by the grace of God king and queen of Englond, Fraunce, &c., to the right reverend father in God and our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellor Nicholas, arch-bishop of York, and lord chancellor of Englond, greeting.

We will and command you, that immediately upon the sight hereof, and by warrant of the same, ye do cause to be made a writ for the execution of Thomas Cranmer, late arch-bishop of Canterburye; and the same so made, to seal with our great seal of Englond, being in your custody, according to the tenor and form hereafter following.

Philippus et Maria Dei gratiâ, rex et regina, majori et ballivis civitatis Oxoniæ, salutem.

Cum sanctissimus pater noster Paulus papa ejusdem nominis quartus, per sententiam definitivam juris ordine in eâ parte requisito in omnibus observato, et juxta canonicas sanctiones judicialiter et diffinitive, Thomam Cranmer nuper Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, fore hæresiarcham, anathematizatum, et hæreticum manifestum, propter suos varios nephandos errores manifestos et dampnabiles hæreses, et detestandas et pessimas opiniones, fidei nostræ catholicæ, et universalis ecclesiæ determinacioni obviantes et repugnantes, et per dictum Thomam Cranmer multis modis contractos commissos dictos affirmatos perpetratos et publice et pertinaciter tentos et defensos judicavit, declaravit, pronunciavit et condempnavit, et eâdem causâ idem sanctissimus pater noster papa Paulus quartus judicialiter et diffinitive, more solito, prædictum Thomam Cranmer a dicto archiepiscopatu, aliisque prælaturis, dignitatibus, officiis et beneficiis deprivavit et abjudicavit, prout certam inde habemus noticiam:

Cumque etiam reverendi in Christo patres Edmundus Londoniensis episcopus, et Thomas Eliensis, episcopus auctoritate ejusdem sanctissimi nostri patris papæ, prædictum Thomam Cranmer ab omni ordine, gradu, officio et dignitate ecclesiasticâ, tanquam hæresiarcham et hæreticum manifestum realiter degradaverunt; vigore cujus idem Thomas Cranmer in præsenti
301 hæreticus et hæresiarcha juste, legittime, et canonice judicatus, condempnatus et degradatus existit;

Et cum etiam mater ecclesia non habet quod ulterius in hâc parte contra tam putridum et detestabile membrum et hæresiarcham faciat aut facere debeat, iidem reverendi patres eundem Thomam Cranmer dampnatum hæreticum et hæresiarcham brachio et potestati nostris secularibus tradiderunt, commiserunt et reliquerunt, prout per literas patentes eorundem reverendorum patrum superinde confectas nobis in cancellariâ nostrâ certificatum est.

Nos igitur ut zelatores justiciæ, et fidei catholicæ defensores, volentesque ecclesiam sanctam, ac jura et libertates ejusdem, et fidem catholicam manutenere et defendere, hujusmodi hæreses et errores ubique, quantum in nobis est, eradicare et extirpare, ac prædictum Thomam hæresiarcham ac convictum, dampnatum et degradatum animadversione condignâ punire; Attendentesque hujusmodi hæreticum et hæresiarcham in formâ prædictâ convictum dampnatum et degradatum juxta leges et consuetudines regni nostri Angliæ in hâc parte consuetas ignis incendio comburi debere; vobis præcipimus quod dictum Thomam Cranmer, in custodiâ vestrâ existentem in loco publico et aperto, infra libertatem dictæ civitatis nostræ Oxoniæ ex causâ prædictâ, coram populo igni committi, ac ipsum Thomam Cranmer in eodem igne realiter comburi faciatis, in hujusmodi criminis detestacionem, aliorum Christianorum exemplum manifestum: et hoc sub pœnâ et periculo incumbente, ac prout nobis superinde respondere volueritis, nullatenus omittatis. Test. nobis ipsis apud Westmonasterium, vicesimo quarto die Februarii, annis regis et reginæ secundo ac tertio.

And this bill, signed with the hand of us the said queen, shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge for the same.

Per ipsam Reginam.

Number XXVIII. [p. 341.]

A commission to Bonner, and others, to search and raze records.

PHILIP and MARY, &c.

Rot. pat. 3. et 4. Phil. et Mar. 12. par. [m 30. d.]

To the right reverend father in God, Edmonde bishop of London; and to our trusty and well-beloved Henry Cole, doctor of divinity, and dean of the cathedral church of St. Paule, London; and Thomas Marten, Esquire, doctor of the civil law, greeting.

Where is come to our knowledge and understanding, that in the time of the late schism, divers and sundry accompts, books, scroles, instruments, and other writings, were practised, devised, and made, concerning professions against the pope's holiness, and the see apostolic: and also sundry and divers infamous scrutinies were taken in abbeys, and other religious houses, tending rather to subvert and overthrow all good religion, and religious houses, than for any truth contained therein; which writings, and other the premises, as we be informed, were delivered to the custody and charge of divers and sundry registers, and other officers and ministers of this our realm of England, to be by them kept and preserved. And minding to 302
have the said writings, and other the premisses, brought to knowledge, whereby they may be considered and ordered, according to our will and pleasure. And trusting in your fidelities, wisdoms and discretions, we have appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners; and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, or two of you, to call before you, or two of you, all and singular the said registers, and other officers and ministers within this our said realm, to whose hands, custody, knowledge, or possession, any of the said accompts, books, scroles, instruments, or other writings concerning the premisses, or any part thereof, did, or is come; giving straight charge and commandments to them, and every of them, to bring before you, or two of you, at their several appearance, all and singular the said accompts, books, writings, and other the premisses

whatsoever: and them, and every of them, to charge by oath, or otherwise, to make a true certificate and delivery of all and singular the said premisses, to the hands of you, or two of you; commanding you, or two of you, to attend and execute the premisses, with effect, by all ways and means, according to your wisdoms and discretions.

And of all and singular your doings therein, our pleasure and commandment is, ye shall make certificate unto the most reverend father in God, and our dearest cousin Regynalde Poole, lord cardinal, arch-bishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of England, with diligence, to the intent that further order may be taken therein as shall appertain: charging and commanding all and singular justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bayliffs, constables, and all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, to be aiding, helping, assisting, and at your commandment in the due execution hereof, as they tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their perils.

In witness whereof, &c. Witness the king and queen, at Grenewich, the 29th day of December.

Per ipsos regem et reginam.

Number XXIX. [p. 341.]

Cromwell's commission[51], *to be lord vicegerent, in all ecclesiastical causes.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. F. 2. [fol. 131.]

HENRICUS Octavus, Dei gratiâ Angliæ et Franciæ rex, fidei defensor, dominus Hiberniæ ac in terris supremum totius ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo caput, dilectis nobis A. B. C. D. salutem. In terris, supremam ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo auctoritatem, etsi regiæ nostræ dignitati, ut præcellenti, jam inde ab adepto primum, divinâ disponente gratiâ, hujus regni nostri regni Angliæ sceptro, jure nobis competierit, nunc denuo exercere quodam modo impellimur; nempe quum hi, qui curam illius et regimen sibi potissimum arrogabant, suis potius ipsorum privatis commodis, quam publicæ illius saluti, aut compendio consulentes, eam tandem eo calamitatis, tum nimiâ licentiâ et in officiis eis commissis oscitantiâ, tum suis malis exemplis devenire passi sunt, ut non ab re metuendum sit, ne illam Christus nunc suam non agnoscat sponsam.

Quamobrem nostræ regiæ excellentiæ, cui prima et suprema post Deum auctoritas in quoscunque hujus regni nostri incolas, nullo sexûs, ætatis, ordinis aut conditionis habito discrimine, sacro testante eloquio, cœlitus demandata est, ex muneris hujusmodi debito potissimum incumbit, dictam ecclesiam viciorum vepribus, quantum cum Deo possumus, purgare, et virtutum seminibus, et plantis conserere.

Porro cum hi, qui in eâdem de ceteris antehac censuram sibi

[51] [In the text of the History the author says this commission is destroyed. The editor has searched the Rolls for it, but has been unable to find it. The copy from which the author took it, and from which it has been corrected, is very badly executed, and full of contractions and mistakes. In Part III of the History, p. 142, the author corrects the mistake into which he had fallen, of describing it as the commission constituting Cranmer vicegerent, which he fancied from reading the commencement of it. It is headed in the Cotton MS. 'The copy of a commission of visitation granted by the general commission of the lord Cromwell's in Henry VIII.' It has been printed in Wilkins' Concilia, iii. p. 784.]

vindicabant, de se vero nullam a quovis mortalium haberi sustinebant, tum aliis hominibus plura indies corrigenda committant, tum ex eorum corruptis moribus majori præ cæteris sunt plebi offendiculo; ut non immerito iidem et bonorum omnium, si boni, et malorum omnium, si contra, certissimi sint authores: ab his igitur veluti fonte et scaturigine ad universalem hujus regni nostri et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ reformationem jure auspicandum esse duximus, haud vanam spem habentes quod, fonte primitus purgato, purus deinde et limpidus decurret rivus. Cæterum quia ad singula hujus regni nostri loca pro præmissis exequendis nos ipsi personaliter obire non valemus, alios quorum vicariâ fide freti munus hujusmodi veluti per ministros exequamur, qui quum vices nostras in eâ parte suppleant, in partem solicitudinis astitimus et vocamus.

Cum itaque nos alias prædilectum nobis Thomam Crumwell secretarium nostrum primarium, et rotulorum nostrorum magistrum sive custodem nostrum, ad causas ecclesiasticas, quascunque nostrâ auctoritate uti supremi capitis dictæ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ quomodolibet tractandum seu ventilandum atque ad exercendum expediendum et exercendum omnem et omnimodam jurisdictionem, auctoritatem, sive potestatem ecclesiasticam, quæ nobis tanquam supremo capiti hujusmodi competit, aut quovismodo competere possit, aut debeat, ubilibet infra regnum nostrum Angliæ et loca quæcunquen obis subjecta, vicem gerentem, vicarium generalem, ac commissarium specialem et principalem, cum potestate alium vel alios commissarium sive commissarios ad præmissa, vel eorum aliqua ordinanda et deputanda, per alias literas nostras patentes, sigillo nostro majori communitas,
304 constituerimus præfecerimus et ordinaverimus, prout ex tenore literarum nostrarum hujusmodi plenius liquet.

Quia tamen et ipse nostris et tocius hujus regni nostri negociis præpeditus existit, quominus præmissa personaliter obire et exequi possit; idem Thomas Crumwell vicem gerens, vicarius generalis et officialis principalis noster hujusmodi, vos A. B C. D. prælibatos ad infra-scripta omnia et singula vice et nomine nostris exequenda commissarios nostros deputaverit, ordinaverit et constituerit;

Nos igitur deputationem, ordinationem, et constitutionem hujusmodi ratam et gratam habentes, ad visitandum tam in capite quam in membris, sede tam plenâ, quam vacante, quo-

tiens, et quando vobis oportunum visum fuerit, omnes et singulas ecclesias, etiam metropoliticas, cathedrales et collegiatas, hospitalia quæque et monasteria, tam virorum quam mulierum, prioratus, preceptorias, dignitates, officia, domos et loca alia ecclesiastica, tam secularia quam regularia, exempta et non exempta, quæcunque infra regnum nostrum Angliæ, et provincias, civitates, terras, dominia et loca nobis subjecta, ubicunque sita seu constituta, cujuscunque dignitatis, prærogativæ, ordinis, regulæ sive conditionis existant: deque statu et conditione eorundem tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus, necnon vitâ, moribus et conversatione, tam præsidentium sive prælatorum eorundem, quocunque nomine et dignitate, etiamsi archiepiscopali vel episcopali, præfulgeant, quam aliarum personarum in eis degentium quarumcunque, inquirendum et inquiri faciendum.

Ac illos quos in eâ parte curiosos vel culpabiles fore compereritis, pro modo culpæ hujusmodi corrigendum, puniendum et coercendum; ac si delicti qualitas id poposcerit, officiis sive beneficiis suis pro tempore vel imperpetuum privandum et amovendum, vel ad tempus ab eisdem suspendendum: fructus quoque, redditus et proventus ecclesiarum et locorum hujusmodi, si videbitur, sequestrandos, ac sub salvo et tuto sequestro custodiri faciendos, atque mandandos sequestrumque hujusmodi relaxandum ac compotum calculum et rationem, de receptis et collectis per sequestros hujusmodi tempore sequestri, et de administratione per eosdem exigendâ et recipiendâ, ac bene et fideliter computantes quietandum et liberandum deque statu dictarum ecclesiarum et locorum tempore visitationis hujusmodi, annotacionem, necnon de bonis rebus et localibus eorundem inventaria facienda et exigenda.

Statuta insuper, ordinationes et injunctiones particulares et generales pro bonâ et laudabili conservatione, seu reformatione personarum, locorum et ordinum prædictorum, juxta rei exigentiam, auctoritate nostrâ faciendum et imponendum: pœnasque convenientes in carum violatores infligendas et irrogandas, synodosque, capitula et convocationes, tam speciales quam generales pro præmissis vel aliis causis, et rationibus quibuscunque, quoties et quando ac ubicunque vobis visum fuerit magis expedire nomine et auctoritate nostris conveniendos et convocandos ac eas et ea celebranda continuanda et proroganda.

Clerumque et populum ad sinodos et capitula hujusmodi convocandum et congregandum ac sinodis capitulis et convocationibus hujusmodi interessendum et præsidendum eaque inibi statuendum et ordinandum quæ pro reformatione vel emendatione locorum, personarum et ordinum prædictorum visa fuerint quomodolibet expedire.

Dictasque ecclesias, loca et personas modis omnibus, quibus
305 melius et efficatius valeatis ad statum honestiorem, probatioresque vivendi mores, reducendum et reponendum. Crimina quoque, excessus, et delicta quorumcunque subditorum nostrorum juxta comperta et detecta quæcunque debite reformandum, corrigendum et puniendum. Quoscunque insuper subditos nostros, pro præmissis vel quibuscunque aliis causis ad forum ecclesiasticum quomodolibet spectantibus et pertinentibus, undecunque et quocunque infra hoc nostrum Angliæ regnum vobis videbitur melius expedire, ad vos et coram vobis citandum et evocandum: contumacesque et rebelles, tam per censuras et pœnas ecclesiasticas, quam per mulctarum impositionem ac alia juris hujus regni nostri remedia coercendum et puniendum.

Causasque et negotia ecclesiastica hujusmodi cognoscendum, examinandum ac sine debito terminandum: et subditos hujusmodi rei per vos judicatæ stare et acquiescere cogendum et compellendum.

Resignationes insuper sive cessationes ecclesiarum, seu locorum et quascunque quorumcunque prædictorum factas sive faciendas recipiendum et admittendum.

Ecclesiasque et loca resignata, vacantia, et pro vacantibus habenda fore pronunciandum et declarandum: licentiasque ad tractandum et communicandum et concludendum de et super pensionibus et fructibus et emolumentis, necnon dictarum ecclesiarum et locorum commissorum assignandum: necnon de et super quâcunque permutatione fiendâ quibuscunque personis idoneis id petentibus concedendum. Pensionesque annuas congruas et moderatas, resignantibus hujusmodi, assignandum et limitandum: ecclesiasque et loca prædicta de et super pensionum hujusmodi solutione et præstatione onerandum et obligandum, ac decreta et summas in eâ parte necessarias seu requisitas ferendas et promulgandas.

Electionibus quoque prælatorum, qui per electionem hujusmodi assumi soleant quorumcunque interessendi et præsidendi,

eligendumque in eisdem dirigendum et informandum. Electiones insuper quascunque rite factas et celebratas, et personas electas sive eligendas confirmandum : ac aliter factas et celebratas cassandum ét annullandum, ac rite electos et confirmatos installandum seu installari faciendum.

Institutiones quoque et investituras in quibuscunque ecclesiis et locis prædictis pendenti visitatione nostrâ hujusmodi personis idoneis et rite præsentatis quibuscunque conferendum et concedendum, ac eas in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem ecclesiarum et locorum prædictorum inducendum seu sic induci faciendum atque mandandum, cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis.

Quæcunque insuper instrumenta, literasque tam testimoniales, quam mandatores et rescripta alia quæcunque in eâ parte necessaria, oportuna, &c.

Desunt cætera.

306 Number XXX. [p. 342.]

A letter written by the monks of Glastonbury, for the new founding of that abbey.

An original[51].

To the right honourable, the lord chamberlain to the queen's majesty.

Ex MSS. nob. illustr. com. de Huntingdon.

RIGHT honourable, in our most humble wise, your lordship's daily beadsmen, sometimes at[52] the house of Glassenbury, now here monks in Westmynster, with all due submission, we desire your honour to extend your accustomed virtue, as it hath been always heretofore propense to the honour of Almighty God, to the honourable service of the king and queen's majesty[53]; so it may please your good lordship again, for the honour of them, both of God and their majesties, to put the queen's highness in remembrance of her gracious promise, concerning the erection of the late monastery of Glassenbury; which promise of her grace hath been so by her majesty declared. That upon the same, we your lordship's daily beadsmen, understanding my lord cardinal's grace's pleasure to the same, by the procurement hereof[54], our reverend father abbot, hath[55] gotten out the

[51] [The editor has been unable to get a sight of the original letter, but fortunately there is an independent copy made by sir William Dugdale, which exists among the Harleian MSS. 3881. fol. 38 b; and has been printed at length in the first volume of the Monasticon Anglicanum, p. 9. This copy is evidently much more correct than that made by the author. Where there was any doubt whatever as to the reading, the author's text has been preserved, and the variation given at the foot of the page.]

[52] *sometime of*, Dugdale.

[53] *majesties*, Dugdale.

[54] *here of*, Dugdale.

[55] *have*, Dugdale.

particulars; and through a warrant from my lord treasurer, our friends there have builded, and bestowed much upon reparation: notwithstanding all now standeth at a stay; we think the cause[56] to be want of remembrance; which cannot so well be brought unto her majesty's understanding, as by your honourable lordship's favour and help. And considering your lordship's most godly disposition, we have a confidence thereof to solicit the same, assuring your lordship of our daily prayers[57] while we live, and of our successors' during the world, if it may so please your good lordship to take it in hand.

We ask nothing in gift to the foundation, but only the house and scite, the residue for the accustomed rent; so that with our labour and husbandry, we may live there a few of us in our religious habits, till the charity of good people may suffice a greater number: and the country there being so affected to our religion, we believe we should find much help amongst them, towards the reparations and furniture of the same; whereby we would happily prevent the ruin of much, and repair no little part of the whole, to God's honour, and for the better prosperity of the king and queen's majesties, with the whole realm; for, doubtless, if it shall please your good lordship, if there hath ever been any flagitious deed, since the creation of the world, punished with the plague of God, in our opinion the overthrow of Glassenbury may be compared to the same, not surrendered, as other, but extorted; the abbot preposterously[58] put to death, with two innocent virtuous monks with him; that if the thing were to be skanned by any university, or some learned councel in divinity, they would find it more dangerous than it is commonly taken: which might move the queen's majesty to the more speedy erection; namely, that[59] being an house of such antiquity, and of fame through all Christendom; first begun by St. Joseph of Arymathia, who took down the dead body of our Saviour Christ from the cross) and lieth buried in Glassenbury: and him most heartily we beseech with us[60], to pray unto Christ for

[56] *case*, Dugdale.
[57] *prayer*, Dugdale.
[58] *prepostly*, Dugdale.
[59] *it*, Dugdale.
[60] *beseech us*, Dugdale.

good success unto your honourable lordship, in all your lordship's affairs; and now especially[61] in this our most humble request, that we may shortly do the same in Glassenbury for the king and queen's majesties[62] as our founders, and for your good lordship, as a singular benefactor.

Your lordship's daily beadsmen of Westminster,

John Phagan.
John Nott[63].
William Adelwold.
William Kentwyne[64].

[61] *specially*, Dugdale.
[62] *majesty*, Dugdale.
[63] *Neott*, Dugdale.
[64] [Three of these names may be seen amongst the signatures to the acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy, viz. John Phagan, William Adelwold, and William Kentwyne. Whether the fourth name should be spelled Nott or Neott is doubtful. See the Second Appendix to the Deputy Keeper's Seventh Report.]

Number XXXI. [p. 344.]

A letter from sir Edward Carne from Rome, shewing how the pope dissembled with him concerning a general peace.

An original.

Ex chartophylac. regio.

PLEASETH it your most excellent majesty to be advertised, that Fraunces the post arrived here upon Corpus Christi day, with your majesty's most gracious letters, as well for the expedition of the bishoprics of Winchester and Chester, as also for his holiness beside; with your most gracious letters of the 30th of March to me: according to the purport whereof, I sued for audience at his holiness' hands, the next day following; whereof I had answer, that I should come to his holiness, the Saturday, viz. the sixth of this; and being with his holiness, after the delivery of your majesty's most gracious letters, with your majesty's humble commendations. After he had read your majesty's letter, in the presence of the most reverend lord cardinal Morono, he said, how much he was bound to that blessed queen, and most gracious and loving daughter, that had written to him so gratefully and humbly; saying, that he would keep that letter to be read openly in the consistory, before all the most reverend lords his brethren; and said, that he was much bound to his legate there, to make that good report of him to your majesty. Whereupon I declared unto him your majesty's pleasure, according to my instructions, with such thanks and congratulations as your pleasure was I should use to his holiness, with the rest of my instructions; leaving no part thereof undeclared and spoken: whereunto he said, that his affection to that blessed queen (making a cross upon your majesty's name contained in the letter) was not, neither 308
could be as much as the goodness of her majesty required; but this your majesty should be sure of, he said, that his good affection, and good will, should not only continue, but increase to the uttermost, to the satisfaction of your majesty in all that may lie in him.

And as touching the peace to be had perfectly, betwixt the emperor's majesty, and the king's most excellent majesty, and the French king, he was wounders glad to hear that your

majesty's furtherance should not want in helping to bring the truce, late concluded, to a perfect peace. And of his part, he said, that he sent two legats for that purpose, for his discharge towards God: or else, he said, if he should overpass, and not declare unto them the great necessity of the common-weal of all Christendom to have a perfect peace, God would impute his silence therein unto him, being appointed over his flock here as he is: for, he said, it is more than time to be doing therein, considering that the realm of Polonia doth so waver, that the king there nother can nor dare, being compassed with naughty sects round about him, do any thing against them. And likewise the king of Romaynes about him. They call daily upon his holiness for help. and some provision for amendment; which [fol. 1. b.] thing he cannot do without a general council, which, he said, cannot be well done, unless the said peace be made; for though there be an abstinence from war, yet the grudge of the doings heretofore, and the uncertainty of peace, will be an occasion to keep men of war, and the one shall be in mistrust of the other, in such sort, as the passages cannot be sure for those that should come to the said council: therefore he will travail, as much as is possible for him, to have a peace, without the which it will not be possible to do any good in the council. His holiness is minded to have the general council here in St. John Latarenense, and thinks it the most meetest place, for divers considerations which he declared; for it is the head church of Christendom, and there hath been divers times many wholesome and holy councils in times past. And for that this city is *communis patria*, and free to all the world to resort to freely, trusting that all necessaries shall come hither, both by sea and by land. And also forasmuch as in divers councils begun in times of his predecessors, little good could be done; and men thought that more good might have been done, if the pope had been present himself in the said councils; therefore his holiness would be present himself in this council; which he cannot, being in a manner decrepit for age, in case it were kept far here-hence; he not being able to travel for age, unless it be kept here, where he trusteth to be himself in person. And for to conclude this matter, in such sort as the necessity of Christendom requireth, he hath dispatched the two legates,

de latere suo, at this present, wherein he knoweth that your majesty may do more than any other, and doubteth not but your majesty will so do. Concluding that God hath preserved your majesty to help all the world; whereunto I said, That there should not want neither good will, nother any other thing that your majesty might do for the furtherance thereof.

As touching the provisions of Winchester and Chester, it shall be done with all the speed that may be. And his holiness hath promised all the favour that he can conveniently shew for 309
your majesty's sake: it must have somewhat a longer time, for that the process made there by my lord legate's grace, for to try the yearly value of Winchester, must be committed to certain cardinals, for to report in the consistory, before the new tax can be made; but there shall be no time lost, for it shall be diligently solicited.

Also concerning the pension to my lord cardinal's grace, of a thousand pounds sterling yearly, the pope his holiness will
[fol. 2.] assign it according to your majesty's pleasure; so that all shall be done therein with all the speed that may be, God willing; wherein the most reverend lord cardinal Morono, who rejoiceth much in your gracious letters sent to him, to his great comfort, doth travail, as he is most ready always, in all that toucheth your majesty, or any of your most noble realms.

As concerning the occurrents here, since my last letters of the fifteenth of the last, be none other, but that the cardinal de Carraffa, departed here-hence towards France, the nineteenth of the last, with divers antiquities to be presented to the French king. Some say here, that part of his charge is, to move the French king to take the dukedom of Paleano in his protection, as he hath Parma and Mirandula. There be a great number of workmen already gone to fortify Paleano, Neptuno, and Rocca del Papa; and certain captains appointed and gone thither also.

The legate to the emperor's majesty, and to the king's majesty, departed the 30th of the last.

The ambassador of Polonia is returned toward his master. His petition, as I am informed, to his holiness, was, to have license for priests to marry, and all lay-folk to receive the communion, *sub utrâque specie*, in the realm of Polonia, and certain desmes upon the clergy, to be spent against the Turke.

His answer, as I hear, was, in general, with relation of all such matters to the general council.

Also there came hither four ambassadors very honourably from the state of Janua, with the obedience of that state to his holiness: which ambassadors did visit me, declaring the good will, amity, and service, that the said state bare toward the king, and your most excellent majesties, desiring me advertise your majesty thereof.

The twenty-sixth of the last, the pope's holiness kept the anniversary of his coronation: I was warned to be at the chappel, by the officers appointed for that purpose. Also one of his holiness' gentlemen was sent to invite me to dine with his holiness that day. At my coming to the court, the ambassador of Portingall being there, at his holiness coming forth, would have kept the place, amongst all the ambassadors, from me, that I was wont to stand in, that is, next the French ambassador; and next to me would be the ambassador of Polonia. I came to the ambassador of Portingall, as gently as I could; and for that he would not give me my place, I took him by [fol. 2. b.] the shoulder, and removed him out of that place, saying, that it was your majesty's ambassador's place always. Beneath me he would not stand, neither next me he should not, for the ambassador of Polonia who claimed next to me; whereupon the Portingall went and complained to the duke of Paleano, who went straight to the pope; and after him went the said ambassador of Portingall to him himself. His holiness willed him to depart there-hence. He desired that I should depart likewise. And thereupon the duke came to me, saying, That the pope his pleasure was, I should depart also. I asked him, Why? He said, That his holiness, to avoid dissension, would have me to depart. I told him, I made no dissension; for if the other would keep his own place, and not to usurp upon the place that always the ambassadors of England, in times past, were wont to be in, he might be in quiet, and suffer me to be in quiet likewise, and not to seek that seemed him not. All this year he never sought it till now; why now, I cannot tell; but he may be sure he shall not have it of me, unless your majesty command it. Also the master of houshold with his holiness, said, That I was invited, and that Portingall was not, but came upon his own head.

I am much bound to the marquess of Saria, he was very angry with the Portingall, being his brother, to attempt any such thing against your majesty's ambassador; and send[64] to me, as soon as he heard of it. Indeed he was not there, I kept my place from him, sending him to keep his place in such sort, that all the ambassadors there thought it well done; and others that were indifferent said no less. I told the duke that I would not lose a jot of your msjesty's honour for no man. For it is the place for ambassadors of England, nigh a thousand years before there was any king in Portingall.

Other occurrents here be none. And thus I beseech Almighty God to conserve your most excellent majesty, in long and most prosperous life.

From Rome, the 9th of June, 1556.

Your majesty's most humble subject,
and poor servant,
Edward Carne.

[To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.]

[64] [A mistake of writing for *sent*.]

311 ## Number XXXII. [p. 311.]

A commission for a severer way of proceeding against heretics.

PHILIPPE and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, Spayne, Fraunce, both Sicills, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith; arch-dukes of Austria, dukes of Burgondy, Millayne, and Brabante; counts of Haspurge, Flaunders, and Tiroll. Rot. pat. in Dorso. Rot. 3. et 4. Phil. et Mar. 2. p. [m. 48.]

To the right reverend father in God, Edmond, bishop of London, and to the reverend father in God, our right trusty, and right well-beloved counsellor, Thomas bishop of Elye; and to our right trusty, and right well-beloved, William Wyndesor, knight, lord Wyndesor; Edward Northe, knight, lord Northe; and to our trusty and well-beloved counsellors, John Bourne knight, one of our chief secretaries; John Mordaunt knight, Frauncis Englefeld knight, master of our wards and liveries; Edward Walgrave knight, master of our great wardrobe; Nycholas Hare knight, master of the rolls in our court of chancery; and to our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Pope knight, Roger Cholmley knight, Richard Reade knight, Thomas Stradlynge knight, and Rouland Hyll knight, William Rastell serjeant at law; Henry Cole clerk, dean of Powles; Wylliam Roper, and Ranulph Cholmeley esquires; Wylliam Coke, Thomas Marten, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of law, greeting.

Forasmuch as divers devilish and clamorous persons have not only invented, bruited, and set forth divers false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies and heretical opinions; and set forth divers seditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to move, procure, and stir up divisions, strife, contentions and seditions, not only amongst our loving subjects, but

also betwixt us and our said subjects; with divers other outrageous misdemeanours, enormities, contempts, and offences daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people.

We minding and intending the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, have authorised, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners; and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses, and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and sundry [65] heresies, heretical opinions, Lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and of all false rumours, tales, seditious and clamorous words or sayings, raised, published, bruited, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us; or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, letters, tales, or otherwise, in any county, city, borough, or other place or places within this our realm of England, and elsewhere, in any place or places beyond the seas; and of the bringers in, users, buyers, sellers, 312 readers, keepers, or conveyors of any such letter, book, rumour, or tale; and of all and every their coadjutors, counsellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers; giving to you, and three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to search out, and take into your hands and possession, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, writings, wheresoever they, or any of them shall be found, as well in printers' honses and shops, as elsewhere; willing you, and every of you, to search for the same in all places, according to your discretions.

And also to enquire, hear, and determine, all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, misdemeanours and negligences, done, suffered, or committed, in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm.

And also for and concerning the taking away, or with-holding of any lands, tenements, goods, and ornaments, stocks of

[65] [This word is almost obliterated in the Patent Roll. It should perhaps be *singular*.]

money, or other things belonging to any of the same churches and chapels, and all accompts and reckonings concerning the same.

And also to enquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or come to their parish, or other convenient places, appointed for divine service; and all such as refuse to go in processions, to take holy water, or holy bread; or otherwise do misuse themselves in any church, or other hallowed place, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or hereafter shall be, committed within this our said realm.

Nevertheless our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as any person or persons hereafter to be called or convented before you, do obstinately persist or stand in any manner of heresy, or heretical opinions, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the same person, or persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws.

And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority to enquire and search out all vagabonds and masterless men, barretors, quarrellers, and suspect persons, vagrant, or abiding within our city of London, or ten miles compass of the same; and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city, and compass.

And further, to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages in whatsoever diocese the same be within this realm. Giving to you, and every three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdoms, consciences, and discretions; willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary; and upon enquiry, and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses, before you, or three of you, concerning the premises, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise; and

to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, shall be thought meet and convenient.

Further willing and commanding you, and every three of 313
you, in case you shall find any person or persons, obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment; or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things touching the premises, or any part thereof, to commit the same person or persons, so offending, to ward, there to remain, till they be by you, or three of you, enlarged and delivered.

And we give to you, and every three of you, full power and authority, by these presents, to take and receive, by your discretions, of every offender, or suspect person, to be convented or brought before you, a recognizance or recognizances, obligation or obligations to our use, of such sum or sums of money, as to you, or three of you, shall seem convenient, as well for the personal appearance before you of every such suspect person, or for the performance and accomplishment of your orders and decrees, in case you shall think so convenient, as for the sure and true payment of all and every such fine and fines, as shall hereafter be by you, or three of you, taxed or assessed upon any offender that shall be before you, or three of you, duly convinced, as is aforesaid, to our use, to be paid at such days and times, as by you, or three of you, shall be sealed, limited, or appointed: and you to certify every such recognizance, or obligation, as being taken for any fine, or fines, not fully and wholly paid before you, under your hands and seals, or the hands and seals of three of you, into our court of chancery, to the intent we may be thereof duly answered, as appertaineth.

And futhermore, we give to you, or three of you, full power and authority, by these presents, not only to call afore you all and every offender and offenders, and all and every suspect person and persons in any of the premises, but also all such, and so many witnesses as ye shall think meet to be called; and them, and every of them, to examine and compel to answer, and swear, upon the holy evangelists, to declare the truth in all such things, whereof they, or any of them shall be

examined, for the better trial, opening, and declaration of the premises, or of any part thereof.

And further, our will and pleasure is, that you, or three of you, shall name and appoint, one sufficient person to gather up and receive all such sums of money as shall be assessed or taxed by you, or three of you, for any fine or fines, upon any person or persons, for their offences; and you, or three of you, by bill, or bills, signed with your hands, shall, and may assign and appoint, as well to the said person for his pains in receiving the said sums, as also to your clerk, messengers, and attendants upon you, for their travail, pains and charge to be sustained for us about the premises, or any part thereof, such sum and sums of money for their rewards, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought expedient; Willing and commanding you, or three of you, after the time of this our commission expired, to certify into our exchequer, as well the name of the said receiver, as also a note of such fines as shall be set or taxed before you, to the intent, that upon the determination of the account of the same receiver, we may be answered of that that to us shall justly appertain; Willing and com-
314 manding also all our auditors, and other officers, upon the sight of the said bills, signed with the hands of you, or three of you, to make to the said receiver due allowance, according to the said bills upon his account.

Wherefore we will and command you, our said commissioners, with diligence to execute the premises, with effect: any of our laws, statutes, proclamations, or other grants, privileges, or ordinances, which be, or may seem to be contrary to the premises, notwithstanding.

And moreover, we will and command, all and singular justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our officers, ministers, and faithful subjects, to be aiding, helping, and assisting you, at your commandment, in the due execution hereof, as they tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their utmost perils.

And we will and grant, that these our letters patents shall be a sufficient warrant and discharge for you, and every[66] you, against us, our heirs and successors; and all, and every other

[66] [*of* is omitted by accident.]

person or persons whatsoever they be, of, for, or concerning the premises, or any parcel thereof, or for the execution of this our commission or any part thereof.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents, and to continue and endure for one whole year next coming after the date hereof.

Witness ourself at Westminster, the eighth day of February, the third and fourth years of our reigns.

Number XXXIII. [p. 314.]

A letter writ by the council, expressing their jealousies of the lady Elizabeth. An original.

Cotton lib. Titus B. ii. [fol. 159*.]

MR. POPE, after our very hearty commendations, ye shall understand, that amongst divers other devilish practices, attempted from time to time, by Dudley Asheton, and other traitors in Fraunce, for the disturbance of the quiet of the realm; they have now lately sent over one Cleyberye, who[67] (if I the lord chancellor be not deceived in the man) was, whilst I was president in Wales, indicted of a burglary, and should have been, if he had not escaped by the means of certain his complices, who took him from the sheriff's man, as well for the said burglary, as for divers other notable robberies, and other offences, made sure enough from attempting this enterprize now. This man being sent by the said traitors into the extreme parts of Essex and Suffolk; where naming himself to be earl of Devonshier, he hath by spreading abroad of slanderous letters and proclamations, abused the lady Elizabeth's grace's name; procuring thereby, as much as in him lay, to stir the king's and queen's majesties' subjects in those parts to rebellion, as by the copies of the said letters and proclamations, which we send unto you herewith, may at better length appear unto you. And albeit the people there
315 have shewed themselves so true and obedient subjects, as immediately upon the understanding of this enterprize, they did of themselves, without any commandment, apprehend as many of the tempters of this devilish practice as they could come by, whereby their good-will and truth to the king's and queen's majesties doth well appear; yet because this matter is spread already abroad, and that peradventure many constructions and discourses may be made thereof, we have thought meet to signify the whole circumstance of the cause unto you, to be by you opened unto the lady Elizabethes grace, at such time as

[67] [From *who* to *traitors* appears to have been intended to be erased.]

ye shall think convenient; to the end it may appear unto her how little these men stick, by falsehood and untruth, to compass their purpose; not letting, for that intent, to abuse the name of her grace, or any other: which their devices nevertheless are (God be thanked) by his goodness discovered from time to time to their majesties' preservation, and confusion of their enemies. And so we bid you heartily well to fare.

From Eltham, the 30th of July, 1556.

Your loving friends,

Nico. Ebor. Canc.

Arundell.

Thomas Ely. R. Rochester.

Henry Jernegan.

Number XXXIV. [p. 315.]

A letter from sir Edward Carne, concerning the suspension of cardinal Pole's legatine power. An original.

PLEASETH it your most excellent majesties, according as I advertised your highnesses in my letters of the 8th of this; so I have informed all the cardinals that be here of the congregation of the inquisition, as the most reverend lord cardinal Morono advised me, informing them of the good proceedings and reformations made there by the most reverend lord cardinal's grace there, as well in *clero* as in *populo;* not only in things pertaining *ad cultum Dei,* but also in other, pertaining to the common-weal of Christ's church, in such sort as Christ's religion doth so prosper there, that there is good hope all things should come to their perfection in time. And for that purpose his grace had called there a synod of the clergy of the realm, where many good ordinances, for the maintenance of the premises been past already; and many ready in hand for to pass, and not fully ended nor perfected: which should be staid, in case the legacy should be there-hence revoked, which might turn to the great danger and damage of many in that your majesty's realm, in case due reformation throughout and
316 perfectly were not made: therefore I desired them, that when the matter were moved amongst them, so to weigh it, as such a good beginning, that through your majesty's goodness hath been there, be not brought by their doings here, into no worse terms, than your majesties, with no little pain, have always travailed to bring it unto: adding besides divers cases that daily might fall, which could not be holpen without the authority of this see: and that men newly reduced to the unity of the church, would rather stand in their naughty doings, whose examples might be noisome to many, than repair hither for any help; but having the legate there, would gladly seek help at his hands being present amongst them.

Ex chartophylac. regio.

And likewise for reduction of your majesty's realm of Ireland to the unity of the church, which whether it were past or no, I doubted, and ended throughly: and if it were, yet were it most expedient that there should be reformation, as well in *clero* as in *populo;* which could not well be, in case the legacy continue not there. This is the effect of the points that I informed them upon, who all thought it most expedient, that the legacy should continue there, and would not fail to stay, as much as might lie in them, for these considerations above rehearsed; and thought, being of such importance, that if my lord's grace were not there already, it were most expedient that he should be sent thither, rather than to be revoked; and hereof, as well cardinal Morono, as all the other, would needs I should move his holiness.

Whereupon the 12th of this, I went to the pope himself, upon pretence to give him thanks for the provision of the church of Chechester, and of the most gracious and honourable report that he made in the consistory the same time, of your highness my sovereign lady the queen; where his holiness declared so much goodness and virtue of your majesty, that he, and his see, could not, he said, shew so much favour to any
[fol. 2.] of yours, as the same required. As undoubtedly, as far as I could hear, he doth, whensoever he hath occasion to speak of your majesty, so reverently as more could not be; who prevented me, and said, that he was glad that I was come unto him, and trusted that God had sent me thither: for there had been with him, the day before, cardinal Pacheco, who shewed him of the good inclination of your majesty, my sovereign lord, to have peace with him and the church. And that also he had received a letter from the most reverend lord cardinal's grace there-hence, who had spoken with your majesty, and found the same so well inclined to have peace with his holiness, as might be desired; which his holiness said he liked very well, and held up his hands, beseeching Almighty God to continue your majesty in that good mind. And then he began to declare, how that God provided, and always confirmed you, the queen's majesty, not only to do good to that realm, but to all Christendom also; in whom his holiness had such hope, that the same will so help with the king's majesty, that peace may follow betwixt the church and him: and he of his part coveted

nothing more, as it should appear, if the king's majesty would treat of it; Yea, he said, though he should sustain great damage thereby, he will win his majesty if he can.

And where his majesty is informed, that his holiness would hear none of those that were sent to him from his majesty, as
317 Francisco Pacheco, and one citizen of Naples; he said, that he never heard that either the said Francisco, or the said citizen, had any letter or word to him from his majesty; if they had had, he, as he said, who giveth audience daily to as many as do seek it at his hands, without denial, would have heard them, or any that had been sent from his highness; and this, he said, all that be about him can testify, and called God to record of it. And yet, he said, that the king's majesty is informed of the contrary; whereupon, he said, that his majesty was brought in belief, that it was sufficient for his highness to offer himself to be heard, and seeing he could not, he was discharged towards God, and so lay the fault in his holiness; from the which error, so his holiness named it, he would and wished that his majesty should be brought: for his holiness caused to be enquired of them, whether they had any letters, or any thing to say of his majesty's behalf to him, and could hear of none; wherefore his holiness desired me to write to your majesty, and to signify the same to your highness; and of his holiness behalf, to pray you to advertise the king's ma- [fol. 3.]
jesty, that therein was no lack of his holiness: saying, If his majesty had sent to him, he would have gladly heard him; or if it may please his majesty yet to send, no man will be more glad thereof than he: and said further, that God, who had called him to that place, knew that he always hath been of mind to have a general council for a reformation throughout Christendom, and in such place as had been meet for it; and doubted not, but that he would have seen Christendom in such order, that such enormities as do reign in many parts should have been reformed, if these wars had not troubled him: saying therewith, that the power of the church is not hable to maintain wars of it self, but that God had provided aid elsewhere; but if he can have peace, he will embrace it, he said, though it were to his loss. And prayed me to desire your majesty, of his behalf, to put to your good help towards it. To whom after thanks first given to his holiness for the said

good opinion that he had of your majesty, and also of the provision made of the said church of Chechester, I said, that I was glad to hear of that good inclination of his holiness to peace; and said, that I would gladly signify to you, the queen's majesty, according to his holiness' pleasure: and that I had heard of divers, that his holiness would not give audience to, such as you my sovereign lord had sent to him; whereof I was sorry, and yet nevertheless trusted that betwixt his holiness and your majesty, should be as great amity as appertaineth; and had not so good hope thereof, sythens this war began, as now hearing his holiness to be so well inclined to it; not doubting but all the world should perceive no lack of your majesty's behalf, as far as any reason required.

Whether this be done for a practice to please, lest any stir be there against the Frenchmen, which is most feared here, I am not hable to say, for there lacketh no practice in this court that they think may serve for their purpose. The truth is, that there is jarring betwixt the pope and the French now; with whom the pope is nothing contented, nother they with him, as it is credibly reported here. All the Italians that the pope had in the French camp be all gone; the Frenche handled them very ill and vilely, and especially Don Antonio de Car- 318
raffa the pope's nephew: so that it is thought here, that the
[fol. 4.] pope will turn the leaf, if any were here of your behalf, the king's majesty's, that had authority to treat with his holiness: and if it please your majesty to send any hither for that purpose, by the opinion of all your majesty's well-willers here, there can come but good of it.

After this communication, I lamented to his holiness greatly of one thing, that I had heard his holiness pretended to do: and forasmuch as your majesty had placed me here with his holiness, and that the case was such, that it touched the maintenance of the common-wealth of Christen religion within your majesty's realms there, so much, that of duty I could do no less but open it to his holiness, trusting that the same, who had always shewed himself most ready, with all benignity, to do for you, the queen's majesty, and your realm, would so continue still: which thing was, I said, That his holiness would revoke his legate there, which should be too great a prejudice to the church of that realm, to be done before all

things were throughly stablished there, and opened unto his holiness all the considerations before rehearsed, whereof I had informed the cardinals in as ample manner as I could. Then, he said, that there was nothing that he could do for you, the queen's majesty, or your said realm, but he would do it most gladly, unless occasion should be given therehence that he might not. And as touching the revocation of the legate in Englande, he said, That it was done already, and not for to prejudice any thing within that realm, but only for because, it was not convenient that any legate of his should be within any of the king's majesty's realms or dominions; and therefore he revoked his nuncios from Naples, from Spayne, and all other parts of the king's majesty's realms and dominions, and of England therefore: nevertheless, he said, if you the queen's majesty would write to him, for the continuance of his legate there, he would restore him to his former authority, or any thing else that your majesty should think expedient for him to do. Then, I said, it would be long time before answer can come from England hither; and if his revocation should be once known in England, what would come of it, I doubted. Therefore I besought his holiness not to suffer it to pass, for if it be once known abroad, it shall be a great comfort to the wicked, and discomfort to the good, whereby many inconveniences might ensue. Then, he said, that that is done, cannot [fol. 4.] be undone. I said, that his holiness had not so far gone in his decree, but that he might moderate it, that it needed not to extend to England. And then I told him, that he had shewed me, that in all his proceedings, he would have your majesty's realm of England separated from all other the king's majesty's realms, and now had set it as far further as any of the other; therefore, I said, his holiness should consider it, and that the decree in no wise should extend thither. Then, he said, that it could not stand with the majesty of the place that he sat in, to revoke any part of the decree solemnly given in the consistory, in the presence of all the cardinals. I said, that his holiness, with his honour, might well do it: considering, that when he gave the decree, he was not informed of such
319 inconveniences that might ensue thereof; and now being informed by me, his holiness had not only a just cause to revoke it, but also of congruence ought to do so; considering that his

holiness had the cure of all men's souls: and if any inconvenience should follow through his holiness' doings, it could not be chosen but his holiness must answer for it; where his holiness suffering all things to proceed in his due course, as it hath been begun, all dangers that hath been before rehearsed might be avoided; therefore now his holiness had a good cause to stay his decree in that behalf: all which he took in good part, and said thus, I must needs do for that realm what I can, and therefore to-morrow is the congregation of the inquisition, and then the matter shall be proponed, where, he said, he would do what he could; and willed me to resort to the cardinal of St. Jacobo to inform him, that he might propone it there. I said, I would; indeed I had been with the said cardinal before, and had informed him fully; nevertheless I went to him again, to shew him the pope's pleasure therein; who said, that he would do his duty therein. Indeed that matter occupied the pope and the cardinals all that congregation time. The next morrow, as the cardinals said, the conclusion was, that the pope would make answer to me himself. Indeed he thought to take counsel of the said congregation, before I had been with him about the same decree, but not to revoke any part thereof, but to have their advice in framing of it. So that if I [fol. 5.] had not gone to him, the decree had gone forth, with the intimation thereof, and the inhibition; but being with his holiness this evening, to know what was to be had herein; his holiness, after a long oration, in commendation of you the queen's majesty, he said, that in case your most excellent majesty would write to him for the continuance of his legate, for such causes as shall seem good to the same, the legate to be yet expedient there, he would appoint my lord's grace there to continue, but he could in no wise revoke his decree made in open consistory. I laid many things that his holiness might do it, and that divers of his predecessors had done it, upon causes before not known; with divers examples that I shewed him in law; that at the last, he said plainly, he would not revoke his decree; but for because of my suit, he said he was content to stay, and to go no further till your majesty's letters do come; and charged the datary, and his secretary Beringo, that they send forth no intimation of his decree of the said revocation, without his special commandment; where-else he said, the

intimation had been sent forth with an inhibition also: and so all is stayed, that nothing here-hence shall go forth till your pleasure, the queen's majesty, be known therein; which the pope doth look for: until which intimation, the legacy there doth continue.

Occurrents here be no other, but that the 10th of this, the late made duke of Paleano departed here-hence toward the duke of Guyes' camp, which doth lie yet in the siege of Civitella, within your majesty's realm of Naples. They that seem to bear their good wills here toward your majesty, do say here, that they may lie there long before they take it, for they cannot hurt it much with battery. And they say, the counts de Sancto Flore, and and[66] de Sarme, be within the town with two thousand soldiers; many of the Frenchmen be slain there. Nevertheless, other do say, that it standeth in danger of taking; for because the Frenchmen hath gotten a hill, from the which
320 they do beat sore into the town, and have withdrawn certain waters from them of the town, and do undermine it: the most part here thinketh that they shall lose their labour, for it is very strong.

The galleys of Marcelles arrived at Civita Veche, six or seven [fol. 6.] days past, and brought twelve ensigns more of French soldiers to reinforce the French army; and as far as I can learn, they return again to fetch more, always to refresh their camp with fresh soldiers, in the lieu of such as be perished: of the which twelve ensigns, the French ambassador here chose out three, which he hath sent to the duke of Guyes, well furnished; the rest he discharged, but all the other that came, be gone to the camp, to such captains as will retain them there, for such of the other as be slain, or otherwise perished. Don Antonio de Carraffa doth not as yet return to the camp, nother intendeth to go as I hear. I hear say, that the duke of Alva was within sixteen miles of the Frenchmen, with a great army of horsemen and footmen. What he doth is not spoken of here, for there is none that can pass to them, or from them hither; there is such strait keeping, and dangerous passing.

Here be ill news from Peymont, for they say here that the Frenchmen in those parts have taken Cherasto, a very strong town in Peymont, which I trust be not true. The common

[66] [The word *and* is accidentally repeated.]

report is here, that if the Frenchmen be not withstanded in time, they will do much hurt in Italye.

The pope doth set forth a bull for money, that one of every hundred shall be paid of the value of all the lands that been within the church's dominions, which they say will draw to two or three millions, if it be paid.

And having no other at this present, I beseech Almighty God to conserve both your most excellent majesties, in long and most prosperous life together.

From Rome, the 15th of May, 1557.

Your majesties' most humble
subject, and poor servant,
Edward Carne.

[To the kinge and the queen's most excellent majestie.]

321 ## Number XXXV. [p. 321.]

The appeal of Henry Chichely, arch-bishop of Canterbury, to a general council from the pope's sentence.

IN DEI NOMINE Amen.

Per præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod anno ab incarnacione Domini secundum cursum et computationem ecclesiæ Anglcanæ 1427. indictione quintâ pontificatûs sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Martini, divinâ providentia papæ quinti, anno decimo, mensis vero Aprilis die sexto; reverendissimus in Christo pater et dominus, dominus Henricus Dei gratiâ Cantuariensis archiepiscopus totius Angliæ primas, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, in capellâ majori manerii sui de Ford Cantuariensis diocesecos personaliter existens, mihi notario publico, et testibus infra scriptis præsentibus, quandam appellationem in scriptis redactam fecit, legit et interposuit, ac appellavit sub eo, qui sequitur, tenore verborum. Ex MS. D. G. Petyt. [No 538. vol. lv. fol. 88.]

IN DEI NOMINE. Amen.

Coram vobis autenticâ personâ et testibus hic præsentibus, ego Henricus dictus C. permissione divinâ Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et apostolicæ sedis legatus, dico, allego, et in hiis scriptis propono, quod fui et sum ecclesiam sanctam Cantuariensem cum jure legationis natæ, prærogativis, consuetudinibus, compositionibus, aliisque jurisdictionibus, juribus, libertatibus, et pertinentiis suis universis canonice assecutus, ipsamque sic assecutam nonnulla tempora pacifice et inconcusse possedi, prout sic possideo de præsenti; fuique et sum ecclesiæ Romanæ, et sedis apostolicæ obedientiæ, filius catholicus, ac jurium et libertatum dictarum ecclesiæ et sedis

juxta posse, assiduus defensor, et promotor; integri statûs bonæ famæ et opinionis illæsæ et in possessione eorundem existens, nullisque suspensionis, aut excommunicationis, seu irregularitatis, aut interdicti sententiâ vel sententiis innodatus: quodque ex parte mei Henrici archiepiscopi prædicti in possessione præmissorum omnium, et quasi ex verisimilibus conjecturis ac communicationibus quampluribus mihi et ecclesiæ meæ, ac juri legationis, prærogativis, consuetudinibus, compositionibus, jurisdictionibus, juribus, libertatibus, et pertinentiis ecclesiæ Cantuariensis prædictæ factis, circa præmissa et eorum singula grave posse præjudicium generari; ne sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster dominus Martinus, divinâ providentiâ papa quintus, vel quivis alius quâvis auctoritate, vice vel mandato, scienter vel ignoranter ad sinistram vel minus veram suggestionem, aut informationem emulorum personæ, dignitatis aut ecclesiæ meæ (quod absit) me non vocato, legitimeve prænonito, causæ cognitione et juris, justitiæque ordine prætermisso, in præjudicium statûs mei, dignitatis, legationis, prærogativæ, consuetudinum, compositionum, jurisdictionum, jurium, libertatum et pertinentium jure metropolitico, vel alias dictam ecclesiam meam Cantuariensem et me ejus nomine concernentium quicquam attemptet, seu faciat aliqualiter attemptari, citando, monendo, mandando, inhibendo, decernendo, suspendendo, interdicendo, excommunicando, privando, sequestrando, pronunciando, diffiniendo, et declarando, seu quovis alio modo gravando; ad sacrosanctum consilium 322
generale facientes, constituentes et repræsentantes, facturos, constituturos et representaturos, si ipsum celebrari contigerit, et in defectum ipsius consilii tenendi, et celebrandi, ad tribunal Dei omnipotentiset Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus idem sanctissimus pater, commissarius et vicarius existit in terris, in hiis scriptis ob et ad tuitionem, protectionem et defensionem omnium, et singulorum præmissorum fuerit et sit legitime provocatum.

Sanctissimus tamen in Christo pater, et dominus noster, dominus Martinus divinâ providentiâ hujus nominis papa quintus asserens, ut dictâ fide dignorum relatione, ad suum pervenisse auditum, quod ego, qui ad defensionem, obedientiam jurium, et honorem sedis apostolicæ in provinciâ Cantuariensi legatus natus sum, propter emolumenta ecclesiastica provenien-

tia ex ecclesiis cathedralibus totius regni Angliæ tempore vacationum earundem, quæ ex quâdam (ut me asserere dicit) consuetudine usibus meis applicare dinoscor ad resistendum provisionibus apostolicis de ecclesiis hujusmodi cathedralibus sum proclivior, et quod jura et honorem sedis apostolicæ non defendo nec protego, immo potius impugno, et impugnantibus assisto, in animæ meæ periculum, prædictæ sedis contemptum, dictarumque ecclesiarum cathedralium præjudicium et scandalum plurimorum;

Cum tamen, (suæ benedictionis beatitudinis reverentiâ semper salvâ) nulla horum quæ sic mihi inpinguntur sint vera, sed notorie minus vera, post et contra præmissam provocationem per me factam, me a legatione dictæ sedis, necnon ab omni jurisdictione, superioritate, potestate sive dominio percipiendi emolumenta ecclesiastica, aliarum ecclesiarum cathedralium dicti regni usque ad beneplacitum suum, et sedis apostolicæ [fol. 89.] auctoritate apostolicâ et ex certâ scientiâ (ut asserit) nullatenus in eâ parte monitum, citatum, convictum vel confessum, sed absentem, non per contumaciam, causæ cognitione juris et judiciorum ac justitiæ ordine in omnibus prætermisso, voluntarie et nimis præpropere duxerit suspendendum, hiisque non contentus, sed gravamina accumulans mihi in virtute obedientiæ nihilominus injunxerit, ne de legatione sedis apostolicæ prædictæ, necnon jurisdictione, superioritate, potestate, et dominio percipiendi emolumenta hujusmodi tempore vacationum ecclesiarum prædictarum per me vel per alium, seu alios quosvis quæsito ingenio, vel colore de cætero quomodolibet me intromittam: et insuper jurisdictionem, superioritatem, potestatem, et dominium dictarum ecclesiarum cathedralium tempore illarum vacationum ad capitula singularum ecclesiarum devolvi voluit, singulos processus, necnon excommunicationis suspencionis et interdicti sententias, et alias pœnas ac censuras ecclesiasticas, si quas per me vel alium seu alios contra capitula ecclesiarum cathedralium præfatarum, aut alias personas quascunque occasione consuetudinis memoratæ, aut legationis, officii (dicto durante beneplacito) ferri contigerit quomodolibet, vel haberi, irritos et inanes decrevit, (salvâ semper suæ sanctitatis reverentiâ in omnibus) minus juste in personæ meæ, statûs, dignitatis, juris, legationis natæ, prerogativæ, consuetudinum, compositionum, jurisdictionum, jurium, libertatum et pertinentiarum

prædictarum, necnon ecclesiæ meæ Cantuariensis prædictæ præjudicium non modicum et gravamen.

Unde ego Henricus dictus C. Cantuariæ, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus pro prædictis sentiens me, statum, dignitatem, et ecclesiam meam prædictam ex omnibus et singulis gravaminibus prædictis, nimium prægravari, et prægravatum ab eisdem om- 323
nibus et singulis, et hiis, quæ eorum et cujuslibet eorum occasione colligi poterunt, aut debebunt; ac sacrosanctum consilium generale, universalem ecclesiam repræsentans, et ad personas et status concilium generale facientes, constituentes et repræsentantes, facturos, constituturos et representaturos; et ad ipsum concilium generale proxime celebrandum, ubicuncque ipsum celebrari contigerit, et defectu ipsius consilii tenendi et celebrandi, ad tribunal Dei omnipotentis, et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus idem sanctissimus pater commissarius et vicarius existit in terris, appello; et apostolos peto instanter, instantius et instantissime mibi dari, liberari et fieri cum effectu: et juro ad hæc sancta Dei evangelia per me corporaliter tacta, quod non sunt decem dies plene elapsi, ex quo mihi certitudinaliter primo constabat de graviminibus antedictis; quodque nescio certitudinaliter ubi invenirem dictum sanctissimum dominum nostrum ad notificandum eidem appellationem prædictam, quatenus de jure notificanda est infra tempus a parte juris limitatum: et protestor me velle dictam appellationem meam corrigere et emendare, eidem addere et ab eâdem detrahere, ac eam omnibus, quorum interest notificare et intimare pro loco et tempore opportunis totiens, quotiens mihi expediens fuerit, juris beneficio in omnibus semper salvo.

Super quibus idem reverendissimus pater et dominus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis me notarium publicum subscriptum requisivit, sibi unum vel plura conficere instrumentum vel instrumenta.

Acta sunt hæc omnia prout superscribuntur et recitantur sub anno Domini, indictione, pontificatûs, mense, die, et loco prædictis; præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus, et discretis viris M. W. Lyn curiæ Cantuariensis officii, et Thomâ B. archidiacono Sanctarum in ecclesiâ Lincolniensi utriusque juris doctoribus.

In Dei, &c.

Coram vobis, &c.

Ego Henricus dictus C. &c.

Unde ego H. dictus C. &c., sentiens me, statum, dignitatem et ecclesiam meam prædictam, ex omnibus et singulis gravaminibus prædictis nimium prægravari, et prægravatum, ab eisdem omnibus et singulis gravaminibus prædictis et hiis, quæ eorum et cujuslibet eorum occasione colligi poterunt aut debebunt, ad dictum sanctissimum dominum nostrum, et sedem apostolicam melius informandum, et informandam, appello et apostolos peto instanter, instantius et instantissime mihi dari, liberari, et fieri cum effectu, &c.

Number XXXVI. [p. 324.] 324

Instructions sent by the privy council, representing the state of the nation of king Philip, after the loss of Calais.

First, to say,

Cotton lib. Titus B. ii. [Art. 62. ?]

THAT we be most bounden unto his majesty for his good affection towards this realm; and his gracious disposition and offer, to put this force to the field this year, being else otherwise determined for the recovery of that honour and reputation, which this realm hath lost by the loss of Calais.

To say, that this offer of his majesty we should not only have, upon our knees, accepted, but also in like-wise have sued first for the same.

And so undoubtedly we would have done, if other respects hereafter following, which we trust his majesty will graciously understand, had not been (to our great regret) the lett thereof.

First; We do consider, that if we should send over an army, we cannot send under twenty thousand men; the levying, and sending over whereof, will ask a time; before which time, considering also the time the enemy hath had (being now almost a month) to fortify and victual the place, it is thought the same will be in such strength, as we shall not be able alone to recover it.

We do consider how unapt and unwonted our people be to lie abroad, and specially in the cold: and what inconveniency might follow also at their hands, (besides the loss of charges) if their hope for recovery of Calais should not come to pass.

The charge of this army (if it should go over) would stand the realm in one hundred and seventy thousand pounds at the least, for five months; which sum (having regard to other necessary charges for the defence of the realm, both by land and by sea, which the people only have in their heads, with a wan hope of the recovery of Calais) neither we doubt will be granted of the people; nor if it were, can be conveniently levied in time to serve the turn.

Great garrisons continually, and an army for defence against the Scots and Frenchmen by land, must of necessity be maintained, the charge whereof will be one way and another (go the next way we can) e're the year go about, an hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

The defence of the sea-coast, and the isles, and the setting forth of an army by sea, will cost the realm in a year (all things accounted) above two hundred thousand pounds; and yet all will be too little that way, if the Danes and the Swedes, which we very much doubt, should be our enemies.

The sums amounting in the whole to five hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides provision of ammunition, which will be chargeable; and furniture of ordnance, whereof we have great lack, by the loss of Calais and Guisnes.

325 We see not how it can be levied in one year to save us, unless the people should of new have strange impositions set upon them, which we think they would not bear.

The queen's majesty's own revenue is scarce able to maintain her estate.

The noblemen and gentlemen, for the most part receiving no more rent than they were wont to receive, and paying thrice as much for every thing they provide, by reason of the baseness of the money, are not able to do as they have done in times past.

The merchants have had great losses of late, whereby the clothiers be never the richer.

The farmers, grasiers, and other people, how well-willing soever they be taken to be, will not be acknown of their wealth, and by the miscontentment of this loss, be grown stubborn and liberal of talk.

So that considering our wants on every side, our lack of money at home; our want of credit, by reason of this loss abroad; the scarcity of captains and leaders of our men, which be but few; the unwillingness of our people to go abroad, and leave their things at home, without a certain hope of recovering their loss; the need we have to defend home, (looking as we do to be assaulted both by land and by sea,) how desirous soever we be to recover Calais, and well-willing to serve his majesty, (either for that purpose, or in any other thing wherein it shall please him to employ us) we see not how we can pos-

sibly (at the least, for this year) send over an army; nor until we may be assured of fewer enemies than we fear to have cause to doubt; and have time to bring such as be ill men amongst our people, and now be ready (against their duties) to make uproars and stirs amongst our selves, to order and obedience.

Wherefore, in most humble wise, upon our knees, we shall beseech the king's majesty to accept, in gracious part, this our answer, which we make much against our hearts, if we might otherwise choose. And as for our own persons, we shall bestow, with all that ever we have, to the death, where and however it shall please him, submitting ourselves to his majesty's judgment in this matter, and to the execution and doing of that whatsoever, either his majesty, or any other man, shall devise to be done, better than we have said in this answer, and more for the honour and surety of their majesties, and commonwealth of this their realm. Feb. 1. 1557[67].

[67] [There can be little doubt from the date of this paper, that it was originally Art. 62 of the volume in the Cotton Library, to which the author refers. The leaf has disappeared, and the editor has found no other copy to correct it by.]

Number XXXVII. [p. 325.]

Sir Thomas Pope's letter[68]*, concerning the answer made by the lady Elizabeth, to a proposition of marriage, sent over by the elected king of Sweden.*

[*The lady Elizabeth her grace's answer made at Hatfeild the 26th of April,* 1558, *to sir Thomas Pope, knight, being sent from the Queen's majesty to the same*[69] *to understand how her grace liked of the motion of the*[70] *marriage made by the king elect of Swethlandes messenger.*]

Ex MS. D.G. Petyt. [No. 538. vol. 49. fol. 36. b. a copy.]

FIRST, After I had declared to her grace how well the queen's majesty liked of her prudent and honourable answer made to the said messenger; I then opened unto her grace the effect of the said messenger's credence; which after her grace had heard, I said, the queen's highness hath sent me to her grace, not only to declare the same, but also to understand how her grace liked the said motion.

Whereunto, after a little pause taken, her grace answered in form following.

Mr. Pope, I require you, after my most humble commendations to the queen's majesty, to render unto the same[71] like [fol. 37.] thanks, that it pleased her highness, of her goodness, to conceive so well of my answer made to the same messenger, and there withal, of her princely consideration, with such speed to command you, by your letters, to signify the same unto me; who before remained wonderfully perplexed, fearing that[72]

[68] [This document has been corrected from the copy from which the author printed it. The variations at the foot of the page are those of the copy in the Harleian Collection, No. 444, Art. 7, fol. 28. There is another copy in the Cotton Collection, Vitell. C. xvi. fol. 333, and it has been printed in Somers' Tracts, Vol. I. p. 57. This copy agrees very closely, but not entirely, with that in the Harleian Collection.

[69] *to the same,* om. Harl.

[70] *the,* om. Harl.

[71] *unto her,* Harl.

[72] *lest,* Harl.

her majesty might mistake the same; for which her goodness, I acknowledge[73] myself bound to honour, serve, love, and obey[74] her highness, during my life: requiring you also to say unto her majesty, that in the king, my brother's time, there was offered me a very honourable marriage or two, and ambassadors sent to treat with me touching the same; whereupon I made my humble suit unto his highness, as some of honour yet living can be testimonies[75], that it[76] would like the same to give me leave, with his grace's favour, to remain in that estate I was, which of all others best liked and pleased me. And in good faith, I pray you say unto her highness, I am even at this present of the same mind, and so intend to continue, with her majesty's favour; and assuring her highness, I so well like this estate, as I persuade myself[77] there is not any kind of life comparable unto it.

And as concerning my liking the said motion[78] made by the said messenger, I beseech you say unto her majesty, that to my remembrance, I never heard of his master before this time; and that I so well like[79], both the message and the messenger, as I shall most humbly pray God, upon my knees, that from henceforth I never hear of the one nor of the other; assuring you, that[80] if it[81] should eft-soons repair unto[82] me, I would forbear to speak to[83] him. And were there nothing else to move me to mislike the motion, other than that his master would attempt the same, without making the queen's majesty privy thereunto, it were cause sufficient.

And when her grace had thus ended, I was so bold as of my self to say unto her grace, (her pardon first required,) that I thought few or none would believe, but that her grace could be right-well contented[84] to marry, so there were some honourable marriage offered her by the queen's highness, on[85] her majesty's assent. Whereunto her grace answered;

What I shall do hereafter I know not, but I assure you, upon my truth and fidelity, and as God be merciful unto me, I

[73] *recognize*, Harl.
[74] *love, obey, and serve*, Harl.
[75] *bear testimony*, Harl.
[76] *he*, Harl.
[77] *unto myself*, Harl.
[78] *of the motion*, Harl.
[79] *liked*, Harl.
[80] *that*, om. Harl.
[81] *he*, Harl.
[82] *to*, Harl.
[83] *with*, Harl.
[84] *content*, H.
[85] *by*, Harl.

am not at this time[86] otherwise minded than I have declared unto you, no, though I were offered the greatest prince in[87] all Europe.

And yet percase the queen's majesty may conceive this my answer rather to proceed of a maidenly shamefastness, than upon any such certain determination.

Tho.[88] Pope.

[86] *present,* Harl. [87] *of,* Harl. [88] *Thomas,* Harl.

COLLECTION

OF

RECORDS, &c.

BOOK III.

Number I[1]. [p. 327.]

A copy of the device for alteration of religion in[2] *the first year of queen Elizabeth.*

[*Out of a book of sir Thomas Smithe.*]

1. *When*[3] *the queen's higness may attempt to reduce the church of England again to the former purity, and when to begin the alteration.*

To the First.

At the next parliament; so that the dangers be foreseen, and Ex MSS. Nob. D. Grey de Ruthen. [vol. xxxix. fol. 141.]

[1] [The MS. from which the author printed this document, and from which it has been corrected by the editor, is a badly executed contemporary copy by an unknown hand. It is endorsed, 'A device for alteration of religion, primo reg. Eliz.' It can in no sense be called an original, though probably the copy in sir Thomas Smith's book from which it was taken, may be so considered. Strype may possibly have seen this copy as in the observations and corrections sent by him to the author, several alterations were proposed; but he must have read the paper very carelessly, as he omitted to notice the great majority of Burnet's mistakes, and his own proposals are rather guesses than true corrections. He afterwards printed the whole device at length from a more correct copy in the Cotton Library, and it seems not improbable that the alterations sent by him to the author were taken from this copy and sent as corrections of the most palpable blunders, notice of smaller mistakes being designedly omitted. The various readings of the copy from which Strype printed are added in brackets at the foot of the page. The device has beeen printed also in Tierney's Dodd, vol. II, Appendix, No. xxxiii, p. 230, apparently from Strype.]

[2] [*at*]

[3] [*When the alteration shall be first attempted.*]

remedies[4] provided; for the sooner that religion is restored, God is the more glorified, and as we trust, will be more merciful unto us, and better save and defend her his highness from all dangers.

2. What dangers may ensue thereof[5]?

To the Second.

First,[6] The bishop of Rome, all that he may, will be incensed, he will excommunicate the queen's highness, interdict the realm[7], and give it to prey to all princes that will enter upon it; and stir them up[8] thereto by all manner of means.

2. The French king will be encouraged more to the war, and 328
make his people more ready to fight against us, not only as enemies, but as heretics: he will be in great hope of aid from hence, of them that are discontented with this alteration, looking for tumults and discords: he will also stay concluding peace, upon hope of some alteration.

3. Scotland will also[9] have the same causes of boldness, and by that way the French king will seem soonest to attempt to annoy[10] us.

Ireland also will be very difficultly stayed in the[11] obedience, by reason of the clergy that is so addicted to Rome.

Many people of our own will be very much discontented, especially all[12] such as governed in the late queen Maries time, and were chosen thereto for no other cause, or were then most esteemed for being hot and earnest in that[13] other religion, and now, remain unplaced and uncalled to credit, will think themselves discredited, and all their doings defacte[14], and study all the ways they can to maintain their old doings, destroy[15] and despise all this alteration.

5. Bishops, and all the clergy, will see their own ruin; in confession, and preaching, and all other means and[16] ways they can, will[17] persuade the people from it; they will conspire with whosoever will attempt and pretend to do God a sacri-

[4] [*therefore provided.*]
[5] [*ensue upon the alteration.*]
[6] [*First,* om.]
[7] [*realms.*]
[8] [*incite them thereto*]
[9] [*also* om.]
[10] [*invade.*]
[11] [*their.*]
[12] [*especially three sorts, All.*]
[13] [*the.*]
[14] [*defaced*]
[15] [*destroy* om.]
[16] [*means and* om.]
[17] [*they will.*]

fice, in letting the alteration, though it be with murder of Christian men, and[18] treason. Men which be of the papist sect, which late were in manner all the judges of the law; the justices of peace chosen out by the late queen in all the shires, such as were believed to be of that sect, and the more earnest therein, the more[19] in estimation; these are most[20] like to join and conspire with the bishops, and clergy.

Some, when the subsidy shall be granted, and money levied, (as it appeareth that necessarily it must be done) will be therewith offended, and like enough to conspire and arise, if they have any head to stir them to do[21] it, or hope of gain and spoil.

6. Many such as would gladly have[22] alteration from the church of Rome, when they shall see peradventure that some old ceremonies be left still, for[23] that their doctrine, which they embrace, is not allowed and commanded only, and all other abolished and disproved, shall be discontented, and call the alteration a *cloaked papistry*, or a mingle-mangle.

3. *What remedy for the same dangers? What shall be the manner of the doing of it? and what is necessary to be done before?*[24]

To the Third.

First, for Fraunce, to practise a peace, or if it be offered, not to refuse it; if controversy of religion be there amongst them, to[25] kindle it.

Rome is less to be feared[26], from whom nothing is to be feared, but evil will, cursing, and practising.

Scotland will follow Fraunce for peace, but there may be practice[27] to help forward their division, and specially to
329 augment the hope of them who inclined[28] them to good religion.

For certainty, to fortify Barwick, and to employ dimolances, and horsemen, for safety of the frontiers, and some expences[29] of money in Ireland.

The fourth[30] divided into five parts. 1. The first is of them which were of queen Maries council, elected and en-

18 [*or*] 19 [*more then*] 25 [*to help to*]
20 [*most* om.] 21 [*do* om.] 26 [*doubted*] 27 [*practised*]
22 [*have the*] 23 [*or*] 28 [*inclineth*] 29 [*expence*]
24 [*What remedy for these matters?*] 30 [*fifth*]

hanced then to authority, only or chiefly for being of the pope's religion, and earnest in the same. Every augmentation, or conservation of such men in authority or reputation, is an encouraging of those of their sect, and giveth hope to them that it shall revive and continue, although it hath a contrary: lest seeing the[31] pillars to stand still untouched, a confirmation of[32] them that are wavering papists, and a discouraging of such as are but half inclined to this[33] alteration.

Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento huc illuc impellitur.

This[34] must be searched by all law, so[35] far as justice may extend, and the queen's majesty's clemency to be extended not before they do fully acknowledge themselves to have fallen into[36] the lappis of the law.

They must be based of authority, discredited in their countries, so long as they seem to repugn[37] the true religion, or to maintain the[38] old proceedings; and if they should seem to allow and[39] bear with the new alteration, yet not lightly to be credited[40], *quia neophiti;* and no man, but he loveth that time wherein he did flourish, and when he came[41], and as he came[42]; those ancient laws and orders he will defend and maintain[43], with whom and in whom he was in estimation, and authority, and a doer: for every man naturally loveth that which is his own work and creature. And contrary, as those men be based[44], so must her highness' old and sure servants, who hath[45] tarried with her, and not shrunk in the late storm[46], be advanced, with authority and credit, that the world may see that her highness is not unkind or[47] unmindful. And throughout all England, such persons, as are known to be sure in religion[48] and God's cause, shall be slack; yet their own safety and estate should[49] cause to be vigilant, careful, and earnest for the conservation of her estate, and maintenance of this alteration;

[31] [*have a contrary blast. Seeing there*]
[32] [*to*]
[33] [*that*]
[34] [*these*]
[35] [*as*]
[36] [*in*]
[37] [*repugn to*]
[38] [*their*]
[39] [*or to*]
[40] [*in credit*]
[41] [*can*]
[42] [*can*]
[43] [*maintain and defend*]
[44] [*must be based*]
[45] [*have*]
[46] [*storms*]
[47] [*nor*]
[48] [*in religion, every one according to his ability to serve in the commonwealth to be set in place. Whom if in the cause of religion, and God's cause, shall be slack*]
[49] [*shall*]

and in all this, she shall do but the same that the late queen Marie did, to establish[50] her religion.

2. The second is[51], the bishops and clergy, being in manner all made and chosen, such as were thought the stoutest and mightiest champions of the pope's church, who in the late queen Maries time[52], taking from the crown, impoverishing it, by extorting from private men, and all other means possible, *per fas et nefas*, have sought to enrich and advance themselves. This[53], her majesty being inclined to use[54] much clemency, yet must seek, as well by parliament, as by the just laws of England, in the premunire, or other such penal laws, to bring again in order; and being found in the default, not to pardon, till they confess their fault, put themselves wholly to her highness' mercy, abjure the pope of Rome, and conform themselves to the new[55] alteration; and by these[56] means, well handled, her majesty's necessity of money[57] may be somewhat relieved.

3. The third is to be amended even as all the rest above, by such ways[58] as queen Mary taught, that no such as were, may be[59] in commission of peace in their[60] shires; but rather men meaner in substance, and young in years, so that they have discretion to be put in place. A sharp law made and extended[61] against assemblies of people, without authority. 330 Lieutenants made in every shire, one or two men known to be sure of the queen's devotion. In the mean time musters, and captains appointed, young gentlemen, which do[62] favour her highness. No office of jurisdiction nor[63] authority to be in any discontented man's hands, so far as justice or law may extend.

4. The fourth is to be[64] remedied otherwise, than by gentle and doulce handling; it is by [65]the commissioners, and by the readiness and good-will of the lieutenants and captains; to

50 [*maintain and establish*]
51 [*The second of these five is*]
52 [*Queen's time*]
53 [*These*]
54 [*to so much*]
55 [*put themselves to the new*]
56 [*this means*]
57 [*many*]
58 [*such means as*]
59 [*none such as near as may be,*]
60 [*the*]
61 [*executed*]
62 [*earnestly do*]
63 [*or*]
64 [*be* om.]
65 [*handling of it by*]

repress them, if any should begin a tumult, or murmur[66], or provide[67] any assembly, or stoutness, to the contrary.

[fol. 143.] 5. The fifth; for the discontentation of such as could be content to have religion altered, but would have it to go, to fear[68] the strait laws upon the promulgation of the book, and severe execution of the same, at the first, would so oppress[69] them, that it is great hope it shall touch but a few: and better it were that they did suffer, than her highness or commonwealth should shake or be in danger; and to this they must well take heed that draw the book.

And herein the universities must not be neglected, and the hurt which the last[70] visitation in queen Maries time did, must be amended: likewise such colleges, where children be instructed to come to the university, as Eaton, and Winchester, that as well the encrease hereafter, as this present time, may[71] be provided for.

4. *What may be done of her highness, for her own conscience, openly, before the whole alteration? or if the alteration must tarry longer*[72].

To the fourth.

This consultation is to be referred to such learned men as be meet to shew their minds therein[73], and to bring a platt or book hereof ready drawn to her highness; which being approved by her majesty, may so be put in[74] the parliament-house. To the which, for the time it is thought that these are apt men, Dr. Bill, Dr. Parker, Dr. May, Dr. Cox, Mr. Whithead, Grindall, Pilkinton,[75] and sir Thomas Smyth, to call them together, and to be amongst them: and after the consultation with these, to draw in other men of learning, and grave[76] and apt men for your[77] purpose and credit, to have their assents. As for that is necessary to be done before, it is thought to [78]be most necessary, that a strait prohibition [79]be

[66] [*muster*] [67] [*pretend*] [74] [*be so put into*]
[68] [*go too far*] [69] [*will so repress*] [75] [*Mr. Pilkintone*]
[70] [*that the late*] [71] [*may* om.] [76] [*and gravity*]
[72] [*What shall be the manner of the doing of it*] [73] [*herein*] [77] [*for that purpose*]
[78] [*to be* om.] [79] [*to be*]

made of all innovation, until such time as the book come forth, as well that there should be no often changes in religion, which would take away authority in the common peoples estimation, as also to exercise the queen's majesty's subjects to obedience.

331 5. *What orders be fit to be in the whole realm, as in Interim?*[80]

To the fifth.

To alter no further than her majesty hath, except it be to receive the communion, as her majesty[81] pleaseth, at[82] high feasts; and that where there be more chaplains at the mass,[83] that they do always communicate with the executor in both kinds. And for her highness' conscience, till then, if there be some other devout sort of prayer[84], or memory, and the seldomer mass.

6. *What noblemen be fit*[85] *to be made privy to these proceedings, before it be opened to the whole council?*

To the sixth.

The[86] marquess Northampton, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembrok, lord[87] John Grey.

7. *What allowance the*[88] *learned men shall have for the time they are about to review the Book of Common Prayer, and order of certain*[89] *ceremonies and service in the church; and where they shall meet?*

[80] [*What may be done of her highness for her own conscience openly, before the whole alteration: or if the alteration must tarry longer, what orders be fit to be in the whole realm as an interim*]
[81] [*highness*]
[82] [*on*]
[83] [*at mass*]
[84] [*prayer or memory said*]
[85] [*most fit*]
[86] [*lord marquess*]
[87] [*the lord*]
[88] [*these learned*]
[89] [*certain* om.]

To the seventh.

Being so many persons as[90] must attend still upon it, two messes[91] of meat is thought yet indifferently[92] to suffice for them, and their servants. The place is thought most meet, either[93] in some set place, or rather at sir Thomas Smyth's lodging in Channon-Row. At one of those[94] places must provision be laid in, of wood, of coal, and drink[95].

[90] [*which must*]
[91] [*mess*]
[92] [*indifferent*]
[93] [*either* om.]
[94] [*these*]
[95] [This document was also printed from the same MS. in the Cotton Library in Somers' Tracts, vol. i. p. 61. ed. 1809. It is erroneously stated there that the MS. was destroyed by fire. This reprint as well as Strype's is full of blunders, as may be seen by a comparison of their readings with the various readings at the foot of the page of this edition, which represent the readings of the MS. Julius F. VI. art. 67. fol. 156., from which they copied.]

Number II. [p. 386.]

Dr. Sandys' letter to Dr. Parker, concerning some proceedings in parliament. An original.

Ex MS. col. Cor. C. Cant. [Lambeth MS. 959. No. 41.]

Ye have rightly considered that these times are given to taking, and not to giving; for ye have stretched forth your hand further than all the rest. They never ask us in what state we stand, neither consider that we want: and yet in the time of our exile, were we not so bare as we are now brought. But I trust we shall not linger here long, for the parliament draweth towards an end. The last book of service is gone through with a *proviso*, to retain the ornaments which were used in the first and second year of king Edward, until it please the queen to take other order for them. Our gloss upon this text is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the mean time shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the queen.

After this book was past, Boxall[1], and others, quarrelled with it, that according to the order of the scripture, we had not *gratiarum actio*; for, saith he, *Dominus accepit panem, gratias agit*, but in the time of consecration we give no thanks. This he put into the treasurer's head, and into count de Feror's head; and he laboured to alienate the queen's majesty from confirming of the act, but I trust they cannot prevail. Mr. Secretary is earnest with the book, and we have ministered reasons to maintain that part.

The bill of supreme government, of both the temporalty and clergy, passeth with a *proviso*, that nothing shall be judged heresy, which is not condemned by the canonical scriptures, and four general councils. Mr. Lever[2] wisely put such a scruple in the queen's head, that she would not take the title of *supreme head*. The bishops, as it is said, will not swear unto it as it is, but rather lose their livings. The bill is in hand to restore men to their livings; how it will speed I know not. The parliament is like to end shortly, and then we shall understand how they mind to use us. We are forced, through

[1] He was dean of Windsor and Peterborough in Queen Mary's time.

[2] A minister at Frankfort much commended by Calvin, to be followed as an example.

the vain bruits of the lying papists, to give up a confession of our own faith, to shew forth the sum of that doctrine which we profess, and to declare that we dissent not amongst ourselves. This labour we have now in hand, and purpose to publish it, so soon as the parliament is ended; I wish that we had your hand unto it.

Ye are happy that ye are so far from these tossings, and griefs, alterations and mutations; for we are made weary with them; but ye cannot long rest in your cell, ye must be removed to a more large abbey: and therefore in the mean time take your pleasure, for after ye will find but a little.

Nihil est statutum, de conjugio sacerdotum, sed tanquam relictum in medio. Lever was married now of late; the queen's majesty will wink at it, but not stablish it by law, which is nothing else but to bastard our children. Others things another time. Thus praying you to commend me to your abbesses, I take my leave of you for the present.

Hastily, at London, April *ult.* 1559.

Yours,

Edwin Sands.

[*To the right worshipful Master Doctor Parker, at Cambridge.*]

Number III. [p. 390.]

The first proposition, upon which the papists and protestants disputed in Westminster Abbey. With the arguments which the reformed divines made upon it.

It is against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayers, and administration of the sacraments.

By these words (*the word*) we mean only the written word of God, or canonical scriptures. Ex MS. coll. C. C. Cantab. [cxxi. 21. p. 165.]

And by *the custom of the primitive church*, we mean, the the order most generally used in the church for the space of five hundred years after Christ; in which times lived the most notable fathers, as Justine, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basill, Chrysostome, Hierome, Ambrose, Augustine, &c.

This assertion, above-written, hath two parts.

First, That the use of a tongue not understanded of the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the administration of the sacraments, is against God's word.

The second, That the same is against the use of the primitive church.

The first part is most manifestly proved by the 14th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, almost throughout the whole chapter: in the which chapter St. Paule intreateth of this matter, *ex professo*, purposely: and although some do cavil, that St. Paule speaketh not in that chapter of praying, but of preaching; yet is it most evident, to any indifferent reader of understanding, and appeareth also by the exposition of the best writers, that he plainly there speaketh not only of preaching and prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgiving, and generally of all other public actions, which require any speech in the church or congregation.

For of praying, he saith, *I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my mind; I will sing with my spirit, and I will sing with mind.* And of thanksgiving, (which is a kind of prayer,) *Thou givest thanks well, but the other is not edified; and how shall he that occupieth the room of the un-* [p. 166.]

learned, say Amen to thy giving of thanks, when he understandeth not what thou sayest? And in the end, ascending from particulars to universals, concludeth, *That all things ought to be done to edification.*

Thus much is clear by the very words of St. Paule, and the ancient doctors, Ambrose, Augustine, Hierome, and other, do so understand this chapter, as it shall appear by their testimonies, which shall follow afterward.

Upon this chapter of St. Paule, we gather these reasons following.

1. All things done in the church, or congregation, ought so to be done, as they may edify the same.

But the use of an unknown tongue in public prayer, or administration of sacraments, doth not edify the congregation:

Therefore the use of an unknown tongue in public prayer, or administration of sacraments, is not to be had in the church.

The first part of this reason is grounded upon St. Paules words, commanding all things to be done *to edification.*

The second part is also proved by St. Paules plain words, [p167.] first, by this similitude; *If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall be prepared to battle!* Even so likewise, when ye speak with tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understanded what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the air, that is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying.

And afterward, in the same chapter, he saith, *How can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, say Amen at thy giving of thanks: seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest! For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.*

These be Paules words, plainly proving, that a tongue not understanded doth not edify.

And therefore both the parts of the reason thus proved by St. Paule the conclusion followeth necessarily.

2. Secondly; nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, except it be interpretated to the people, that it may be understand. For, saith Paule, *if there be no interpreter to him that speaketh in an unknown tongue,*

taceat in ecclesiâ, *let him hold his peace in the church.* And therefore the common prayers, and administration of sacraments, neither done in a known tongue, neither interpreted, are against this commandment of Paule, and not to be used.

3. The minister, in praying, or administration of sacraments, using language not understanded of the hearers, is to them barbarous, an alien, which of St. Paule is accounted a great absurdity.

4. It is not to be counted a Christian common prayer, where the people present declare not their assent unto it, by saying *Amen;* wherein is employed all other words of assent.

But St. Paule affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their [p. 168.] assent, in saying *Amen* except they understand what is said, as afore.

Therefore it is no Christian common prayer, where the people understandeth not what is said.

5. Paule would not suffer, in his time, a strange tongue to be heard in the common prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the Holy Ghost, whereby infidels might be persuaded and brought to the faith: much less is it to be suffered now among Christian and faithful men, especially being no miracle, nor especial gift of the Holy Ghost.

6. Some will peradventure answer, That to use any kind of tongue in common prayer, or administration of sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But St. Paule is to the contrary; for he commandeth all things to be *done to edification:* he commandeth to keep silence, if there be no interpreter. And in the end of the chapter, he concludeth thus; *If any man be spiritual, or a prophet, let him know, that the things which I write are the commandments of the Lord.* And so, shortly to conclude, the use of a strange tongue, in prayer and ministration, is against the word and commandment of God.

To these reasons, grounded upon St. Paule's words, which are the most firm foundation of this assertion, divers other reasons may be joined, gathered out of the scriptures, and otherwise.

1. In the Old Testament, all things pertaining to the pub-

lic prayer, benedictions, thanksgivings, or sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue.

[p. 169.] In the second book of Paraleipomenon, cap. 29, it is written, *That Ezechias commanded the Levites to praise God with the Psalms of David, and Asaph the prophet;* which doubtless were written in Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the law, much more ought we to do the like; who, as Christ saith, must pray *in Spiritu et veritate.*

2. The final end of our prayer is, (as David saith,) *Ut populi conveniant in unum, et annuncient nomen Domini in Syon, et laudes ejus in Hierusalem.*

But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it be done in such a tongue as they may understand:

Therefore common prayer must be had in the vulgar tongue.

3. The definition of public prayer, out of the words of St. Paul: *Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente. Publicè orare, est vota communia mente ad Deum effundere, ex eâ spiritu hoc est linguâ testari.* Common prayer is, to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our tongues. Which definition is approved by St. Augustine de Magist. cap. 1, *Nihil opus est* (*inquit*) *loquutione, nisi forte ut sacerdotes faciunt, significandæ mentis causâ, ut populus intelligat.*

4. The ministrations of the Lord's last supper and baptism are, as it were, sermons of the death and resurrection of Christ.

But sermons to the people must be had in such language, as the people may perceive, otherwise they should be had in vain.

[p. 170.] 5. It is not lawful for a Christian man to abuse the gifts of God.

But he that prayeth in the church in a strange tongue, abuseth the gift of God; for the tongue serveth only to express the mind of the speaker to the hearer. And Augustine saith, de Doct. Christ. lib. 4. cap. 10, *Loquendi omnino nulla est causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur.* There is no cause why we should speak, if they, for whose cause we speak, understand not our speaking.

6. The heathen and barbarous nations of all countries, and sorts of men, were they never so wild, evermore made their prayers and sacrifices to their gods, in their own mother-tongue; which is a manifest declaration, that it is the very light and voice of nature.

Thus much upon the ground of St. Paule, and other reasons out of the scriptures; joining therewith the common usage of all nations, as a testimony of the law of nature.

Now for the second part of the assertion, which is, *That the use of a strange tongue, in public prayer, and administration of sacraments, is against the custom of the primitive church.* Which is a matter so clear, that the denial of it must needs proceed, either of great ignorance, or else of wilful malice.

For, first of all, Justinus Martyr, describing the order of the communion in his time, saith thus; *Die solis urbanorum et rusticorum cœtus fiunt, ubi apostolorum, prophetarumque literæ, quoad fieri potest, præleguntur: deinde cessante lectore præpositus verba facit adhortatoria, ad imitationem tam honestarum rerum invitans. Post hæc consurgimus omnes, et preces offerrimus, quibus finitis, profertur (ut diximus) panis, vinum et aqua; tum præpositus quantum potest preces offert, et gratiarum actiones; plebs vero Amen accinit.* Upon the Sunday, assemblies are made both of the citizens and country-men; whereas the writings of the disciples, and of the prophets, are read as much as may be. Afterwards when the reader doth cease, the head-minister maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow so honest things. After this we rise all together, and offer prayers; which being ended, (as we have said,) bread, wine, and water are brought forth; then the head-minister offereth prayers, and thanksgiving, as much as he can, and the people answereth, *Amen.* Justinus, Apol. 2. [p. 171.]

These words of Justine, who lived about a hundred and sixty years after Christ, considered with their circumstance, declare plainly, That not only the scriptures were read, but also that the prayers, and administration of the Lord's supper, were done in a tongue understanded.

Both the liturgies of Basill and Chrysostome declare, That in the celebration of the communion, the people were appointed to answer to the prayer of the minister, sometimes *Amen;*

sometimes, *Lord, have mercy upon us;* sometimes, *And with thy Spirit;* and, *We have our hearts lifted up unto the Lord, &c.* Which answers they would not have made in due time, if the prayers had not been made in a tongue understanded.

Basilius, Epistola 63.

[p. 172.]

And for further proof, let us hear what Basill writeth in this matter to the clerks of Neocesarea; *Cæterum ad objectum in psalmodiis crimen, quo maxime simpliciores terrent calumniatores, &c.* "As touching that is laid to our charge in "psalmodies and songs, wherewith our slanderers do fray the "simple, I have this to say, That our customs and usages in "all churches be uniform and agreeable. For in the night, "the people with us riseth, goeth to the house of prayer: and "in travail, tribulation, and continual tears, they confess them-"selves to God; and at the last rising again, go to their "songs, or psalmodies, where being divided into two parts, "sing by course together, both deeply weighing and confirm-"ing the matter of the heavenly sayings: and also stirring up "their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means "be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to "begin the song, the rest follow; and so, with divers songs "and prayers, passing over the night, at the dawning of the "day, all together, even as it were with one mouth, and one "heart, they sing unto the Lord a new[2] song of confession, "every man framing to himself meet words of repentance.

"If ye will flee us from henceforth for these things, ye must "flee also the Egiptians, and both the Lybians, ye must eschew "the Thebans, Palestines, Arrabians, the Phenices, the Syrians, "and those which dwell besides Euphrates. And to be short, "all those with whom watchings, prayers, and common singing "of psalms are had in honour."

[*Here follow other testimonies quoted from Ambrose, Jerome, Basil, Chrysostom, Dionysius, Cyprian, Augustine, and Novellæ Constitutiones.*]

[p. 179.]

These are sufficient to prove, that it is against God's word, and the use of the primitive church, to use a language not understanded of the people, in common prayer, and ministration of the sacraments.

Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an

[2] [This word appears in the MS. with a line drawn through it as if intended to be erased.]

untruth and abuse crept, at the first, into the church, but also how it is maintained so stifly at this day; and upon what [p. 180.] ground, these that will be thought guides, and pastors of Christ's church, are so loth to return to the first original of St. Paule's doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Christ.

The God of patience and consolation give us grace to be like minded one towards another, in Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together, may, with one mouth, praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen[3].

FINIS.

J. Scory.
R. Cox.
D. Withed.
E. Gryndal.
J. Juel.
R. Horne.
J. Almer.
E. Gest.

[3] At the end of this paper there is added in the MS. testimonies confuting it, out of Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostome, Dionysius, Cyprian and Austin, and the Constitutions of Justinian, and they are to be seen printed in Fox's first edition. The names at the end are not subscriptions. They are added in Parker's hand who forgot to write Sandys among them, for he was one of them. [S.]

[See also Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 71.]

Number IV. [p. 389.] 338

The answer of Dr. Cole, to the first proposition of the protestants, at the disputation before the lords at Westeminster.

Est contra verbum Dei, et consuetudinem veteris ecclesiæ linguâ populo ignotâ uti in publicis precibus, et administracione sacramentorum.

Most honourable;

Ex MS. col. Cor. C. Cant. [cxxi. p. 183.]

WHEREAS these men here present have declared openly, that it is repugnant and contrary to the word of God to have the common-prayer, and ministration of the sacraments, in the Latin tongue, here in Englonde, and that all such common-prayer, and ministration, ought to be, and remain in the English tongue. Ye shall understand, that to prove this their assertion, they have brought in as yet *only one place* of scripture, taken out of S. Paule's his First Epistle to the Corinthians, cap. xiv. with certain other places of the holy doctors; whereunto answer is not now to be made: but when the book, which they read, shall be delivered unto us, according to the appointment made in that behalf, *then*, *God willing*, *we* shall make answer, as well to the scripture, as other testimonies alleged by them, so as all good men may evidently perceive and understand the same scripture to be misconstrued, and drawn from the native and true sense: and that *it is not St. Paules mind* there to treat of common-prayer, or ministration of any sacraments. And therefore now we have only to declare, and open before you briefly (which after, as opportunity serveth in our answer, shall appear more at large) causes which move us to persist and continue in the order received, and to say, and affirm, that to have the common-prayer, or service, with the ministration of the sacraments in the Latin tongue, is convenient, and (as the state of the cause standeth at this present) necessary.

Secunda sectio.

1. And *this we affirm*, first, because *there is no scripture manifest* against this our assertion and usage of the church.

And though there were any, yet it is not to be condemned that the church hath received. Which thing may evidently appear in many things that were sometime expressly commanded by God and his holy apostles.

2. As for example, (to make the matter plain,) ye see the express commandment of Almighty God, touching the observation *of the sabbath-day*, to be changed by the authority of the church (*without any word of God written* for the same) into the *Sunday*. The reason whereof appeareth not to all men; and howsoever it doth appear, and is accepted of all
339 good men, without any controversy of scripture; yea, without [p. 184.] any mention of the day, saving only that St. John, in his Apocalipse, nameth it, *diem Dominicum:* in the change whereof, all men may evidently understand the authority of the church, both in this cause, and also in other matters to be of great weight and importance, and therein esteemed accordingly.

3. *Another* example we have given unto us by the mouth of our Saviour himself, who washing the feet of his disciples, said, *I have herein given you an example, that as I have done, even so do you.* Notwithstanding these express words, the holy church hath left the thing undone, without blame: not of any negligence, but of great and urgent causes, which appeareth not to many men, and yet universally without the breach of God's commandment (as is said) left undone. Was not the fact also, and, as it seemeth, the express commandment of Christ, our Saviour changed and altered, by the authority of the church, in the highest mystery of our faith, the blessed sacrament of the altar? For he ministereth the same (as the scripture witnesseth) after supper. And now if a contentious man would strain the fact to the first institution, St. Augustine answereth (not by scripture, for there is none to improve it, but indeed otherwise) even as the apostles did, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, ut in honorem tanti sacramenti, in os Christiani hominis prius intret corpus Dominicum quam exteri cibi.* It is determined (saith St. Augustine) by the Holy Ghost, that in the honour of so great a sacrament, the body of our Lord should enter first into the mouth of a Christian man before other external meats. So that notwithstanding it was the fact of Christ himself, yet the church

moved by the Holy Ghost, (as is said,) hath changed that also, without offence likewise. By the which sentence of St. Augustyne manifestly appeareth, that this authority was derived from the apostles unto his time; the which same authority, according unto Christ's promises, doth still abide and remain with his church.

4. *And hereupon* also resteth the alteration of the sacrament under one kind, when-as the multitude of the Gentiles entered, the church instructed by the Holy Ghost, understood inconveniencies, and partly also heresy to creep in through the [p. 185.] ministration under both kinds; and therefore, as in the former examples, so in this now, (the matter nothing diminished, neither in itself, nor yet in the receivers, and the thing also being received before, by a common and uniform consent, without contradiction,) the church did decree, that from thenceforth it should be received under the form of bread only; and whosoever should think and affirm, that whole Christ remained not under both kinds, pronounced him to be in heresy.

5. *Moreover,* we read in the Acts, whereas it was determined in a council holden at Hierusalem by the apostles, that the Gentiles should abstain from strangled, and blood, in these words, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, et nobis, &c. It* is *decreed, by the Holy Ghost, and us,* (saith the apostles,) *that no other burden be laid upon you, than these necessary things, that ye abstain from things offered up unto idols, and from blood; and from that is strangled, and from fornication.* This was the commandment of God, (for still it is commanded, upon pain of damnation, to keep our bodies clean from fornication,) and the other part joined by the Holy Ghost with the same, not kept nor observed at this day.

6. Likewise in the *Acts of the Apostles* it appeareth, that 340
among them in the primitive church, all things were common. They sold their lands and possessions, and laid the money at the feet of the apostles, to be divided to the people as every man had need; insomuch that Ananias and Saphira, who kept back a part of their possession, and laid but the other part at the apostles' feet, were declared, by the mouth of St. Peter, to be tempted by the Devil, and to lie against the Holy Ghost, and in example of all other, punished with sudden

death. By all which examples, and many other, it is manifest that though there were any such scripture which they pretend, as there is not, yet the church wherein the Holy Ghost is alway resident, may order the same, and may therein say as truly, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, et nobis,* as did the apostles; for Christ promised unto the church, that the Holy Ghost [p. 186.] should teach them all truth, and that he himself would be with the same church unto the world's end. And hereupon we do make this argument with St. Augustine, which he writeth in his Epistle *ad Januarium*, after this sort, *Ecclesia Dei inter multam paleam multaque zizania constituta, multa tollerat; et tamen quæ sunt contra fidem vel bonam vitam non approbat, nec tacet, nec facit.*

To this *major* we add this *minor;* but the catholic church of God neither reproveth the service, or common-prayer, to be in the learned tongue, nor yet useth it otherwise.

Ergo it is most lawful and commendable so to be.

Tertia sectio.

Another cause that moveth us to say and think, is, that otherwise doing, (as they have said,) there followeth necessarily the breach of unity of the church, and the commodities thereby are withdrawn and taken from us; there followeth necessarily an horrible schism and division.

In alteration of the service into our mother-tongue, we condemn the church of God, which hath been heretofore, we condemn the church that now is present, and namely the church of Rome.

To the which, howsoever it is lightly esteemed here among us, the holy saint and martyr, Irineus, saith in plain words thus: *Ad hanc ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnes alias ecclesias convenire; hoc est omnes undique fideles.* It is necessary (saith this holy man, who was nigh to the apostles, or rather in that time, for he is called *σύνχρονος apostolorum*) that all churches do conform themselves, and agree with the see or church of Rome, all churches, that is to say (as he declareth himself) all Christian and faithful men. And he allegeth the cause why it is necessary for all men to agree therewith (*propter potentiorem principalitatem*), for the greater preeminence of the same, or for the mightier principality.

From this church, and consequently from the whole universal church of Christ, we fall undoubtedly into a fearful and dangerous schism, and therewith into all incommodities of the same.

That in this doing, we fall from the unity of the church, it is more manifest than that we need much to stand upon. St. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium grammaticum*, putting a difference between *heresis* and *scisma*, saith, *Scisma est diversa* 341
sequentium secta, Heresis autem scisma inveteratum.

To avoid this horrible sin of schism, we are commanded, by the words of St. Paule, saying, *Obsecro vos ut id ipsum dicatis omnes et non sint in vobis scismata.*

[p. 187.] And that this changing of the service out of the learned tongue, is doing contrary to the form and order universally observed, is plain and evident to every man's eye.

They are to be named *hereticks* (saith he) which obstinately think and judge in matters of faith, otherwise than the rest of the church doth. And those are called *schismatics*, which follow not the order and trade of the church, but will invent of their own wit and brain other orders, contrary or diverse to them which are already, by the Holy Ghost, universally established in the church.

And we being declined from God by schism, note what followeth: There is then no gift of God, no knowledge, no justice, no faith, no works, and finally, no virtue that can stand us in stead, though we should think to glorify God by suffering death (as St. Paule saith), 1 Cor. xiii. Yea, there is no sacrament that availeth to salvation, in them that willingly fall into schism, that without fear separate and divide themselves from the sacred unity of Christ's holy spouse, the church, as St. Augustine plainly saith: *Quicunque ille est, qualiscunque ille est, Christianus non est qui in ecclesiâ Christi non est;* that is, Whosoever he be, whatsoever degree or condition he be of, or what qualities soever he hath; though he should speak with the tongues of angels, speak he never so holily, shew he never so much virtue, yet is he not a Christian man that is guilty of the crime of schism; and so no member of the church.

Wherefore this is an evident argument; every Christian man is bound, upon pain of damnation, by the plain words of God, uttered by St. Paule, to avoid the horrible sin of schism.

The changing of the service out of the learned tongue, it being universally observed through the whole church from the beginning, is a cause of an horrible schism; wherefore every good Christian man is bound to avoid the change of the service.

Now to confirm that we said before, and to prove that to have the common-prayer, and ministration of the sacraments in English, or in other than in the learned tongue, let us behold the first institution of the west church, and the particulars thereof.

And first, to begin with the church of Fraunce: Dionisius, St. Paule's scholar, who first planted the faith of Christ in Fraunce: Martialis, who (as it is said) planted the faith in Spayne: and other which planted the same here in Englond, in the time of Eleutherius: and such as planted the faith in [p. 188.] Germanye, and other countries: and St. Augustine, that converted this realm afterward, in the time of Gregorie, almost a thousand years ago: it may appear that they had interpreters, as touching the declaration and preaching of the gospel, or else the gift of tongues: but that ever, in any of these west churches, they had their service in their own language, or that
342 the sacraments, other than matrimony, were ministered in their own vulgar tongue; that doth not appear by any ancient historiographer. *Whether* shall they be able ever to prove that it was so generally, and thereby by continuance, in the Latin tongue, the self-same order and words remain still; whereas all men do consider, and know right well, that in all other inferior and barbarous tongues, great change daily is seen, and specially in this our English tongue, which *in quovis seculo fere*, in every age, or hundred years, there appeareth a great change and alteration in this language.

For the proof whereof, there hath remained many books of late in this realm (as many do well know), which we, that be now Englishmen, can scarcely understand nor read. And if we should so often (as the thing may chance, and as alteration daily doth grow in our vulgar tongue) change of[4] service of the church, what manifold inconveniences and errors would follow, we leave it to all men's judgments to consider. So that

[4] [The word *of* is accidentally written for *the*.]

hereby may appear another invincible argument, which is, the consent of the whole catholic church, that cannot err in the faith and doctrine of our Saviour Christe, but is (by St. Paule's saying) *the pillar and foundation of all truth.*

Moreover, the people of England do not understand their own tongue, better than Eunuchus did the Hebrew; of whom we read in the Acts, that Philippe was commanded to teach him; and he reading there the prophesy of Esaie, Philippe (as it is written in the 8th chapter of the Acts) enquired of him, whether he understood that which he read, or no? he made answer, saying, *Et quomodo possum, si non aliquis ostenderit mihi;* in which words are reproved the intolerable boldness of such as will enterprize without any teacher; yea, contemning all doctors to unclasp the book, and thereby, instead of eternal food, drink up present poison. For when as the scripture is misconstrued, and taken in a wrong sense, then it is not the scripture of God, but as St. Hierome saith, writing upon the *Epistle to the Galathians,* it is the scripture of the Devil: and we do not contend with heretics for the scripture, but for the true sense and meaning of the scripture.

[p. 189.] We read of ceremonies in the Old Testament, as the circumcision, the bells and pomegranates; of Aaron's apparel, with many other, and kinds of sacrifices; which all were, as St. Paule saith unto the Hebrews, *Justitia carnis;* and did not inwardly justify the party before God, that observed them, in protestation of their faith in Christe to come: and although they had the knowledge of every fact of Christe, which was signified particularly by those ceremonies. And it is evident and plain, that the high priest entered into the inner part of the temple, (named *sancta sanctorum,*) whereas the people might not follow, nor lawful for them to stand, but there where they could neither see, nor hear, what the priest either said, or did, as St. Luke in the first chapter of his Gospel rehearseth in the history of Zacharie.

Upon conference of these two testaments, may be plainly gathered this doctrine, That in the church of Christe, many things may be said and done, the mysteries whereof the people knoweth not, neither are they bound to know. Which thing, that is, that the people did not hear and understand the com- 343
mon prayer of the priest and minister, it is evident and plain

by the practice of the ancient Greek church, and that also that now is at Venice, or else-where.

In that east church, the priest standeth, as it were, in a travice, or closet, hanged round about with curtains, or vails, apart from the people. And after the consecration, when he sheweth the blessed sacrament, the curtains are drawn, whereof Chrisostome speaketh thus; *Cum vela videris retrahi, tunc superne cœlum aperiri cogita;* When thou seest the vails or curtains drawn open, then think thou that heaven is opened from above.

It is also here to be noted, that there is two manners of prayings, one public, another private; for which cause the church hath such consideration of the public prayer, that it destroyeth not, nor taketh away the private prayer of the people in the time of the sacrifice; or other divine service; which thing would chance, if the people should do nothing but hearken to answer, and say, *Amen.* Beside the impossibility of the matter, whereas, in a great parish, every man cannot hear what the priest saith, though the material church were defaced, and he left the altar of God, and stood in the midst of the people.

Furthermore, If we should confess that it were necessary to have common-prayer in the vulgar tongue, these two heresies would follow upon it; that prayer profiteth no man but him that understand it, and him also that is present and heareth it; and so, by consequent, void was the prayer for St. Peter [p. 190.] in prison, by the church abroad.

Now consider the practice of this realm.

If we should grant the service to be in English, we should not have it in the same form that it is in now, being in Latin; but by likelihood we should have it, as it was, of late days. The matter of which service is taken out of the Psalms, and other part of the Bible, translated into English, wherein are many manifest errors, and false translations, which all by depravation of God's scripture, and so, *verè mendacia.* Now if the service be so framed, then may men well say upon us, that we serve God with lies.

Wherefore we may not so travail and labour to alter the form of our common-prayer, that we lose the fruit of all prayer, which by this barbarous contention, no doubt, we shall do.

And the church of God hath no such custom, as St. Paull allegeth, in such contentions. And may not the whole world say unto us, as St. Paull said unto the Corinthians, 14 cap. 1 Cor. *An à vobis verbum Dei processit, aut in vos solos pervenit?* As though the whole church had been ever in error, and never had seen this chapter of St. Paule before: and that the Holy Ghost had utterly forsaken his office, in leading it into all truth, till now of late, certain, boasting the Holy Ghost, and the sincere word of God, hath enterprised to correct and 344
overthrow the whole church.

Augustinus, lib. 1. contra *Julianum Pelagianum, à Græcis pro suâ hæresi profugium quærentem, ad hunc modum, respondit: puto (inquit) tibi eam partem orbis debere sufficere, in quâ primum apostolorum suorum voluit Dominus gloriosissimo martyrio coronari. Et idem paulo post; Te certe (Julianum alloquitur) occidentalis terra generavit, occidentalis regeneravit ecclesia. Quid ei quæris inferre, quod in eâ non invenisti, quando in ejus membra venisti? Immò, Quid ei quæris auferre, quod in eâ tu quoque accepisti? Hæc ille.*

A number of authorities out of the doctors we could rehearse, that maketh for the unity of the church, and for not disturbing the quiet government of the same; which all impugn this their first assertion by way of argument. But because they have framed their assertion so, that we be compelled to defend the *negative*, (in the probation whereof, the doctors use not
[p. 191.] directly to have many words;) therefore of purpose we leave out a number of the sayings of the doctors, (which all, as I said afore, would prove this first matter by way of argument,) lest we should be tedious, and keep you too long in a plain matter.

And therefore now to conclude, for not changing the divine service, and the ministration of the sacraments from the learned tongue (which thing doth make a schism, and a division between us and the catholic church of God) we have brought in the scripture that doth forbid all such schism. And also the consent and custom of the whole church, which cannot err, and maketh us bold to say as we do; with other things, as ye have heard, for confirmation of the same. And in answering to the first matter, we intend (God willing) to say much more;

beseeching Almighty God so to inspire the heart of the queen's majesty, and her most honourable council, with the nobility of this realm, and us that be the pastors of the people in these causes, that so we may dispose of the service of God, as we may therein serve God: and that we do not, by altering the said service from the uniform manner of Christ's church, but also highly displease God, and procure to us infamy of the world, the worm of conscience, and eternal damnation; which God forbid: and grant us grace to acknowledge, confess, and maintain his truth. *To whom be all glory.* Amen.

Number V.[5] [p. 392.] 345

¶ *The Declaracyon of the procedynge of a conference begon at Westminster the laste of Marche* 1559. *concerning certaine articles of religion and the breaking up of the sayde conference by default and contempt of certayne Bysshops, parties of the sayd conference*

(.˙.)

¶ Imprynted at London by *Richarde Jugge and John Cawood* prynters to the Quenes Maiestie.

Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

Ex chartophylac. regio. [Domestic, vol. iii. Art. 52.]

THE queen's most excellent majesty having heard of diversities of opinions in certain matters of religion, amongst sundry of her loving subjects; and being very desirous to have the same reduced to some godly and Christian concord, thought it best, by advice of the lords, and others of her privy council, as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtful, as also for the knowledge of the very truth, in certain matter of difference, to have a convenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, and to confer together their opinions and reasons: and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement.

And hereupon, by her majesty's commandment, certain of her said privy council, declared this purpose to the arch-bishop of Yorke, being also one of the same privy council, and re-

[5] [This paper has been corrected from the copy in the State Paper Office, from which it was printed by the author. The heading is taken from the printed account of the proceedings, a copy of which is in the volume entitled *Synodalia* in the C.C.C. library, Number CXXI. Art. 21. This has been collated throughout, but there is no variation of any importance.]

quired him, that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them; and that there should be the like number named of the other part; and further also declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matters should be; and as for the time it was thought mete to be as soon as possibly might be agreed upon; and then after certain days past, it was signified by the said arch-bishop, that there was appointed (by such of the bishops to whom he had imparted this matter) eight persons; that is to say, four bishops and four doctors, who were content, at the queen's majesty's commandment, to shew their opinions, and, as he termed it, render account of their faith in those matters, which were mentioned, and that specially in writing. Although, he said, they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute upon them. It was hereupon fully resolved, by the queen's majesty, with the advice aforesaid, that, according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much altercation in words. And that the said bishops should, because they were in authority of degree superiours, first declare their minds and opinions to the matter, with their reasons, in writing. And the other number, being also eight men of good degree in schools (and some having been in dignity in the church of Englande), if they had any thing to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in like manner. And so each of them should deliver their writings to the other to be considered what were to be improved therein; and the same to declare again in writing at some other convenient day; and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters.

All this was fully agreed upon with the arch-bishop of Yorke
346 and so also signified to both parties; and immediately hereupon divers of the nobility, and states of the realm, understanding that such a meeting and conference should be, and that in certain matters, whereupon the present court of parliament consequently following, some laws might be grounded, they made earnest means to her majesty, that the parties of this conference might put and read their assertions in the English tongue, and that in the presence of them of the nobility, and others of her parliament-house, for the better satisfaction, and inhabling of their own judgments to treat and conclude of

such laws, as might depend hereupon. This also being thought very reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so fully agreed upon. And the day appointed for the first meeting to be the Friday in the forenoon, being the last of March, at Westminster church, where both for good order, and for honour of the conference by the queen's majesty's commandment; the lords and others of the privy-council were present, and a great part of the nobility also.

And notwithstanding the former order appointed and consented unto by both parties, yet the bishop of Winchester, and his colleagues, alleging they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so only recited out of the book, said, Their book was not ready then written, but they were ready to argue and dispute, and therefore they would for that time repeat in speech, that which they had to say to the first proposition.

This variation from the former order, and specially from that which themselves had, by the said arch-bishop, in writing before required, (adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that *to contend with words, is profitable to nothing, but to subversion of the hearer*) seemed to the queen's majestys' council somewhat strange; and yet was it permitted, without any great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistaking the order, and agreed, that they would not fail, but put it in writing, and, according to the former order, deliver it to the other part.

And so the said bishop of Winchester, and his colleagues, appointed Doctor Cole, dean of Poules, to be the utterer of their minds, who partly by speech only, and partly by reading of authorities written; and at certain times being informed of his colleagues, what to say, made a declaration of their meanings and their reasons to the first proposition.

Which being ended, they were asked, by the privy council, If any of them had any more to be said? and they said; No. So as then the other part was licensed to shew their minds, which they did accordingly to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant, to propound in a book written. Which, after a prayer, and invocation made most humbly to Almighty God, for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catho-

lic church, builded upon the scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distinctly read by one Robert Horne, bachelor in divinity, late dean of Duresme. And the same being ended, (with some likelihood, as it seemed, that the same was much allowable to the audience,)
347 certain of the bishops began to say contrary to their former answer, that they had now much more to say to this matter; wherein, although they might have been well reprehended for such manner of cavillation, yet for avoiding of any more mistaking of orders in this colloquy, or conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered, and thus openly agreed upon of both parts, in the full audience, that upon the Monday following, the bishops should bring their minds and reasons in writing, to the second assertion, and the last also, if they could, and first read the same; and that done, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same; and being read, each of them should deliver to other the same writings. And in the mean time the bishops should put in writing, not only all that which Doctor Cole had that day uttered, but all such other matters, as they any otherwise could think of for the same; and as soon as they might possible, to send the same book, touching that first assertion to the other part; and they should receive of them that writing, which master Horne had there read that day; and upon Monday it should be agreed, what day they should exhibit their answers touching the first proposition.

Thus both parts assented thereto, and the assembly quietly dismissed. And therefore upon Monday the like assembly began again at the place and hour appointed; and there, upon what sinister or disordered meaning, is not yet fully known, (though in some part it be understanded) the bishop of Winchester, and his colleagues, and specially Lyncoln, refused to exhibit or read, according to the former notorious order on Friday, that which they had prepared for the second assertion; and thereupon, by the lord keeper of the great seal, they being first gently and favourably required, to keep the order appointed, and that taking no place, being secondly, as it behoved, pressed with the more earnest request, they neither regarding the authority of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterly refused that to do.

And finally, being again particularly every of them apart, distinctly by name required to understand their opinions therein; they all (saving one, which was the abbot of Westminster, having some more consideration of order, and his duty of obedience, than the other) utterly and plainly denied to have their book read, some of them as more earnestly than other some, so also some other more undiscreetly and unreverently than others.

Whereupon giving such example of disorder, stubbornness, and self-will, as hath not been seen and suffered in such an honourable assembly, being of the two estates of this realm, the nobility, and the commons, beside the presence of the queen's most honourable privy council, the same assembly was dismissed, and the godly and most Christian purpose of the queen's majesty made frustrate: and afterward, for the contempt so notoriously made, the bishops of Wynchester and 348
Lincoln, having most obstinately both disobeyed common authority, and varied manifestly from their own order; and specially Lincoln, who shewed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the Tower of London; and the rest, saving the abbot of Westminster, stand bound to make daily their personal appearance before the council, and not to depart the city of London and Westminster, until further order be taken with them for their disobedience and contempt [6].

[6] [After 'contempt' in the printed copy (which is not paged) begins the last leaf, which is as follows:

The three propositions whereupon conference was determined to have been at Westminster.

1. It is against the word of God and the custom of the ancient church to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayer and the administration of the sacraments.

2. Every church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be to edification.

3. It cannot be proved by the word of God that there is in the mass offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead.

The names of such as had conference in the propositions aforesaid.

The B. of Winch.	D. Sco. B. of Chyc.
The B. of Lych.	Doctour Coxe.
The B. of Chest.	Maister Whithed.
The B. of Carlil.	Mayster Grindall.
The B. of Linco.	Mayster Horne.
Doctour Cole.	Maister D. Sandes.
D. Harpesfelde.	Maister Gest.
Doct. Langdall.	Mayster Aylmer.
Doctor Chedsey.	Mayster Juell.

God save the Queen.

Then follows in the volume of Synodalia, p. 165, The first proposition, &c. as in Number III. of this Collection, and then the answer of Dr. Cole as in Number IV. The second proposition begins at p. 197.]

N. Bacon, cust. sigill.
E. Shrewesbury. F. Bedford. Penbroke.
E. Clynton.
E. Rogers. F. Knollys. W. Cecill. A. Cave.[7]

[7] [In the same volume there follows a draft of the same, said to be corrected by Cecil, but in a hand very unlike his.

Then a fair copy signed by the rest, correctly copied,

Preceding it is the Proposition in Latin as follows, all in one hand;

Wintonien. D. Cole.
Lichfilden. D. Harpsfeld.
Cestren. D. Langdayl.
Carliolen. D. Chedsey.

Ante omnia protestamur qui filii sumus ecclesiæ et membra corporis Christi mystici, (a cujus veritate discedere non debemus,) nos nihil acturos esse quod decretis et traditionibus ejusdem quoquo modo adversetur.

Quia nos una cum tota ecclesia catholica uniforme fidei doctrinam et ceremoniarum professionem tenemus quarumque possessionem habemus: idcirco postulamus ut adversarii materias et argumenta siquæ habeant contra proposita dogmata in scriptis primo nobis exhibeant cum subscriptionibus manuum suarum, quibus nos similiter respondebimus ad vitandas calumnias et falsificationes.

Postulamus præterea ut detur refellendi et replicandi facultas utrique parti quoties fuerit oportunum, idque latine et omnia in scriptis; nam contendere verbis ut inquit apostolus ad nihil utile est nisi ad subversionem audientium. Postremo postulamus, Quod si quando de sensu vel intelligentia scripturarum oriatur ambiguitas, interpretatio sit penes ecclesiam et patres.]

Number VI. [p. 397.]

An address[8] *made by some bishops and divines, to queen Elizabeth, against the use of images.*

[Ex MSS. C.C.C. No. 105. art. 11. p. 201.]

To the queen's most excellent majesty.

We knowing your gracious clemency, and considering the necessity of the matter that we have to move, the one doth encourage us, and the other compel us, (as before,) to make our humble petition unto your highness, and to renew our former suit, not in any respect of self-will, stoutness, or striving against your majesty, (God we take to witness;) for with David, we confess that we are but as *canes mortui, aut publices,* in comparison. But we do it only for that fear and reverence which we bear to the majesty of Almighty God, in whose hands to fall, it is horrible; for it lieth in his power to destroy for ever, and to cast both body and soul into hell fire. And lest in giving just offence to the little ones, in setting a trap of error for the ignorant, and digging a pit for the blind to fall into, we should not only be guilty of the blood of our brethren, and deserve the wrathful *Væ,* and vengeance of God, but also procure, to our reclaiming consciences, the biting worm, that never dieth, for our endless confusion. For in what thing soever we may serve your excellent majesty, not offending the divine majesty of God, we shall, with all humble obedience, be most ready thereunto, if it be even to the loss of our lives for so God commandeth us, duty requireth of us, and we with all conformity have put in proof. And as God, through your gracious government, hath delivered unto us innumerable benefits, which we most humbly acknowledge, and with due reverence daily give him thanks: so we do not doubt, but that of his mercy he will happily finish in your majesty that good work, which of his free favour he hath most graciously begun; that following the example of the godly

[8] [This address appears in Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. p. 196, and has been most accurately reprinted in the 'Correspondence of archbishop Parker,' p. 79.]

princes which have gone before, ye may clearly purge the polluted church, and remove all occasions of evil. And for so much as we have heretofore, at sundry times, made petition to
349 your majesty concerning the matter of images, but at no time exhibited any reasons for the removing of the same; now, lest we should seem to say much, and prove little, to allege consciences without the warrant of God's word, and unreasonably require that, for the which we can give no reason, we have at this time put in writing, and do most humbly exhibit to your gracious consideration, those authorities of the scriptures, reasons, and pithy persuasions, which as they have moved all such our brethren, as now bear the office of bishops, to think and affirm images not expedient for the church of Christ; so will they not suffer us, without the great offending of God, and grievous wounding of our own consciences, (which God deliver us from,) to consent to the erecting or retaining of the same in the place of worshipping; and we trust, and most earnestly ask it of God, that they may also persuade your majesty, by your regal authority, and in the zeal of God, utterly to remove this offensive evil out of the church of England, to God's great glory, and our great comfort.

Here follow the reasons against them, of which I have given a full abstract in the History, and therefore do not set them down here, for they are very large. The address concludes in these words. [p. 203.]

Having thus declared unto your highness a few causes of many, which do move our consciences in this matter, we beseech your highness, most humbly, not to strain us any further, but to consider that God's word doth threaten a terrible judgment unto us, if we, being pastors and ministers in his church, should assent to the thing, which in our learning and conscience we are persuaded doth tend to the confirmation of error, superstition, and idolatry; and finally, to the ruin of the souls committed to our charge, for the which we must give an account to the Prince of pastors at the last day. We pray your majesty also, not to be offended with this our plainness and liberty, which all good and Christian princes have ever taken in good part atthe hands of godly bishops. Heb. xiii. 1 Pet. v.

St. Ambrose, writing to Theodosius the emperor, useth these

Epist.lib.v. Epist. 29. words: *Sed neque imperiale est libertatem dicendi negare, neque sacerdotale quod sentiat non dicere.*

Epist. 29. And again: *Id causâ vero Dei quem audies, si sacerdotem non audies, cujus majore peccatur periculo? Quis tibi verum audebit dicere, si sacerdos non audeat?*

These, and such-like speeches of St. Ambrose, Theodosius and Valentinianus the emperors did always take in good part; and we doubt not, but your grace will do the like, of whose, not only clemency, but also beneficence, we have largely tasted.

We beseech your majesty also, in these and such-like controversies of religion, to refer the discussment, and deciding of them, to a synod of the bishops, and other godly learned men, according to the example of Constantinus Magnus, and other Christian emperors, that the reasons of both parts being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful matters.

And to return to this present matter; we most humbly beseech your majesty to consider, that besides weighty causes in policy, which we leave to the wisdom of your honourable counsellors, the establishing of images by your authority shall not only utterly discredit our ministries, as builders of the thing which we have destroyed, but also blemish the fame of your 350
most godly brother, and such notable fathers as have given their lives for the testimony of God's truth, who by public law removed all images.

The Almighty and everliving God plentifully endue your majesty with his Spirit and heavenly wisdom; and long preserve your most gracious reign, and prosperous government over us, to the advancement of his glory, to the overthrow of superstition, and to the benefit and comfort of all your highness' loving subjects. Amen.

Number VII.[9] [p. 400.]

The queen's commissions to the visitors that were sent to the northern parts.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor, charissimis consanguineis et consiliariis nostris, Francisco comiti de Salope, domino præsidenti consilii nostri in partibus borealibus, et Edwardo comiti de Darbiâ, ac charissimo consanguineo nostro Thomæ comiti Northumbriæ, domino guardiano sive custodi marchiarum nostrarum de le Estmarchiæ et middlemarchiæ versus Scotiam, ac prædilecto et fideli nostro Willielmo domino Evers, ac etiam dilectis et fidelibus nostris Henrico Percy, Thomæ Gargrave, Jacobo Crofts et Henrico Gates militibus, necnon dilectis Edwino Sandys sacræ theologiæ professori, Henrico Harvy legum doctori, Richardo Bowes, Christophero Estcot, Georgio Browne, et Richardo Kingismyll, armigeris, salutem. [State Paper Office, Domestic, vol. iv. art. 62.]

[9] [The author has not said where he found this document. Strype in his Annals, vol. i. p. 165, says that several commissions were issued, and that Burnet met with one of them, and published it in his History. He further says, that he saw this commission in the Queen's Paper House, bound up in a volume in folio, containing all the injunctions and matters done and found in this large northern visitation. It is still there, bound up in its proper place amongst the Domestic Papers, but the variations between this copy and that which appears in the folio editions of Burnet's History are so numerous and considerable, as to lead to the supposition that Burnet printed from a different copy. The editor accordingly searched the Rolls for another copy, but without success. The copy in the State Paper Office is so carelessly written, that the editor was at a loss how to represent it in print, as not only is it full of the most palpable blunders, but even the contractions are such as to shew that the writer mistook the words of the document from which he copied. Under these circumstances, the editor has departed from his usual plan of representing Latin documents exactly as he finds them, and has given the best text he could from a comparison of the two transcripts, marking such passages as have any very important variation, and where the sense is doubtful.

The State Paper copy would have been unintelligible, and the copy printed by Burnet shows that there were many passages which he did not understand in the copy from which he made his transcript.]

QUONIAM Deus populum suum Anglicanum imperio nostro subjecit, hujus regalis suscepti muneris rationem perfecte reddere non possumus, nisi veram religionem et syncerum numinis divini cultum in omnibus regni nostri partibus propagaverimus:

Nos igitur regalis et absolutæ potestatis nostræ, nobis in hoc regno nostro commissæ, respectu, quoniam utrumque regni nostri statum, tam ecclesiasticum, quam laicum visitare, et certas pietatis ac virtutis regulas illis præscribere constituimus, præfatos Franciscum comitem de Salope, Edwardum comitem de Darbiâ, Thomam comitem Northumbriæ, Willielmum dominum Evers, Henricum Percy, Thomam Gargrave, Jacobum Crofts, Henricum Gates, milites; Edwinum Sandys, Henricum Harvey, Richardum Bowes, Christophorum Estcot, Georgium Brown, et Richardum Kingismill armigeros, ad infrascripta vice, nomine, et authoritate nostris exequendum, vos quatuor, tres aut duo vestrûm ad minimum deputamus, et substituimus.

Ad visitandum igitur, tam in capite, quam in membris ecclesias cathedrales, civitates et dioceses Eboracensem, Cestrensem, Dunelmensem et Carliolensem, necnon quascunque alias collegiatas, parochiales et præbendales ecclesias, et loca alia ecclesiastica quæcunque, tam exempta, quam non exempta in et per easdem civitates et dioceses visibiliter constitutas, clerumque et populum earundem in eisdem degentes sive residentes; deque statu ecclesiarum et locorum hujusmodi, necnon vitâ, moribus et conversatione, ac etiam qualitatibus personarum in ecclesiis et 351
locis prædictis degentium, sive ministrantium, modis omnibus quibus id melius aut efficatius poteritis inquirendum et investigandum: criminosos, ac susceptæ religioni subscribere obstinate et peremptorie recusantes, vel quocunque alio modo delinquentes atque, culpabiles, condignis pœnis, etiam usque ad beneficiorum, dignitatum, sive officiorum suorum privationem, fructuumve, reddituum, et proventuum ecclesiarum et locorum, quibus præsunt, sequestrationem, vel quamcunque aliam congruam et competentem cohertionem inclusive puniendum et corrigendum; atque ad probatiores vivendi mores modis omnibus, quibus id melius et efficatius poteritis, reducendum; testamenta quorumcunque defunctorum infra loca prædicta decedentium probandum, approbandum et informandum, administrationesque bonorum eorundem executoribus in iisdem testa-

mentis nominatis committendum, administrationesque insuper ac sequestrationes bonorum ab intestatis sive per viam intestatorum, etiam decedentium in debitâ juris formâ expediendum, concedendum, ac committendum; computas quoque tam executorum, quam administratorum, et sequestratorum quorumcunque recipiendum, examinandum, admittendum et terminandum: ac insuper eosdem executores, administratores, et sequestratores, omnes et singulos acquietandum, relaxandum et finaliter dimittendum; causasque instanciarum quascunque examinandum, audiendum et finaliter terminandum;

Contumaces autem, et rebelles, cujuscunque conditionis sive statûs fuerint, si quos inveneritis, tam per censuras ecclesiasticas, quam personarum apprehencionem et incarcerationem, ac recognitionem, acceptionem ac quæcunque alia juris regni nostri remedia compescendum;

Necnon injunctiones præsentibus annexas personis in eisdem nominatis nomine nostro tradendum, aliasque injunctiones congruas et opportunas vice et authoritate nostris eis indicendum, dandum et assignandum pœnasque convenientes in earum violatores infligendum, et irrogandum;

Ecclesias etiam, et alia loca dimissa, vacare et pro vacantibus habenda fore decernendum et declarandum, pentionesque legitimas, congruas et competentes cedentibus vel resignantibus hujusmodi assignandum et limitandum, præsentatosque ad beneficia ecclesiastica quæcunque infra civitates, ecclesias aut dioceses prædictas constituta, durante visitatione nostrâ hujusmodi, si habiles fuerint et idonei, ad eadem admittendum, ac in et de eisdem instituendum et investiendum, cum suis juribus, et pertinentibus universis, eosque in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem eorundem inducendum, et induci faciendum, atque mandandum;

Necnon clericorum beneficiatorum quorumcunque tam pro ordinibus, quam beneficiis per eos adeptis, literas et munimenta exigendum et recipiendum, eaque diligenter examinandum, et discutiendum, et quos non sufficienter munitos in eâ parte comperitis, ab officio dimittendum, et pro sic non munitis declarandum, et pronunciandum;

Synodos quoque et capitula, tam generalia quam specialia, cleri et populi hujusmodi pro executione præmissorum aut reformatione quamcunque * faciendum et convocandum;

Procurationes quoque et synodalia ratione hujus nostræ visitationis debite petendum, exigendum, et levandum, ac etiam non solventes aut solvere recusantes per censuras ecclesiasticas compellendum, cohercendum et cogendum;

Necnon concionandi potestatem hujusmodi personis concedendum, quas ad hoc divinum munus suscipiendum aptas esse judicaveritis: incarceratos et vinculis commissos ob religionis causam antea licet nulliter condempnatos, causis incarcerationis 352
et condempnacionis hujusmodi prius examinatis, et plenarie discussis, examinandum, discutiendum ac in integrum, justiciâ id suadente, restituendum, deliberandum et extra prisonam dimittendum;

Necnon causas deprivationum examinandum, ac contra statuta et ordinationes hujus regni nostri Angliæ, vel juris ecclesiastici ordinem deprivatos restituendum;

Ac omnia et singula alia, quæ circa hujusmodi visitationis seu reformationis negocia necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna, etiamsi verba magis specialia de se exigunt et requirunt, faciendum, et expediendum; Vobis quatuor tribus aut duobus vestrûm, ut præfertur de quorum eminenti doctrinâ morumque, et concilii gravitate, ac in rebus gerendis fide et industriâ plurimum confidimus, vices nostras committimus ac plenam in dicto tenore præsentium concedimus facultatem, cum cujuslibet congruæ et legitimæ cohertionis potestate; et præterea certos viros prudentes, ac pios assignandum, et nominandum, per quos de statu rerum instruemini et quorum operâ præsentes utemini, in omnibus causis ad hanc visitationem nostram spectantibus, quantum vobis convenire videbitur. Iidem viri a vobis commissariis assignati et nominati plenam potestatem habebunt, etiam post commissariorum decessum, et post finitum etiam visitationis tempus, de omnibus articulis, ordinibus et institutis ejusdem visitationis inquirendi, et violatores eorum, cujuscunque condicionis fuerint, conveniendi et examinandi; et omnes querelas, quatenus ullum impedimentum aut offentionem nostræ visitacionis continebunt, accipiendi et audiendi, et hujusmodi personas, offentiones, et querelas commissariis nostris Londini residentibus, et ad ecclesiasticarum rerum reformacionem delegatis præsentabunt, et exhibebunt illis viis et modis, quibus hoc convenientissime videbunt fieri posse;

Mandantes omnibus, et singulis majoribus, vicecomitibus, justiciariis ac quibuscunque aliis officiariis, ministris et subditis nostris, quatenus vobis in et circa præmissorum executionem effectualiter assistant, auxilientur, et suffragentur,

Ut insuper sagacitatis, diligentiæ, factorumque vestrorum omnium evidens et perpetuum specimen nobis, posterisque nostris remaneat, inventaque et invenienda pro recordatorum defectu debitam reformacionem correctionemve non subterfugiant, aut e memoriâ prolabantur; nos supremâ ac regali auctoritate nostrâ prædictâ dilectos et fideles subditos nostros Thomam Percy, et Johannem Hoges, et eorum deputatos per commissarios nostros approbandos, notarios publicos per auctoritatem * legitime existentem, actorum, instrumentorum, decretorum, summarum, judiciorum, censurarum, cæterorumque omnium, et singulorum, quæ per vos, vestrûmve aliquem in visitacione hâc nostrâ regiâ peragentur, judicabuntur, decernentur, fient, ferentur, et pronunciabuntur, scribas, registrarios nostros publicos, et principales conjunctim et divisim ordinamus, nominamus et constituimus; eisque officium, et officia registrarii et scribis * nostri publici cum omnibus officia prædicta tangentibus eorumque deputatis per dictos commissarios approbandis conjunctim et divisim damus, deputamus, assignamus, et decernimus per præsentes.

In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, teste meipsâ apud Westmonasterium vicessimo quarto die Junii, anno regni nostri primo.

Number VIII.[10] [p. 401.]

Ten letters written to, and by, Dr. Parker, concerning his promotion to the see of Canterbury. An original. 353

Ex MSS. reverendis. D. D. Gul. arch. Cant. [Lambeth MS. 959. No. 29.]

AFTER my right hearty commendations, these are to signify unto you, That for certain matters touching yourself, which I trust shall turn you to good, I would wish that you should repair hither to London, with as convenient speed as you can, where you shall find me at Burgeney house in Pater-Noster

[10] [The valuable volume from which these letters were taken is in the Lambeth library among the MSS. numbered 959. It is a small folio, bound and lettered on the back, 'Parker de Antiquitate Ecclesiæ Britannicæ, 1572.' It has no title-page, but commences with several leaves of MS. containing an account of several original papers that are inserted in the volume made by And. Coltee Ducarel and dedicated to Thomas, lord archbishop of Canterbury. From this it appears, that the book, which formerly belonged to the MS. library at Lambeth, had been missing since the year 1720, as might be seen from Dr. Wilkins' Catalogue of the Lambeth Library. It was recovered by Dr. Trevor, then bishop of Durham, who in May 1757 presented it to archbishop Hutton for the use of the Lambeth library. The writer says it was first printed by Daye in 1572, and that the edition was so small that, besides the present complete copy, there was only one other known to be complete, viz. that in the public library at Cambridge. After this follows a description of the printed matter and an account of the MS. insertions *seriatim*, fifty-nine in number, signed at the end by And. Coltee Ducarel, Doctors' Commons, July 15, 1768. The life of Augustine begins at page 1, and is designated No. 4. of the Insertions. At the top of the page is a MS. note, 'These twenty-four pages of Augustine's life were thus begun by George Acworth, doctor of the law at the appointment of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, and the lives of all the archbishops should have in this course been perfected, with a general story, but death prevented it.' The handwriting of this note appears to be contemporary. The insertion which is numbered as the sixth commences with an engraved title-page, with a blank space in the centre, about three inches by two. Upon this has been pasted a paper on which there is in manuscript the following title:

De
Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ et
Privilegiis Ecclesiæ
Cantuariensis
cum ejusdem
Archiepiscopis
70
An. Domini
1572.
Londini per Joannem Deye.

At the top of this page is a manuscript note as follows:

Row, if it be not over-long or you come. And if it chance that I be returned into Suffolk before your coming, then I would you should make your repair unto my brother-in-law, sir Wylliam Cicil, the queen's secretary, declaring unto him, that I appointed you to wait upon him to know his pleasure touching such matters as he and I did talk of concerning you. Thus wishing you well to do, I bid you heartily farewell.

Written the 9th of December, 1558. By

Yours assuredly,

N. Bacon.

[*To the right worshipful and my very friend Mr. Doctor Parcar, give these in haste.*]

Dr. Parker's Answer[11]. *A copy.*

Right worshipful;

After my duty of commendations. Where of late I received your letters to this effect, that I should repair up unto [Lambeth MSS. 959. art. 31.]

'This history was collected and penned by John Josselyn, one of the sons of sir Thomas Josselyn knight, by the appointment and oversight of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, the said John being entertained in the said archbishop's house, as one of his antiquaries, to whom, besides the allowance afforded to him in his house, he gave to him the parsonage of Hollinburn in Kent, whereof he raised £300. for a lease by him made .... and reserved £30. rent to him and his successors for the years to come.' After this comes the preface on four leaves, printed in Roman type, with several manuscript notes. The rest of the volume is nearly all in Italic type, and the paging begins anew at A. 1. Then follow various MS. insertions down to p. 424, where the life of cardinal Pole ends, and where there is a MS. note headed, *Vota Mariæ Reginæ*. After this there are two MS. insertions of the date 1559, and the life of Matthew Parker, the numbers being at the foot of the page; these few pages have inserted between them the rest of the MS. additions from Number 29 to Number 59. The first eighteen pages of Parker's life are numbered, after which are six pages without number: then follow p. 19 down to p. 23, upon which a picture of the archbishop is pasted. After this follows a catalogue of books given to the public library at Cambridge, printed in 1574. Then follow the errata and the index, which has manuscript additions, after which is a printed 'Catalogus Cancellariorum,' &c., of forty-eight pages.]

[11] [This letter, the place of which is manifestly determined by the reference in the following letter, was placed by the author as an answer to Bacon's letter of Jan. 4, 1558. It was restored to its proper place in the 'Correspondence of Archbishop Parker.']

you at London, upon occasion, as ye wrote, which may turn me to good, so judged by a late conference with the right worshipful sir William Cecill, secretary to the queen's majesty, of long time my special good friend and master, ye shall understand that my *quartane* hath so much distempered the state of my health, that, without apparent danger, I cannot as yet commit myself to the adventure of the air, as by divers essays I have attempted of late, to my greater pain, and further hindrance; whereupon, if your opportunity might so serve, I would most heartily pray your worship to signify so much. And further, yet in confidence of your old good heart to me, I would be a suitor to you, as I was once to sir John Cheke, my entire good friend, and patron, to the said sir William Cecill, that where he was desirous, by his mediation, to do me good, (as here you use to call it,) even as I was then framed in mind, so am I at this day. I would be inwardly heavy and sorry that his favourable affection should procure me any thing above the reach of mine ability, whereby I should both dishonest myself, and disappoint the expectation of such as may think that in me, which I know is not; but specially I might clog and cumber my conscience to God ward, before whom I look every day to appear to make mine answer, which I think, and as I trust, is not far off: notwithstanding though I would most fain wear out the rest of my life in private state, yet concerning that very small talent credited unto me, I would not so unthankfully to God ensue my quiet, that I could not be content to bestow it, so it were there, whither my heart and conscience afore this time, and daily yet doth incline me: I mean, to be no further abled, but by the revenue of some prebend, (without charge of cure, or of government,) to occupy myself to dispense God's reverend word amongst the simple strayed sheep of God's fold, in poor destitute parishes and cures, more meet for my decayed voice, and small quality, than in theatrical and great audience: which walk, and wish I would to be nigh the quarters, where we both were born, by occasion whereof I might have opportunity to wait other-while on you at Redgrave, whither I have vowed my first journey, immediately upon my strength recovered, by the occasion of your friendly request of your letters ye sent me. And if I might be yet bolder with you, as I was with the said sir John

Cheke, to disclose my desire, of all places in England I would wish to bestow most my time in the university, the state whereof is miserable at this present, as I have had intelligence from time to time thereof. And if in any respect I could do service, as a weak member of the commonwealth, I think I might do it with them, having long acquaintance, and some experience in the doings there; which judgment had the
356 said sir John Cheke towards me: and therefore to set me on work, had once, by the favour of the said Mr. Secretary, procured to have me named to the worship of Trinity college, which yet chanced not to that effect, God otherwise determining the matter in his providence. But to tell you my heart, I had rather have such a thing as Bennett-college is in Cambridge, a living of twenty nobles by the year at the most, than to dwell in the deanery of Lyncolne, which is two hundred at the least. Now, sir, ye may see herein yet my ambition in writing thus much, but I shall pray you to accept the circumstances, which ye may better insinuate to Mr. Secretary, than I dare be bold, by my rude letters, to molest his favourable goodness, or yet prescribe to your, and his worship, wisdom and prudence. In conclusion, at the reverence of God, I pray you, either help that I be quite forgotten, or else so appointed, that I be not entangled now of new, with the concurre of the world, in any respect of public state of living, whereby I shall have an unfeigned signification of your very good will to me indeed, and be bound to pray for you during my life.

Some of your scholars at Cambridge, enjoying the benefit of your liberal exhibition, have sent your worship now their letters, some be sick and absent.

Thus reposing the quiet of my mind, and having good hope in your friendliness to the considerations aforesaid, I wish you a full recovery of your health, and a continuance of God's grace and favour, with all your family.

Your beadsman to command,

M. P.

[*To the right worshipful and my singular good master and friend Mr. Bacon at Burgeyney House.*]

Dr. Parker's answer to the former letter. A copy. 355

[Lambeth MSS. 959. No. 31.] RIGHT worshipful, with my thankful duty of commendations, hearing of your sickness still to occupy you, I was right-heartily sorry that I molested you with so long a letter, into which fault, for that I will not fall again at this present, I shall use the fewer words. Sir, if may know at what time I might, in your return down, wait on your worship at Burgeyney, or at New-Market, I will, by God's grace, so appoint my self to be there first, the rather for that I would not give occasion to have your journey either protracted, or yet diverted out of the right line thereof. In the mean time I shall beseech God to restore your strength, that ye may the sooner be restored to the common-wealth, which in this apparent necessity of worthy persons, I fear, feeleth God's hand in this his visitation to be burdenous. I would wish ye were not much stirring abroad in the distemperance of the air, so contrarious to the state of men's bodies, once pierced with this insolent *quartane*, as experience sheweth. I think the spring-time, as in natural respects, must be expected, though Almighty God be bound to no time. Thus I heartily commend you to his gracious protection, this 20th of December.

Your most bounden assuredly to command,

M. P.

A letter written to him by secretary Cecil. An original.

[Lambeth MSS. 959. No. 30.] AFTER my hearty commendations. The queen's highness 354
minding presently to use your service in certain matters of importance, hath willed me so to signify unto you, to the end you should forthwith, upon the sight hereof, put yourself in order to make your undelayed repair hither unto London; at which your coming up, I shall declare unto you her majesty's further pleasure, and the occasion why you are sent for; and hereof praying you therefore in no wise to fail, I bid you well to fare.

From Westminster, the 30th of December, 1558.

Your loving friend,

W. Cecill.

[*To the right worshipful and my loving friend Mr. Doctor Parkar.*]

Another letter of the lord keeper's to him. An original.

[Lambeth MSS, 959. No. 31. a.]

AFTER hearty commendations, these are to signify unto you, That ye may assure yourself, that you shall have any thing that I can do for you touching the request of your letters, or any other matter being in my power: I do think that ye have received, or this, a letter from Mr. Secretary, willing you to come up immediately, if your health will suffer, for certain weighty matters touching the queen's service; so as I trust, by your presence, all things to your own contentation shall come the better to pass. If this letter be not come to your hands, and therewith you be not able to come, it shall be behoveful for you to signify so much, because I have been willed also to haste your coming up. Thus right-heartily fare ye well. Written the 4th of January, 1558. By

Yours assuredly,

N. Bacon.

[*To the right worshipful and my very friend Mr. Doctor Parker.*]

A long letter of Dr. Parker's excusing himself from the offer of the arch-bishopric of Canterbury. An original.

[Lambeth MSS. 959. No. 37.]

RIGHT honourable, my duty presupposed. It is an old said proverb, *Ubi quis dolet ibidem et manum frequenter habet,* beseeching you, for God's sake, the rather to bear the importunity of this my hand-writing, supposing that this may be one of the last solicitations that I shall molest you with.

Sir, Your signification uttered to me at my first coming to you at London, concerning a certain office ye named to me, did hold me in such carefulness all my time of being there with the recoursing of a dull distemperance, set in my head by the dregs of my *quartane,* and as yet not remedied whereby I had no disposition to my book; beside some other displeasant cogitations concerning the state of this time, made me have so little joy of my being at London, as I had never less in my life: most glad when my back was turned thereunto. But to come nigher to my intent of writing, I shall
357 pray to God, ye bestow that office well, ye shall need care the less for the residue. God grant it chanceth neither on arro-

gant man, neither on fainthearted man, nor on covetous man; the first shall both sit in his own light, and shall discourage his fellows to join with him in unity of doctrine, which must be their whole strength; for if any heart-burning be betwixt them, if private quarrels stirred abroad be brought home, and so shall shiver them asunder, it may chance to have that success which I fear in the conclusion will follow. The second man should be too weak to commune with the adversaries, who would be the stouter upon his pusillanimity. The third man not worth his bread, profitable for no estate in any Christian common-wealth, to serve it rightly.

For my part, I pray God I never fall into his indignation; and wisdom it were not, for a subject to deserve his prince's displeasure, and sorry would I be to discontent Mr. Secretary, and you, for whose worshipful favours I count my self more bound to pray to God, and to wish well to than for all the men in the realm beside. I speak it sincerely, without flattery; for though I have little wit, yet I can discern betwixt men, who delight to be flattered, and who not, though I would not consider how dishonest it were for me to use it. But, sir, except ye both moderate and restrain your over-much good will in the former respect to me-ward, I fear, in the end, I shall dislike you both, and that your benevolences should, by occasion of my obstinate untowardness, jeopard me into prison; yet there shall I bear you my good heart, which I had rather suffer in a quiet conscience, than to be intruded into such room and vocation, wherein I should not be able to answer the charge to God, nor to the world, wherein I should not serve the queen's honour, which I would wish most heartily advanced in all her wise and godly proceedings; nor yet should I live to the honour of the realm, and so finally should but work a further displeasant contemplation to my good friends who preferred me.

This, this is the thing that make me afraid my lord, though I passed not on mine own shame and rebuke; and therefore, by God's favour, and your good helps, I never intend to be of that order, better or worse, higher nor lower; *Non omnia possumus omnes; et tutissimum est ut quisque hanc artem exerceat in quâ educatus, et ad quam natura homines formavit.*

And as for other furnishments, I am too far behind. When

I came first up to London, I had thirty pounds in my purse, not ten shillings more, whereof I have wasted a good part; and if I were placed, as some of my friends wish to me, what would that do to begin, or to furnish my houshold, &c? And I hear how the citizens of Norwich pray for the soul of their last bishop, for when upon his departure they seized his goods, to answer his debts to them, straight-way came the queen's officers and discharged them all, which yet were not able, for all his spare hospitality, to pay half that he owed.

Furthermore, to come to another consideration, of a further imperfection, which I would have dissembled to you and others but it cannot be, but must open it to you, my assured good
358 master and friend, in secrecy, whose old good will maketh me the less abashed, to be so homely with you at this time.

In one of my letters, I made a little signification of it, but peradventure ye did not mark it. Sir, I am so in body hurt and decayed, *coram Deo non mentior,* that whatsoever my ability were, either of worldly furniture, or inward quality; and though my heart would right fain serve my sovereign lady, the queen's majesty, in more respects than of mine allegiance, not forgetting what words her grace's mother said to me of her, not six days before her apprehension, yet this my painful infirmity will not suffer it in all manner services. Flying in a night, from such as sought for me, to my peril, I fell off my horse so dangerously, that I shall never recover it; and by my late journey up, and my being there at London, not well settled, it is increased to my greater pain. I am fain sometime to be idle, when I would be occupied; and also to keep my bed, when my heart is not sick.

This was one cause why I was importune to you for that room, whereof I made mention in my former letters, by the which I might be abled, by the portion of that stipend, in this mine impoverishment, to wear out my life tolerably, and should not by that be occasioned to come up to any convocations, as having no voice in that house; and peradventure being there, I might be a mean for the fewer matters of disturbance, to come up to Mr. Secretary, now chancellor there, to molest him, more than should need, whose gentle affability might provoke some inconsiderate men not to regard his other greater affairs. And yet though I were so placed, I would not for-

swear London, or the court either, at times, as could stand with my ability and health of body, if my service could be any ways acceptable, and were agreeable to the proportion of my capacity.

Sir, Because I may not dissemble with you, I have told you all. Now, do with me what ye will. I may be ashamed to spend so many words in a cause private of myself; but yet because ye must be partner of some lack, if I answered not the expectation, I could no less do, but make you privy beforehand. I pray you think not that the prognostication of Mr. Michael Nostre Dame reigneth in my head. I esteem that fantastical hotch-potch not so well, as I credit Lucyan's book, *De veris Narrationibus;* nor yet all other vain prophesies of Sonds, more than I regard sir Thomas Morys book of Fortune's Answers upon the chance of three dice casting. I would I saw no more cause to fear the likelyhood of God's wrath deserved, for dissolute life, to fall upon the realm, by the evidence of his true word, and by God's old practices: and yet no man considereth his ire already begun, *Dominus non sinit viros dolosos dimidiare dies suos.*

I shall pray to God to defend you and your family, and that ye may revolve in mind Christ's serious admonition, *Quid proderit homini, si totum mundum lucretur, si animæ suæ detrimentum patiatur,* Matt. xvi. *Et, Non in abundantiâ cujusquam, est vita hominis ex hiis quæ possidet,* Luc. xi.

Sir, My duty of heart maketh me bold with you, not otherwise meaning before God, but thanking him many times that Mr. Secretary and you may have the doing of things in this greedy world, and that ye have so good credit, and ready 359
access to the queen's majesty, to comfort her good inclination, whom I beseech the God of heaven to preserve with her council, yea, and with the seniority of her spiritual ministers also, against whom I see a great charge set before them, to overcome that, must specially go through their hands by diligent watching, upon the unruly flock of the English people, if they were not so much acloyed with worldly collections, temporal commissions, and warlike provisions. I speak this the rather in this respect, which I thought good to put to your understanding; at my last being at London, I heard and saw books printed, which be spread abroad, whose authors be ministers

of good estimation. The doctrine of the one is to prove, that a lady woman cannot be, by God's word, a governor in a Christian realm. And in another book going abroad, is matter set out to prove, that it is lawful for every private subject to kill his sovereign, *ferro, veneno, quocumque modo,* if he think him to be a tyrant in his conscience, yea, and worthy to have a reward for his attempt: *Exhorrui cum ista legerem.* If such principles be spread into men's heads, as now they be framed and referred to the judgment of the subject, of the tenant, and of the servant, to discuss what is tyranny, and to discern whether his prince, his landlord, his master, is a tyrant, by his own fancy, and collection supposed, what lord of the council shall ride quietly-minded in the streets, among desperate beasts? What master shall be sure in his bed-chamber? It is the surest way for every man to serve God truly in his vocation, to deserve the rather his protection: and then both the Devil and man, foreign and intestine, shall have their malices retorted upon themselves again. But thus goeth the Devil about to dull the heroical stomachs of princely men, to do good in their turn of time, to serve God and the common-wealth. They say that the realm is full of Anabaptists, Arians, libertines, free-will men, &c., against whom only I thought ministers should have needed only to fight in unity of doctrine. As for the Romish adversaries, their mouths may be stopped with their own books, and confessions of late days; I never dreamed that ministers should be compelled to impugn ministers; the adversaries have good sport betwixt themselves, to prognostic the likelyhood. Some protestants peradventure, perceiving how men nip them to disable them, to keep any learned men in house to confer with, to beat down these seditious sects, if any inconvenience, for want of preaching, shall fall, some may chance to say a verse of David's Psalter, *Lætabitur justus, cum viderit vindictam, et manus suas lavabit in sanguine peccatoris,* as not caring for their assurances, who abase them so low: and some peradventure have cast already their starting shifts, and make provision against all adventures. Well, I pray God all be conscience to God, that is sometime so pretended: men be men, yea, after the school of affliction, men be men. Hypocrisy is a privy thief, both in the clergy and in the laity. To make an end of such conference, which I

would gladly have told you presently, but I could not wait so much leisure in you, and opportunity; and loth I was to have begun my tale, and not to have ended it, by reason of interruption by others.

But as for the principal occasion of my writing, howsoever it may dislike you, yet shall I ever-more acknowledge my duty to you, yea, though now ye give me quite up: I reverence 360
you so much, that I had rather ye disliked me utterly betimes, with your less repentance, rather than ye or other of my loving friends should bear any envy, or any displeasant unthankfulness, and so too late to repent for your commending of me, of a persuasion in an appearance, and not surely grounded, to be seen when experience should have shewed the trial. And therefore I write it to you in time again, after the signification of my very first letters to prevent you, for I know ye may, with a few words, remedy all the towardness yet concluded.

And think not, I pray your honour, that I seek my private gain, or my idle ease. Put me where ye will else; and if, as far as my power of knowledge, and of health of body will extend, I do not apply myself to discharge my duty, let me be thrust out again like a thief. I thank God my conscience condemneth me not, that I have been aforetime any great gatherer; and now, for the upholding of two or three years more of life, to heap unproportionably, I count it madness; and more than this purpose, by God's grace, I dare promise nothing: and as for such few folks which I may leave behind me, they shall not say by me, I trust, that happy be these children whose fathers goeth to the Devil for their sake. Your lordship knoweth with what patrimony I began the world with, and yet have hitherto lived with enough, yea, when all my livings were taken from me, yet God, I thank him, ministered to me sufficiently, above the capacity of my understanding, or foreseeing. And thus commending your good lordship to that merciful governance, I pray your honourable wisdom to put this scribbling out of the way, from every man's sight and intelligence.

Right honourable, after my duty of commendations to your lordship, I am bold now to send you a fancy of my head, expressed in these few leaves; which if I had compact in a letter,

it would have seemed over-long, and being comprised in leaves, may appear to be but a very little book of one sheet of paper, which yet I so devised, upon consideration of your business, which will not suffer you to be long detained in matters impertinent, and therefore ye may turn in the leaf and read it at divers leisures, if your lordship shall vouchsafe the reading. And thus wishing you joy of heart, which I feel to be a great treasure in this world, as the want, a grievous torment; I pray God preserve your honourable goodness, with my good lady your wife. If ye see ought in my quire worth reformation, ye know I am disciplinable, and have read, *quod meliora sunt vulnera diligentis, quam fraudulenta oscula odentis:* wherefore reserving mine unreasonable determination, as ye shall know, I shall yield myself whole conformable to your honour, *ubi, quomodo, quando, aliquid, vel tandem nihil.* Of an occasion lately ministered, I have sent my letters[12] to Mr. Secretary concerning another matter,

Your assured orator,

M. P.

Primo Martii.

361 *A letter written to him by the lord keeper concerning it. An original.*

[Lambeth MSS. 959. art. 32.]

THAT before this time I have not sent you answer to your last letters; the cause hath been, for that I could by no mean understand to what end the matter mentioned in those letters would certainly grow unto; but perceiving this day, by a resolution made in the queen's highness' presence, that your friends shall very hardly deliver you of the charge written of in the same letters, I thought it good to make you privy thereunto; and therewith to advise you, to commit to the judgment of your friends, your ability and disability to serve, where and when you shall be called. If I knew a man to whom the description made, in the beginning of your letter, might more justly be referred, than to yourself, I would prefer him before you; but knowing none so meet indeed, I take it to be my duty

[12] [This letter has been printed from the original in the State Paper Office, in Parker's Correspondence, p. 54.]

to prefer you before all others, and the rather also, because otherwise I should not follow the advice of your own letter. The rest, which is much, I defer until our next meeting. It is like, that or it be long, you shall receive letters subscribed by me and others jointly. Thus right-heartily farewell. From the court the 17th of May, 1559.

Yours assuredly,

N. Bacon.

[*To the right worshipful and my very friend Mr. Doctor Parker, give this.*]

An order sent to him, requiring him to come up to London. An original.

[Lambeth MSS. 959. art. 33.]

AFTER our hearty commendations. These be to signify unto you, that for certain causes, wherein the queen's majesty intendeth to use your service, her pleasure is, that you should repair up hither with such speed, as you conveniently may; and at your coming up, you shall understand the rest. Thus right-heartily fare ye well.

From the court, the 19th of May, 1559.

Your loving friends,

N. Bacon.

W. Cecill.

[*To the right worshipful and our very friend Mr. Doctor Parker, give these with speed.*]

A second order to the same effect. An original. 362

[Lambeth MSS. 959. art. 34.]

AFTER our hearty commendations. Where before this time we directed our letters unto you, declaring thereby, that for certain causes, wherein the queen's majesty intendeth to use your service, you should repair hither with all convenient speed, whereof we have as yet received none answer; and therefore, doubting lest by the default of the messenger, the letter be not come to your hands, we have thought good again to write unto you, to the intent you should understand her highness' pleasure

is, that you should make your repair hither with all speed possible. Thus right-heartily farewell.

From the court, the 28th day of May, 1559.

Your loving friends,

N. Bacon, C. S.

W. Cecill.

Dr. Parker's letter to the queen, excusing himself. An original.

PLEASETH it your most honourable majesty to be gracious lady to my poor suit, which at this time extreme necessity compelleth me to make, both in respect of my constrained conscience to Almighty God, as also in the regard of my duty which I owe to your noble estate, and most high authority. So it is, most gracious and sovereign lady, where I have understanding of your most favourable opinion toward me, your grace's most simple subject, concerning the arch-bishopric of Canterbury; in consideration whereof, I ought, and do acknowledge my most bound duty to be a faithful orator for your grace during my life; yet calling to examination my great unworthiness for so high a function, which mine disability I might alledge at length in particularity, but for molesting your grace's most weighty affairs, I am bold thus, by my writing, to approach to your high estate reverently on my knees beseeching your honour to discharge me of that so high and chargeable an office, which doth require a man of much more wit, learning, virtue, and experience than I see, and perfectly know can be performed of me worthily, to occupy it to God's pleasure, to your grace's honour, and to the wealth of your loving subjects; beside many other imperfections in me, as well for temporal ability for the furnishing thereof, as were seemly to the honour of the realm; as also of infirmity of body, which will not suffer me to attend on so difficult a cure, to the discharge thereof, in
363 any reasonable expectation. And where, most gracious lady, beside my humble duty of allegiance, to your princely dignity, I am otherwise, for the great benefits which sometime I received at your grace's honourable mother's benevolence (whose soul I doubt not but is in blissful felicity with God) most singularly

[Lambeth MSS. 959. art. 35.]

obliged, above many other, to be your most faithful beadsman, both in thanking Almighty God for his fatherly protection hitherto over your noble person, and also furthermore to pray for the continuance of your fortunate reign in all godly prosperity. I am right sorry, and do lament within myself, that I am so basely qualified inwardly in knowledge, and outwardly in extern sufficiencies, to do your grace any meet service, as I would wish could be acceptable, and to your grace's expectation: assuring your noble estate, that in any other smaller vocation, under the degree of such chargeable offices, and more agreeable to my infirmity, if it shall be so seen to your high wisdom, and merciful liberality, I shall endeavour myself to attend thereon to my uttermost power referring yet myself wholly to your grace's pleasure, rather than by just allegation of mine unworthiness, the loyal duty of my faithful heart should be any ways suspected to your reverend majesty.

Your grace's poor subject,

Matthew Parker[13].

[13] [The remaining letter on the subject from Lord Keeper Bacon to Parker has been printed from the Original in C. C. C. library in Parker's Correspondence, p. 71.]

Number IX.[13] [p. 404.]

The instrument of Dr. Parker's consecration; with some attestations of the authenticalness of it.

Rituum atque ceremoniarum ordo, in consecrando reverendissimo in Christo patre, Matthæo Parker, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, in sacello suo apud manerium suum de Lamheth, die Dominico, 17. *viz. die mensis Decembris, anno Domini* 1559. *habitus.* Ex MS. col. C. C. Cantab.

PRINCIPIO, sacellum tapetibus ad orientem adornabatur, solum vero panno rubro insternebatur, mensa quoque sacris peragendis necessaria, tapeto pulvinarique ornata ad orientem sita erat.

[13] [The original of the following letter, which has never been printed, was communicated to the editor by Mr. Charles Hampton Weekes, B.A., of Exeter College, Oxford, who also kindly transcribed it. It seems to shew that the document at C.C.C. from which the copy in the text was corrected, is the first executed attestation of the consecration of archbishop Parker. For an account of the other copies, the reader is referred to the edition of Bramhall's Works, published in the Anglo Catholic Library.

'Concerning archbishop Parker's ordination in Lambeth chapel.

An account that I myself have had from my owne grandfather and father. My great grandfather, John Hampton, vicar of Rygate in Surrey, was chaplaine to Charles, earle of Nottingham, lord high admiral in queen Elizabeth's reigne. My owne grandfather rector of Bletchingley in Surrey, was chaplaine to that earles eldest sonn.

Now the following relation I have several times heard from my owne grandfather, who had it from his father and his owne lord; who both had it from the old earle of Nottingham's owne mouth. The same account I have also often had from my owne father as told him by my grandfather, and is as follows—

In the beginning of king James his reigne, there came out a book under the name of Sanders, with the story of the Nagg's Head ordination; this book made a great noyse, and was wonderfully cried up by the Roman Catholics, as sapping the whole reformation att once, by destroying the episcopacy; this book was shewd to king James, and upon his reading of it it startled him. Upon this he called his privy council and shewd it them, and with all told'em that he was a stranger among 'em and knew nothing of the matter, and directing himself to the archbishop who was present, 'my lord, (sayes he,) I hope you can prove and make good your ordination, for by my sol man, (sayes he,) if this story be true, we are no church;' the archbishop replyd he had never heard the story before, but did not question but he could detect the

Quatuor præteria cathedræ, quatuor episcopis, quibus munus consecrandi archiepiscopi delegabatur, ad austrum orientalis sacelli partis erant positæ.

Scamnum præterea tapeto pulvinaribusque instratum, cui episcopi genubus flexis inniterentur, ante cathedras ponebatur.

forgery of it, and by examining the Lambeth Registers, could prove archbishop Parker's ordination.

Att another privy council upon the same account, the old earle of Notingham was present, and when 'twas debated, the old earle stood up and told the king and council he could give them full satisfaction as to that matter upon his owne personal knowledge, for (says he) archbishop Parker's ordination made a great noyse about towne that he was to be ordaynd, such a day in Lambeth chappel, which drew a great deal of company thither, and out of curiosity I went thither myself, and was present at hys ordination, and he was ordained by the form in king Edward's Comon Prayer Book. I myelf (says he) had the book in my hand all the time, and went along with the ordination, and when it was over I dind with 'em, and there was an instrument drawne up of the form and order of it, which instrument I saw and redd over. Some time after, I being acquainted with the archbishop, and being at Lambeth with him, he told me he had sent that instrument to Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, to be layd up in their library *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, and sayes the old earle, I believe it may be in the library still, if your majesty please to have it searcht for. By my sol man, (says the king,) thou speakst to the purpose; we must see this instrument, and this puts the thing out of all dispute. Upon this a messenger was sent, the instrument found and brought to the king, he shewd it and had it read in council, and desird the old earl of Nottingham to look upon it and see if he could remember whether it was the original instrument which was drawne up att the ordination. The earl peruseing of it declared it was the original he saw and read when archbishop Parker was ordain'd. The king upon this addressing himself to several popish lords who were there present in council, My lords, (says he,) what doe you now think of the matter? they all declard their abhorrence of the forgery of the Nagg's Head ordination, and several of 'em upon it left the popish communion and came over to the church of England, declaring, that church was not fitt to be trusted with their soules, who would invent and abett such a notorious falsity.

This account I have often heard my grandfather give who had it not only from his owne father, who was chaplaine to the old earle, and had it from the earle's owne mouth, but also he had the same relation from the old earle's eldest sonn, to whome my owne grandfather was chaplaine. The same account I have also often had from my owne father, as he had it from my grandfather, and for truth of this I witness my hand,

Wm. Hampton,
Rector of Worth.

I put this relation in writeing for the sake of a book lately put into my hand, writt by one Ward, a preist, entitled, The controversye of ordination truely stated, where this story of the Nagg's Head ordination is most impudently and confidently told and vindicated. To me att least the above said relation is a full confutation of it. 1721.'

Pari quoque modo cathedra, scamnumque tapeto pulvinarique ornatum, archiepiscopo, ad borealem orientalis ejusdem sacelli partis plagam posita erant.

Hiis rebus ita ordine suo instructis, mane circiter quintam aut sextam per occidentalem portam ingreditur sacellum archiepiscopus, togâ talari coccineâ caputioque indutus, quatuor præcedentibus funalibus, et quatuor comitatus episcopis, qui ejus
364 conserationi inservirent (verbi gratiâ) Gulielmo Barlow olim Bathoniense et Wellense episcopo, nunc vero ad Cichestrensem episcopatum electo, Johanne Scory olim Cichestriæ episcopo et nunc ad Herefordiensem vocato, Milone Coverdallo olim Exoniense episcopo, et Johanne Hodgskinne Bedfordiæ suffraganeo. Qui omnes postquam sedes sibi paratas ordine singuli suo occupâssent, preces continuo matutinæ per Andream Pierson archiepiscopi capellanum clarâ voce recitabantur; quibus peractis, Johannes Score (de quo supra diximus) suggestum conscendit, atque inde assumpto sibi in thema, *seniores ergo qui in vobis sunt obsecro consenior*, etc., non ineleganter concionabatur.

Finitâ concione, egrediuntur simul archiepiscopus reliquique quatuor episcopi sacellum, se ad sacram communionem paraturi, neque mora confestim per borialem portam in vestiarum ad hunc modum vestiti rediunt. Archiepiscopus nimirum linteo superpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur. Cicestriensis electus, capâ sericâ ad sacra peragenda paratus utebatur. Cui ministrabant operamque suam præbebant duo archiepiscopi capellani, Nicholaus, viz. Bullingham Lincolniæ archideaconus, et Edmundus Gest Cantuariensis quoque archidiaconus, capis sericis similiter vestiti. Herefordensis electus et Bedfordensis suffraganeus, linteis superpellicies induebantur.

Milo vero Coverdallus non nisi togâ laneâ talari utebatur.

Atque hunc in modum vestiti et instructi ad communionem celebrandum perrexerunt, archiepiscopo genibus flexis ad infimum sacelli gradum sedente.

Finito tandem evangelio, Herefordensis electus, Bedfordiæ suffraganius, et Milo Coverdallus (de quibus supra) archiepiscopum coram Cicestriense electo apud mensam in Cathedrâ sedenti hiis verbis adduxerunt; Reverende in deo pater, hunc virum pium pariter atque doctum tibi offerimus atque præsentamus, ut archiepiscopus consecretur. Postquam hæc dixissent, proferebatur ilico reginæ diploma siue mandatum pro consecratione archie-

piscopi, quo per D. Thomam Yale legum doctorem perlecto, sacramentum de regio primatu sive supremâ ejus authoritate tuendâ juxta statuta primo anno regni serenissimæ reginæ nostræ Elizabethæ promulgata ab eodem archiepiscopo exigebatur, quod cum ille solemniter tactis corporaliter sacris evangeliis conceptis verbis præstitisset, Cicestriensis electus quædam præfatus atque populum ad orationem hortatus, ad Litanias decantandas choro respondente se accinxit. Quibus finitis, post quæstiones aliquot archiepiscopo per Cicestriensem electum propositas, et post orationes et suffragia quædam juxta formam libri auctoritate parliamenti editi, apud Deum habita, Cicestrensis, Herefordensis, suffraganeus Bedfordensis et Milo Coverdallus, manibus archiepiscopo impositis, Accipe (inquiunt) Spiritum Sanctum, et gratiam Dei quæ jam per impositionis manuum in te est excitare memento. Non enim timoris, sed virtutis, dilectionis et sobrietatis spiritum dedit nobis Deus. His ita dictis, Biblia sacra illi in manibus tradiderunt hujusmodi apud eum verba habentes; In legendo, hortando, et docendo vide diligens sis, atque ea meditare assidue quæ in hiisce libris scripta sunt, noli in his segnis esse quo incrementum inde proveniens omnibus innotescat et palam fiat. Cura quæ ad te et ad docendi munus spectant diligenter. Hoc enim modo non teipsum solum, sed et reliquos auditores tuos per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum salvabis. 365
Postquam hæc dixissent, ad reliqua communionis solemnia pergit Cicestrensis, nullum archiepiscopo tradens pastorale baculum: cum quo communicabant una archiepiscopus, et quatuor illi episcopi supra nominati cum aliis etiam nonnullis.

Finitis tandem peractisque sacris, egreditur per borealem orientalis sacelli partis portam archiepiscopus quatuor illis comitatus episcopis qui eum consecraverant, et confestim iisdem ipsis stipatus episcopis per eandem revertitur portam albo episcopali superpelliceo, crimerâque (ut vocant) ex nigro serico indutus, circa collum vero collare quoddam ex pretiosis pellibus sabellinis (vulgo *sables* vocant) consutum gestabat. Pari quoque modo Cicestrensis et Herefordensis, suis episcopalibus amictibus, superpelliceo scilicet et crimerâ uterque induebatur. D. Coverdallus vero et Bedfordiæ suffraganeus togis solummodo talaribus utebantur. Pergens deinde occidentalem portam versus archiepiscopus Thomæ Doyle œconomo, Johanni Baker thesaurario, et Johanni Marche computo rotulario, singulis

singulos albos dedit baculos, hoc scilicet modo eis muneribus et officiis suis ornans.

Hiis itaque hunc ad modum ordine suo, ut jam ante dictum est peractis, per occidentalem portam sacellum egreditur archiepiscopus generosioribus quibusque sanguine ex ejus familliâ eum præcedentibus, reliquis vero eum a tergo sequentibus.

Acta gestaque hæc erant omnia in præsentiâ reverendorum in Christo patrum Edmundi Gryndall Londinensis episcopi electi, Richardi Cockes Eliensis electi, Edwini Sandes Wigorniensis electi, Anthonii Huse armigeri, principalis et primarii registrarii dicti archiepiscopali, Thomæ Argall armigeri registrarii Curiæ prærogativæ Cantuariensis, Thomæ Willet, et Johannis Incent notariorum publicorum, et aliorum quoque nonnullorum.

Concordat cum originali in bibliothecâ collegii Corporis Christi apud Cantabrigienses.

Jan. 8. 1674.

Ita testor Matth. Whinn notarius publicus et academiæ Cantabrigiensis registrarius principalis.

Cambridge, Jan. 11. 1674.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, having seen the original, whereof this writing is a perfect copy, and considered the hand, and other circumstances thereof, are fully persuaded that it is a true and genuine record, of the rites and ceremonies of arch-bishop Parker's consecration, and as ancient as the date it bears. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, the day and year above written.

Hen. Paman orator publicus.
Hen. More D. D.
Ra. Widdrington S. T. D. and D. Marg. P.

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366 C. C. C. C.

We the master and fellows of Corpus Christi college, in the university of Cambridge, do hereby declare and certify, that this writing, being a narrative of arch-bishop Parker's consecration, in Lambeth chapel, is faithfully transcribed from the original record in our college library: and that we are fully satisfied that the said record is as ancient as the date it bears,

and the occasion to which it doth refer. Nor can we doubt, but the plain and evident tokens of antiquity which it carries, will as much satisfy any ingenuous persons who shall have a sight thereof: which therefore we shall readily afford to those who shall repair to the college for that purpose.

John Spencer, D. D. master of the college.
John Peckover, B. D.
Erasmus Lane, B. D.
Ri. Sheldrake, B. D.
Sam. Beck, B. D.
Hen. Gostling, B. D.
Will. Briggs, M. A.
John Richer, M. A.[14]

[14] [For an account of these signatures, see Dr. Lamb's edition of Masters' History of the College of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, 1831. pp. 355—368. Dr. Lamb has erroneously stated the name of Samuel Beck as Thomas Beck. He was proctor in 1669. See Le Neve, p. 405.]

Number X. [p. 406.]

An order set down for the translating of the Bible, by king James.

The places and persons agreed upon for the Hebrew, with the particular books by them undertaken. Ex MS. D. Borlace.

Westminster.	Mr. Dean of Westminster. Mr. Dean of Paul's. Mr. Doctor Saravia. Mr. Doctor Clark. Mr. Doctor Leifield. Mr. Doctor Leigh. Mr. Burleigh. Mr. King. Mr. Thompson. Mr. Beadwell.	Pentateuchon. The Story from Joshua to the first Book of Chronicles, exclusive.
367 *Cambridge.*	Mr. Livelye. Mr. Richardson. Mr. Chatterton. Mr. Dillingham. Mr. Harrison. Mr. Andrews. Mr. Spalding. Mr. Binge.	From the first of the Chronicles, with the rest of the Story, and the Hagiographa, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes.
Oxford.	Dr. Harding. Dr. Reynolds. Dr. Holland. Dr. Kilbye. Mr. Smith. Mr. Brett. Mr. Fairclough.	The four, or greater Prophets, with the Lamentations, and the twelve lesser Prophets.

Cambridge.	Doctor Dewport. Dr. Branthwait. Dr. Radclife. Mr. Warde, Eman. Mr. Downes. Mr. Boyes. Mr. Warde, Reg.	The Prayer of Manasses, and the rest of the Apocrypha.

The places and persons agreed upon for the Greek, with the particular books by them undertaken.

Oxford.	Mr. Dean of Christ-Church. Mr. Dean of Winchester. Mr. Dean of Worcester. Mr. Dean of Windsor. Mr. Savile. Dr. Perin. Dr. Ravens. Mr. Harmer.	The four Gospels. Acts of the Apostles. Apocalyps.
Westminster.	Dean of Chester. Dr. Hutchinson. Dr. Spencer. Mr. Fenton. Mr. Rabbet. Mr. Sanderson. Mr. Dakins.	The Epistles of St. Paul. The Canonical Epistles.

The rules to be observed in translation of the Bible. 368

1. The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit.

2. The names of the prophets, and the holy writers, with the other names of the text, to be retained, as nigh as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used.

3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz. the word *church* not to be translated *congregation*, &c.

4. When a word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the ancient fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogy of the faith.

5. The division of the chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.

6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be exprest in the text.

7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one scripture to another.

8. Every particular man of each company, to take the same chapter, or chapters, and having translated, or amended them severally by himself, where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.

9. As any one company hath despatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously, for his majesty is very careful in this point.

10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, doubt or differ upon any place, to send them word thereof; note the place, and withal send the reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting which is to be of the chief persons of each company, at the end of the work.

11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to send to any learned man in the land, for his judgment of such a place.

12. Letters to be sent from every bishop, to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand; and to move and charge, as many as being skilful in the tongues, and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.

13. The directors in each company, to be the deans of Westminster and Chester for that place; and the king's professors in the Hebrew or Greek in either university.

14. These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, viz.

- Tindall's.
- Matthews'.
- Coverdale's.
- Whitchurch's.
- Geneva.

15. Besides the said directors before mentioned, three or (365) four of the most ancient and grave divines, in either of the universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the vice-chancellor upon conference with [the] rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek; for the better observation of the fourth rule above specified[14].

[14] [This appears to have been taken from the same set of manuscripts as Number XVIII. of Book I. of this volume of Records; but the editor has not been able to discover any traces of them. Several of the names are spelled in a different way from that in which they usually appear, and four of them were manifest errors, and have been altered. With regard to the rules, they are almost the same with those printed by Lewis in his 'Complete History of the several Translations of the Holy Bible and New Testament into English, both in MS. and in print; and of the most remarkable editions of them since the invention of printing.' London, 1739. 8vo. 2nd Edit.]

Number XI. [p. 405.]

A declaration of certain principal articles of religion, set out by the[15] *order of both archbishops, metropolitans, and the rest of the bishops, for the unity of doctrine to be taught and holden of all parsons, vicars, and curates, as well in testification of their common consent in the said doctrine*[16], *to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the ministers*[17] *of the church, for diversity of judgment: as necessary for the instruction of their people, to be read by the said parsons, vicars, and curates, at their possession-taking, or first entry into their cures; and*[18] *also after that, yearly, at two several times; that is to say, the Sundays next following Easter-day, and St. Michael the Arch-angel, or on some other Sunday, within one month after those feasts, immediately after the Gospel*[19].

FORASMUCH as it appertaineth to all Christian men, but especially to the ministers and the pastors of the church, being teachers and instructors of others, to be ready to give a reason of their faith, when they shall be thereunto required: I for my part now appointed your parson[20], vicar, or curate, having before my eyes the fear of God, and the testimony of my conscience, do acknowledge for myself, and require you to assent to the same.

I.

First; That there is but one living and true God, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the[21] maker and preserver of all things. And that in unity of this Godhead, there be three Persons of one substance, of equal power and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

15 [*the* om. S.]
16 [*doctrines* S.]
17 [*ministry* S.]
18 [*as* S.]
19 [The passage after *Archangel* is omitted by Strype.]
20 [*minister* S.]
21 [*the* om. S.]

II.

I believe also whatsoever is contained in the holy canonical scriptures; in the which scriptures are contained all things necessary to salvation; by the which also, all errors and heresies may sufficiently be reproved and convicted; and all doc- (350)
trine[22] and articles necessary to salvation, established. I do also[23] most firmly believe and confess all the articles contained in the three Creeds; the Nicene Creed, Athanasius'[24] Creed, and our common Creed, called the Apostles' Creed; for these do briefly contain the principal articles of our faith, which are at large set forth in the holy scriptures.

III.

I do[25] acknowledge also that[26] church to be the spouse of Christ, wherein the word of God is truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered, according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used. And that every such particular church hath authority to institute, to change[27], clean to put away ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused; and to constitute other[28], making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.

IV.

Moreover, I confess, that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called by their high authorities[29], according to the ordinances of this realm.

V.

Furthermore, I do acknowledge the queen's majesty's prerogative and superiority of government of all estates[30], and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm, and other her dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God's word, and of right to appertain to her highness, in such sort as is in the late act of parliament expressed, and sithence by her majesty's Injunctions declared and expounded.

[22] [*doctrines* S.]
[23] [*also* om. I.]
[24] [*Athanasian* S.]
[25] [*do* om. I and S.]
[26] [*the* I.]
[27] [*to change, to alter* S.]
[28] [*others* S.]
[29] [*the high authority* S.]
[30] [*states* S.]

VI.

Moreover, touching the bishop of Rome, I do acknowledge and confess, that by the scriptures, and word of God, he hath no more authority than other bishops have in their provinces and dioceses: and therefore the power which he now challengeth, that is, to be the[31] supreme head of the universal church of Christ, and so to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church; and therefore is, for most just causes, taken away and abolished in[32] this realm.

VII.

Furthermore, I do grant and confess, that the Book of Common-Prayer, and Administration of the holy Sacraments,
351 set forth by the[33] authority of parliament, is agreeable to the scriptures, and[34] that it is catholic, apostolic, and most for the advancing of God's glory, and the edifying of God's people; both for that it is in a tongue that may be understanded of[35] the people, and also for the doctrine and form of ministration contained in the same.

VIII.

And although, in the administration[36] of baptism, there is neither exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, or hallowing of the water now used; and for that they were of late years abused, and esteemed necessary; where they pertain not to the substance and necessity of the sacrament, [37] they be reasonably abolished, and yet the sacrament[38] full and perfectly ministered, to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Saviour Christ.

IX.

Moreover, I do not only acknowledge, that private masses were never used amongst the fathers of the primitive church; I mean, public ministration, and receiving of the sacrament by the priest alone, without a just number of communicants, according to Christ's saying, *Take ye, and eat ye*, &c.; but

31 [*the* om. S.]
32 [*within* I and S.]
33 [*the* om. S.]
34 [*and* om. S.]
35 [*by* I.]
36 [*ministration* S.]
37 [*they be reasonably abolished, and yet the sacrament* om. I.]
38 [*sacrament is* S.]

also that the doctrine which maintaineth the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and a mean[39] to deliver souls out of purgatory, is neither agreeable to Christ's ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolic; but contrariwise, most ungodly and most injurious to the precious redemption of our Saviour Christ, and his only-sufficient sacrifice offered once for ever, upon the altar of the cross.

X.

I am of that mind also, that the holy communion, or[40] sacrament, of the body and blood of Christ, for the due obedience to Christ's institution, and to express the virtue of the same, ought to be ministered unto the[41] people under both kinds; and that it is avouched by certain fathers of the church, to be a plain sacrilege to rob them of the mystical cup, for whom Christ hath shed his most precious blood; seeing he himself hath said, *Drink ye all of this.* Considering also, that in the time of the ancient doctors of the church, as Cyprian, Hierom, Augustine, Gelasius, and others, six hundred years after Christ[42], and more, both the parts of the sacrament were ministered to[43] the people.

Last of all.

As I do utterly disallow the extolling of images, reliques, and feigned miracles; and[44] also all kind[45] of expressing God invisible, in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost in form[46] of a dove; and all other vain worshipping of God, devised by man's fantasy, besides, or contrary to the scriptures; (368)
as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, and such-like superstition[47]; which kind of works have no promise of reward in scripture, but contrary-wise, threatenings and maledictions: so I do exhort all men to the obedience of God's law, and to the[48] works of faith, as charity, mercy, pity, alms, devout and fervent prayer, with the affection of the heart, and not with the mouth only: godly abstinence and fasting, chastity, obedience to the rulers and superior powers, with such-like works, and godliness of life commanded by God in his word; which, as St. Paul saith, *hath*

[39] [*means* S.] [40] [*and* S.] [45] [*kinds* S.] [46] [*the form* S.]
[41] [*his* S.] [42] [*Christ* om. S.] [47] [*superstitions* S.]
[43] [*unto* I.] [44] [*and* om. S.] [48] [*the* om. S.]

promises both of this life, and of the life to come; and are works only acceptable in God's sight.

These things, above-rehearsed, though they be appointed by common order, yet do I, without all compulsion, with freedom of mind and conscience, from the bottom of my heart, and upon most sure persuasion, acknowledge to be true and agreeable to God's word. And therefore I exhort you all, of whom I have cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same; that we all joining together in unity of spirit, faith, and charity, may also at length be joined together in the kingdom of God, and [49] that through the merits and death of our Saviour Jesus Christ. To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and empire, now and for ever. *Amen.*

Imprinted at London, in Paul's Church-yard, by Richard Jugge [50], printer to the queen's majesty.

Cum privilegio regiæ majestatis.

[49] [*and* om. I.]

[50] [This book is mentioned as printed by Jugge in 4to. 1561, in Dibdin's Ames, vol. iv. p. 251. Strype also says (Annals, vol. i. chap. ii. p. 150.) that these Articles were printed by Richard Jugge the Queen's printer, and adds that they remain among archbishop Parker's MSS. in Benet College Library. They are not however to be found there now, and the editor has been unable to meet with a copy elsewhere. Fortunately there has been no necessity to collate them with the original, for Strype has given them at length in the same volume, chap. xvii. p. 218, from the original, and there is no variation of any importance. They have been also printed in Stephens' Irish Book of Common Prayer, published by the Ecclesiastical History Society, London, 1849, vol. i. p. xx, and these are nearly identical with the copy here exhibited. The variations of both copies are stated in the notes at the foot of the page.

The title of the Articles as printed by Stephens from the original, 'Imprynted at Dublin by Humfrey Powel, the 20 of January, 1566,' is as follows: 'A brefe Declaration of certein Principall articles of Religion: set out by order and auctho-ritie, as well of the right Honorable sir Henry Sidney, Knyght of the most noble order, Lord President of the Councel in the Principallitie of wales and Marches of the same, and general deputie of this Realme of Irelande, as by Tharchebyshops and Byshopes and other her majesties Hygh Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall in the same Realme.'

Burnet's errors of printing have been corrected by comparison with the other two copies. Other differences are noticed at the foot of the page. The heading in the Irish copy is differently worded, as being intended for use in Ireland, but no notice has been here taken of these differences.]

Number XII. [p. 417.] 369

Sir Walter Mildmay's opinion concerning the keeping of the queen of Scots (October 26, 1569.) at Windsor castle.

An original.

[Coll. Magd. Cant. Bibl. Pepys. vol. ii. p. 349.]

The question to be considered on is, Whether it be less perilous to the queen's majesty, and the realm, to retain the queen of Scots in England, or to return her home into Scotland?

In which question, these things are to be considered. On the one side, what dangers are like to follow if she be retained here; and thereupon, if for avoiding of them, it shall be thought good to return her, then what cautions and provisions are necessary to be had.

On the other side, are to be weighed the dangers like to follow if she be returned home; and thereupon, if for eschewing of them, it shall be thought good to retain her here, then what cautions and provisions are in that case necessary.

Dangers in retaining the queen of Scots.

Her unquiet and aspiring mind, never ceasing to practise with the queen's subjects. Her late practice of a marriage between the duke of Norfolk and her, without the queen's knowledge. The faction of the papists, and other ambitious folks, being ready and fit instruments for her to work upon. The commiseration that followeth such as be in misery, though their deserts be never so great. Her cunning and sugred entertainment of all men that come to her, whereby she gets both credit and intelligence. Her practice with the French and Spanish ambassadors, being more near to her in England, than if she were in Scotland; and their continual solicitation of the queen for her delivery, the denial whereof may breed war. The danger in her escaping out of guard, whereof it is like enough she will give the attempt. So as remaining here, she hath time and opportunity to practise and nourish factions, by which she may work confederacy, and

thereof may follow sedition and tumult, which may bring peril to the queen's majesty, and the state. Finally, it is said, that the queen's majesty, of her own disposition, hath no mind to retain her, but is much unquieted therewith, which is a thing greatly to be weighed.

370

Cautions if she be returned.

To deliver her into the hands of the regent, and the lords now governing in Scotland, to be safely kept. That she meddle not with the state, nor make any alteration in the government, or in religion. That by sufficient hostages it may be provided, that neither any violence be used to her person, nor that she be suffered to govern again, but live privately, with such honourable entertainment as is meet for the king of Scots' mother. That the league offensive and defensive, between France and Scotland, be never renewed. That a new and perpetual league be made between England and Scotland, whereby the queen's majesty may shew an open maintenance and allowance of the king's authority and estate, and of the present government, so as the Scots may wholly depend upon her. That the regent, and the lords of Scotland, do make no composition with the Scots' queen, neither suffer her to marry, without the consent of the queen's majesty. That the faults whereof she hath been accused, and her declining and delaying to answer that accusation, may be published to the world, the better to discourage her factious party, both here and in Scotland.

Dangers in returning her.

The manner how to deliver her home, with the queen's majesty's honour and safety, is very doubtful. For if she be delivered in guard, that came hither free, and at liberty, how will that stand with the queen's honour, and with the requests of the French and Spanish kings, that have continually solicited her free delivery, either into Scotland or France? or if she die in guard, either violently or naturally, her majesty shall hardly escape slander. If, again, she be delivered home at liberty, or if being in guard she should escape, then these perils may follow:

The suppressing of the present government in Scotland, now depending upon the queen's majesty, and advancing of the contrary faction depending upon the French. The alteration of religion in Scotland. The renewing of the league, offensive and defensive, between France and Scotland, that hath so much troubled England. The renewing of her pretended claim to the crown of this realm. The likelihood of war to ensue between France, Scotland, and us, and the bringing in of strangers into that realm to our annoyance, and great charge, as late experience hath shewed. The supportation that she is like to have of the French and Spanish kings. And though peace should continue between England and Scotland, yet infinite injuries will be offered by the Scots' queen's ministers upon the borders, which will turn to the great hurt of the queen's majesty's subjects, or else to her greater charges to redress them; for the change of the government in Scotland will change the justice which now is had, unto all injury and injustice. The likelihood that she will revoke the earl Bothwell, now her husband, though unlawful, as it is said, a man of most evil and cruel affection to this 371
realm, and to his own country-men: or, if she should marry another that were a like enemy, the peril must needs be great on either side.

And albeit to these dangers may be generally said, that such provision shall be made, by capitulations with her, and by hostages from the regent, and the lords of Scotland, as all these perils shall be prevented.

To that may be answered.

That no fact which she shall do here in England will hold, for she will allege the same to be done in a foreign country, being restrained of liberty. That there is great likelihood of escape, wheresoever she be kept in Scotland; for her late escape there, sheweth, how she will leave no way unsought to achieve it; and the country being, as it is, greatly divided, and of nature marvellously factious, she is the more like to bring it to pass. Or if the regent, by any practice, should yield to a composition, or, finding his party weak, should give over his regiment, then what assurance have we, either of amity or religion? That the regent may be induced to do

this, appeareth by his late secret treaty with the duke of Norfolk, for her marriage, without the queen's majesty's knowledge. And though the regent should persevere constant, yet if he should be taken away directly, or indirectly, (the like whereof is said, hath been attempted against him,) then is all at large, and the queen of Scots most like to be restored to her estate, the factions being so great in Scotland, as they are; so as the case is very tickle and dangerous to hang upon so small a thread, as the life of one man, by whom it appeareth the whole at this present is contained.

And touching the hostages, though that assurance might be good to preserve her from violence in Scotland, yet it may be doubted how the same may be sufficient to keep her from escaping or governing again, seeing, for her part, she will make little conscience of the hostages, if she may prevail; and the punishing of the hostages will be a small satisfaction to the queen's majesty for the troubles that may ensue. And for the doubt of her escape, or of rebellion within this realm, it may be said, that if she should not be well guarded, but should be left open to practise, then her escape, and the other perils, might be doubted of; but if the queen's majesty hold a stricter hand over her, and put her under the care of a fast and circumspect man, all practice shall be cut from her, and the queen's majesty free from that peril. And more safe it is for the queen to keep the bridle in her own hand, to restrain the Scottish queen, than, in returning home, to commit that trust to others, which by death, composition, or abusing of one person, may be disappointed.

And if she should by any means recover her estate, the doubt of rebellion here is not taken away, but rather to be feared, if she have ability to her will. And if she find strength, by her own and foreign friends, she is not far off to give aid, upon a main land, to such as will stir for her; which, so long
372 as she is here, they will forbear, lest it might bring most peril to her self, being in the queen's hands. The like respect, no doubt, will move foreign princes to become requesters, and no threatners, for her delivery.

And where it is said, that the queen's majesty cannot be quiet so long as she is here, but it may breed danger to her majesty's health; that is a matter greatly to be weighed, for

it were better to adventure all, than her majesty should inwardly conceive any thing to the danger of her health. But as that is only known to such as have more inward acquaintance with her majesty's disposition, than is fit for some other to have: so again, it is to be thought, that her majesty being wise, if the perils like to follow, in returning her home, were laid before her; and if she find them greater than the other, she will be induced easily to change her opinion, and thereby may follow to her majesty's great satisfaction and quietness.

Cautions if she be retained.

To remove her somewhat nearer the court, at the least within one day's journey of London, whereby it shall be the more easy to understand of her doings.

To deliver her in custody to such as be thought most sound in religion, and most void of practice.

To diminish her number, being now about forty persons, to the one half, to make thereby the queen's charges the less, and to give her the fewer means of intelligence.

To cut from her all access, letters and messages, other than such as he that shall have the charge shall think fit.

To signify to all princes, the occasion of this strait guard upon her, to be her late practice with the duke of Norfolk, which hath given the queen cause to doubt: further assuring them, that she shall be used honourably, but kept safely from troubling the queen's majesty, or this state.

That she be retained here, until the state of Scotland be more setled, and the estate of other countries now in garboil, be quieted, the issue whereof is like to be seen with in a year or two.

373 ## Number XII.* [p. 417.]

A letter written by the earl of Leicester, to the earl of Sussex, concerning the queen of Scots; taken from the first draught of it, written with his own hand.

MY good lord, I have received your letter in the answer of mine; and though I have not written sooner again to your lordship, both according to your desire, and the necessity of our cases at this time: yet I doubt not but you are fully advertised of her majesty's pleasure otherwise. For my own part, I am glad your lordship hath prospered so well in your journey, and have answered, in all points, the good opinion conceived of you. [Ex MS. nob. D. Evelyn. [Bibl. Pepys. vol. ii. p. 651.]

And touching her majesty's further resolution, for these causes, my lord, I assure you, I know not well what to write. First, I see her majesty willing and desirous, as reason is, to work her own security, and the quietness of her state, during her time, which I trust in God shall be far longer than we shall live to see end of. And herein, my lord, there be sundry minds, and among ourselves, I must confess to your lordship, we are not fully agreed which way is best to take. And to your lordship, I know I may be bold, beside the friendship I owe you, the place you hold presently, doth require all the understanding that may be, to the furtherance of her majesty's good estate; wherefore I shall be the bolder, even to let you know as much as I do, and how we rest among us.

Your lordship doth consider, for the state of Scotland, her majesty hath those two persons, being divided, to deal with, the queen of Scotland, lately by her subjects deprived, and the young king her son crowned and set up in her place. Her majesty, of these two, is to choose, and of necessity must choose which of them she will allow and accept, as the person sufficient to hold the principal place. And here groweth the question in our council to her majesty, Which of these two are most fit for her to maintain and join in amity with? To be plain with your lordship, the most in number do altogether conceive her majesty's best and surest way is, to maintain and

continue the young king in this his estate, and thereby to make her whole party in Scotland, which by the settling of him, with the cause of religion, is thought most easiest, most safest, and most probable for the perpetual quieting and benefit to her own estate; and great assurance made of such a party, and so small charges thereby, as her majesty may make account to have the like authority, and assured amity in Scotland, as heretofore she had in the time of the late regent.

The reasons against the other, are these shortly.

The title that the queen claimeth to this crown: the overthrow of religion in that country: the impossibility of any assurance for the observing of any pact or agreement made between our sovereign and her. These be causes your lord- 374
ship sees sufficient to dissuade all men from the contrary opinion. And yet, my lord, it may not be denied, upon indifferent looking into the matter on both sides, but the clearest is full enough of difficulties. And then, my lord, is the matter disputable: and yet I think verily, not for argument-sake, but even for duty and conscience-sake, to find out truth, and safest means for our sovereign's best doing. And thus we differ. The first you have heard touching the young king.

On the other side, this it is thought, and of these I must confess myself to your lordship to be one: and God is my judge, whether it be for any other respect in this world, but that I suppose, and verily believe it may prove best for her majesty's own quietness during her time.

And here I must before open to your lordship indeed her majesty's true state she presently stands in; which, though it might be granted the former advice the better way, yet how hardly it layeth in her power to go thorow withal, you shall easily judge. For it must be confessed, that by the taking into her protection the king and the faction, she must enter into a war for it: and as the least war being admitted, cannot be maintained without great charge: so such a war may grow, France or Spain setting in foot, as may cause it to be an intolerable war. Then being a war, it must be treasure that must maintain it. That she hath treasure to continue any time in war, surely my lord, I cannot see it: and as your lordship doth see the present relief for money we trust upon, which either failing us, or it rising no more than I see it like to be,

not able long to last; where is there further hope of help hereafter? For my own part I see none. If it be so, then, my lord, that her majesty's present estate is such as I tell you, which I am sure is true; how shall this counsel stand with security, by taking a party to enter into a war, when we are no way able to maintain it; for if we enter into it once, and be driven, either for lack, or any other way, to shrink, what is like to follow of the matter, your lordship can well consider; the best is, we must be sorry for that we have done, and per-chance seek to make amends, where we neither would nor should. This is touching the present state we stand in. Besides we are to remember what already we have done; how many ways, even now together, the realm hath been universally burdened.

First, for the keeping of new hands, after the furnishing of armour; and therein how continually the charge sooner hath grown, than subsidies paid.

And lastly, the marvellous charge in most countries against the late rebellion, with this loan of money now on the neck of it. Whether this state doth require further cause of imposition, or no, I refer to your lordship. And whether entering into a further charge than her majesty hath presently wherewithal to bear, it will force such a matter or no, I refer to wiser to judge.

And now, my lord, I will shew you such reasons as move me to think as I do. In worldly causes, men must be governed by worldly policies; and yet so to frame them, as God, the Author of all, be chiefly regarded. From him we have received laws, under which all men's policies and devices ought
375 to be subject; and through his ordinance, the princes on the earth have authority to give civil and politic laws; by which also, all princes have the obedience of their people. And though in some points, I shall deal like a worldly man for my prince, yet I hope I shall not forget that I am a Christian, nor my duty to God.

Our question is this; Whether it be meeter for our sovereign to maintain the young king of Scotland, and his authority: or upon composition, restore the queen of Scots into her kingdom again? To restore her simply, we are not of opinion, for so I must confess a great over-sight, and doubt no

better success, than those that do object most perils thereby to ensue. But if there be any assurances in this world to be given, or any provision by worldly policy to be had, then, my lord, I do not see but ways and means may be used with the queen of Scots, whereby her majesty may be at quiet, and yet delivered of her present great charge. It is granted and feared of all sides, that the cause of any trouble or danger to her majesty, is the title the queen of Scotland pretends to the crown of &c. The danger we fear should happen by her, is not for that she is queen of Scotland, but that other the great princes of Christendom do favour her so much as, in respect of her religion, they will in all causes assist her; and specially, by the colour of her title, seem justly to aid and relieve her, and the more lawfully take her and her causes into their protection. Then is the title granted to be the chief cause of danger to our sovereign. If it be so, whether doth the setting up the son in the mother's place, from whence his title must be claimed, take away her title in the opinion of those princes or no, notwithstanding she remain prisoner? It appeareth plainly No; for there is continual labour and means made, from the greatest princes, our neighbours, to the queen's majesty, for restoring the queen of Scotland to her estate and government, otherwise they protest open relief and aid for her. Then though her majesty do maintain the young king in his present estate, yet it appears that other princes will do the contrary: and having any advantage, how far they will proceed, men may suspect. And so we must conceive, that as long as this difference shall continue, by the maintaining of these two, so long shall the same cause remain, to the trouble and danger of the queen's majesty. And now to avoid this whilst she lives, what better mean is there to take this cause away, but by her own consent, to renounce and release all such interest or title as she claimeth, either presently or hereafter, during the life of her majesty, and the heirs of her body. Albeit, here may two questions be moved;

First, Whether the Scots' queen will renounce her title, or no?

Secondly, If she will do so, what assurance may she give for the performance thereof?

To the first, it is most certain she hath, and presently doth

offer, wholly and frankly, to release and renounce all manner of claims and titles, whatsoever they be, to the crown of this realm, during her majesty's life, and the heirs of her body.

And for the second; she doth likewise offer all manner of security and assurances that her majesty can devise, and is in that queen's possible power to do, she excepteth none;

376 Then must we consider what may be assurances, for here is the difficulty. For that objections be that princes never hold promises longer than for their own commodity; and what security soever they put in, they may break if they will. All this may be granted; but yet that we must grant also, that princes do daily treat and deal one with another; and of necessity are forced to trust to such bonds and assurances as they contract by. And as there is no such surety to be had in worldly matters, but all are subject to many casualties; yet we see such devices made, even among princes, as doth tie them to perform that, which, if they might conveniently choose, they would not. And in this matter of the queen of Scotland, since she doth offer both to leave the cause of the difference that is between the queen's majesty and her; and also to give all surety that may be by ourselves devised to observe the same; I do not see but such means may be devised to tie her so strongly, as though she would break, yet I cannot find what advantage she shall get by it. For, beside that I would have her own simple renunciation to be made by the most substantial instrument that could be devised, the assent of some others should confirm the same also. Her own parliaments at home should do the like, with the full authority of the whole estates. They should deliver her son, and such other principal noblemen of her realm for hostages, as the queen's majesty should name. She should also put into her majesty's hands some one piece or two of her realm, and for such a time as should be thought meet by her majesty, except Edinburgh. The queen's majesty might also, by ratifying this by a parliament here, make a forfeiture, if the queen of Scotland should any way, directly or indirectly, go about to infringe this agreement of all such titles and claims that did remain in the queen of Scotland, after her majesty and her issue, never to be capable of any authority or sovereignty within this realm. These I would think to be sufficient bonds to bind any prince, specially no

mightier than she is. And this much more would I have, that even as she shall be thus bound, for the relief of her title to the queen's majesty and her issue; so shall she suffer the religion received and established in Scotland already, to be confirmed, and not altered. In like sort, the amity between these two realms, to be such, and so frankly united, as no other league with any foreign prince should stand in force to break it. For I think verily, as the first is chiefest touching her majesty's own person, so do I judge the latter, I mean, the confirmation of the religion already there received, to be one of the assuredest and likeliest means to hold her majesty a strong and continual party in Scotland. The trial hereof hath been already sufficient, when her majesty had none other interest at all, but only the maintenance of the true religion; the same cause remaining still, the same affection in the same persons that do profess it, I trust, and it is like, will not change. And though the Scots' queen should now be settled in her kingdom again, yet is she not like to be greater or better esteemed now than heretofore, when both her authority was greater, and her good will ready to alter this religion, but could not bring it to pass. No more is it like these further provisions being taken, she shall do it now. And the last cause also is not without great hope of some good success; for as the oppression of strangers heretofore had utterly wearied 377
them of that yoke, so hath this peaceable time, between them and us, made them know the liberty of their own, and the commodity of us their neighbours.

This, my lord, doth lead me to lean to this opinion, finding thereby rather both more surety, and more quietness, for my sovereign's present time, having, by the contrary, many occasions of trouble cut off, and the intolerable charge eschewed, which I cannot find by any possible means, her majesty able to sustain for any long time.

Thus hastily I am driven to end my long cumbersome letter to your lordship, though very desirous to impart my mind herein to your lordship.

Number XIII. [p. 418.]

The bull of pope Pius the Fifth, deposing queen Elizabeth; absolving her subjects from the oaths of allegiance, and anathematising such as continued in their obedience.

[*Damnatio et excommunicatio Elisabeth Reginæ Angliæ, eique adhærentium cum aliarum pœnarum adjectione.* [Bullarium, tom. ii. p. 304.]

Henricus quoque rex, ejus pater itidem damnatus fuit a Paulo III. *ut in ejus Const.* 7. *Eus. fol.* 619.]

PIUS EPISCOPUS servus servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

REGNANS in excelsis, cui datâ est omnis in cœlo, et in terrâ potestas, unam sanctam, catholicam, et apostolicam ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet apostolorum principi Petro, Petrique successori Romano pontifici in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum super omnes gentes, et omnia regna principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet et ædificet: ut fidelem populum mutuæ charitatis nexu constrictum, in unitate spiritûs contineat, salvumque et incolumem suo exhibeat Salvatori. [Exordium.]

Quo quidem in munere obeundo nos ad prædictæ ecclesiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni opere contendentes, ut ipsa unitas et catholica religio (quam illius auctor ad probandam suorum fidem, et correctionem nostram, tantis procellis conflictare permisit) integra conservetur. Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentiâ invaluit, ut nullus jam in orbe locus sit relictus, quem illi pessimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentârint, adnitente inter cæteros flagitiorum servâ Elizabethâ prætensâ Angliæ reginâ, ad quam, veluti ad asylum, omnium infestissimi profugium invenerunt. Hæc eadem regno occupato, supremi ecclesiæ capitis locum in omni Angliâ, ejusque præcipuam auctoritatem atque jurisdictionem monstruose sibi usurpans, regnum ipsum jam tum ad fidem catholicam et bonam frugem reductum, rursus in miserum exitium revocavit. [Henricus Octavus Rex Angliæ Hæresim introduxit in illo regno ut sup. in Pauli iii Const. cit. in rub.]

[Elisabeth regina hæretica etiam fuit et est committendo multos errores hic expressos.]

Usu namque veræ religionis, quam ab illius desertore Henrico Octavo olim eversam, claræ memoriæ Maria regina legitima, hujus sedis præsidio reparaverat, potenti manu inhibito, secutisque et amplexis hæreticorum erroribus, regium consilium ex Anglicâ nobilitate confectum diremit, illudque obscuris hominibus hæreticis complevit; catholicæ fidei cultores oppressit, improbos concionatores, atque impietatum administros reposuit; missæ sacrificium, preces, jejunia, ciborum delectum, cœlibatum, ritusque catholicos abolevit: libros manifestam hæresim continentes, toto regno proponi, impia mysteria, et instituta ad Calvini præscriptum a se suscepta et observata, etiam a subditis servari mandavit: episcopos, ecclesiarum rectores, et alios sacerdotes catholicos, suis ecclesiis et beneficiis ejicere, ac de illis, et aliis rebus ecclesiasticis, in hæreticos homines disponere, deque ecclesiæ causis decernere ausa, prælatis, clero et populo, ne Romanam ecclesiam agnoscerent, neve ejus præceptis sanctionibusque canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit; plerosque in nefarias leges suas venire, et Romani pontificis auctoritatem, atque obedientiam abjurare, seque solam in temporalibus et spiritualibus dominam agnoscere, jurejurando coegit; pœnas et supplicia in eos qui dicto non essent audientes, imposuit, easdemque ab iis, qui in unitate fidei et prædictâ obedientiâ perseverârunt, exegit: catholicos antistites et ecclesiarum rectores in vincula conjecit; ubi multi diuturno languore et tristitiâ confecti, extremum vitæ diem misere finiverunt. Quæ omnia cum apud omnes nationes perspicua et notoria sint, et gravissimo quamplurimorum testimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excusationis, defensionis, aut tergiversationis relinquatur; 378

[Hic ideo Pont. illam eique adhærentes hæreticos declarat.]

Nos multiplicantibus aliis atque aliis super alias impietatibus et facinoribus, et præterea fidelium persecutione, religionisque afflictione, impulsu et operâ dictæ Elizabeth, quotidie magis ingravescente; quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atque induratum intelligimus, ut non modo pias catholicorum principum de sanitate et conversione preces, monitionesque contempserit, sed ne hujus quidem sedis ad ipsam hâc de causâ nuncios in Angliam trajicere permiserit; ad arma justitiæ contra eam de necessitate conversi, dolorem lenire non possumus, quod adducamur in unam animadvertere, cujus majores de republicâ Christianâ tantopere meruere. Illius itaque

auctoritate suffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo justitiæ throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declaramus prædictam Elizabeth hæreticam, et hæreticorum fautricem, eique adhærentes in prædictis, anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi corporis unitate præcisos:

Quinetiam ipsam prætenso regni prædicti jure, necnon omni et quorumque dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam: [Regno et dignitatibus privat.]

Et item proceres, subditos et populos dicti regni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt, a juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis, et obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos præsentium auctoritate absolvimus, et privamus eandem Elizabeth prætenso jure regni, aliisque omnibus supradictis. Præcipimusque et interdicimus universis et singulis proceribus, subditis, populis et aliis prædictis; ne illi, ejusve monitis, mandatis, et legibus audeant obedire: qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententiâ innodamus. [Vassallos liberat.]

Quia vero difficile nimis esset præsentes quocunque illis opus erit perferre; volumus ut earum exempla, notarii publici manu, et prælati ecclesiastici, ejusve curiæ sigillo obsignata, eandem illam prorsus fidem in judicio et extra illud ubique gentium faciant, quam ipsæ præsentes facerent, si essent exhibitæ, vel ostensæ. [Exemplis credi jubet.]

379

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo, quinto kalend. Martii, pontificatûs nostri anno quinto.

Cæ. Glorierius.

H. Cumyn.

AN APPENDIX

CONCERNING SOME OF

THE ERRORS AND FALSEHOODS

IN

SANDERS' BOOK

OF

THE ENGLISH SCHISM.

AN APPENDIX.

IT has been observed of thieves, that by a long practice in that ill course of life, they grow so in love with it, that when there is no advantage to be made by stealing, yet they must keep their hand in use, and continue their address and dexterity in it: so also liars, by a frequent custom, grow to such a habit, that, in the commonest things, they cannot speak truth, even though it might conduce to their ends more than their lies do. Sanders had so given himself up to vent reproaches and lies, that he often does it for nothing, without any end, but to carry on a trade, that had been so long driven by him, that he knew not how to lay it down. He wrote our history, merely upon the reports that were brought him, without any care or information about the most public and most indifferent things: but not content to set down those tattles, he shews his wit in refining about them, and makes up such politics and schemes of government, as might suit with those reports, and agree with his own malice. His work is all of a piece, and as it was made out in the former volume, how ignorantly and disingenuously he writ concerning king Henry the Eighth's reign; so I shall add a further discovery of the remaining parts of his book, which will sufficiently convince, even the most partial readers, of the impudence of that author; who seems to have had no other design in writing, but to impose on the credulity and weakness of those, who he knew were inclined to believe every thing that might cast blemishes on a work, against which they were so strongly prejudiced, as the reformation of this church: since a field which they so often reaped, and with whose spoils their court was so enriched, was no more at their devotion. So they are ever since concerned in interest to use all the ways they can think on, to

disgrace a change that was so fatal to them. But as the reformation of this church has hitherto stood, notwithstanding all their designs against it; so it is to be hoped that the history of it will be hereafter better understood, notwithstanding all the libels and calumnies by which they have endeavoured to represent it in such black and odious colours to the world.

Page 176. Sanders says, "King Edward was in the ninth year of his "age when he came to the crown."

This is of no great consequence, but it shews how little this author considered what he writ, when in so public a thing as the king's age, he misreckons a year, for he was born the 12th of October 1537; so in January 1547, he was in the tenth year of his age.

Ibid. 2. He says, "King Edward was not only declared king of "England and Ireland, but made supreme head of the church; "and upon that runs out, to shew how incapable a child was 384
"of that power."

This is set down in such terms, as if there had been some special act made for his being *supreme head of the church*, distinct from his being proclaimed king, whereas there was no such thing; for the supremacy being annexed to the crown, the one went with the other: and it being but a civil power, might be as well exercised by the king's governors, before he came to be of age, as the other rights of the crown were.

Page 177. 3. He says, "The earl of Hertford was made by himself "duke of Somerset."

This was done by order of the whole council, in pursuance of king Henry's design, proved by those witnesses that were beyond exception: and that king having by his will charged his executors to fulfil those things which he intended to do, this was found to be one of them.

Page 178. 4. He says, "The duke of Somerset made himself the only "governor of the king, and protector; none daring to oppose "it openly, but Wriothesley, whom king Henry, when he was "dying, had[1] made lord chancellor."

The protector was advanced to that dignity, by the unanimous consent of the whole council; to which the lord chancellor consented, and signed the order about it, the original whereof

[1] [Quem Henricus summum regni cancellarium moriens reliquerat.]

is yet extant; for though he argued against it before it was done, yet he joined with the rest in doing it: nor was he made chancellor by king Henry at his death, but two years before.

5. He says, "On the 27th of February, two days before Page 178.
"the king was crowned, the protector persuaded the king to
"create many new peers; who were all heretics, except Dudley
"earl of Warwick."

Our author, by this show of exactness, would persuade the reader, that he had considered dates, and the smallest particulars, with the care that became an historian: but he little thought that any would come after him, and examine what he said. By this account the king must have been crowned the first of March, but it was done Feb. 20, and the peers were created on the 16th of February, four days before. They were not all heretics, for he forgot that Wriothesley was at the same time made earl of Southampton, which he afterwards insinuates was done upon another account. But all those creations were in pursuance of king Henry's designs, and in obedience to his latter will.

6. He says, "They forced Wriothesley to resign his office, Ibid.
"and turned both him, and the earl of Arundel, out of the
"council, because they were catholics."

Wriothesley was turned out upon no account of religion, but for putting the great seal to a commission, that was against law, (according to the opinion which the judges declared under their hands,) without any warrant from the council; himself acknowledging the justice of the sentence. The earl of Arun-
385 del was not turned out of the council; on the contrary, in the patent by which the protector held his office, that passed after the chancellor was removed, he is named to be one of the privy council.

7. He says, "The protector would needs force all the clergy Page 179.
"to submit in every thing to the king's orders; and sets down
"the form in which the king writ to archbishop Cranmer."

In this nothing was done, but what was begun by king Henry, and to which all the clergy, even his beloved Bonner not excepted, had formerly submitted. So this was no new thing set up by the protector, it being only the renewing the bishops' patents in the new king's name: and this was no part

of the reformation, for it was done only to awe the popish bishops, but was soon after laid aside. What he sets down as a letter of king Edward's to Cranmer, is the preamble of the patent he took out. So little did this writer know the things that truly make to the advantage of the cause, which he designed to assert.

Page 180. 8. He says, "The new protector, among the first things he "did, restrained all preaching, and silenced all the bishops "and pastors: so that none were licensed to preach, but the "Lutherans and Zuinglians."

The first injunctions set out in the king's name, required all bishops to preach at least four times a year, in their dioceses; and to keep learned chaplains who might be able to preach, and should be often much employed in it: and thus matters stood the first year of this reign. In the beginning of the second year, upon complaints made of the rashness of some preachers, a proclamation was put out, that none should preach without a license from the king, or the archbishops, or the bishop of the diocese; except incumbents in their own parishes. Afterwards there was, for some little time, a total prohibition of preaching, but that was to last for a short while, till the Book of Common Prayer, which was then a preparing, should be finished. This was equally made on both hands; for the prohibition was universal, without exception: so falsely has our author stated this matter; which one would think he ignorantly drew from what queen Mary did, applying it to this reign; for she, upon her coming to the crown, did prohibit all preaching, excepting only such as were licensed to it by Gardiner, under the great seal.

Page 181. 9. He says, "Latimer was turned out of the bishopric of "Worcester, by king Henry, upon suspicion of heresy."

Latimer did freely resign his bishopric, upon the passing of the act of the Six Articles, with which he could not comply with a good conscience.

Page 182. 10. He says, "The protector put Cox and Cheke about "the king, that they might corrupt his mind with heretical "doctrines."

These were put about him three years before, by king Henry's order; as that young king himself informs us in his Journal.

386 11. He says, "The heads of[2] the colleges were turned out, Page 184.
"and the catholic doctors were forbid to preach."

I do not find one head of a college in either university was turned out[3]; for though they generally loved the old superstition, yet they loved their places much better. And indeed the whole clergy did so readily conform themselves to every change that was made, that it was not easy to find colours for turning out Bonner and Gardiner. All preachers had the liberty of their own pulpits, except for a very little while.

12. He says, "They decried the school divinity, and the Ibid.
"works of Lombard, Aquinas, and Scotus, and so threw all
"learning out of the schools."

They could not do that more, than sir Thomas More, Erasmus, and other popish writers had done before them; who had expressed their scorn of that way of treating divine matters, so copiously, that it was no wonder it was much despised. Those writers had, by a set of dark and barbarous maxims and terms, so entangled all the articles of faith, and imposed on the world, by an appearance of saying somewhat, when really they said nothing: and pretending to explain religion, they had so exposed it, that their way of divinity was become equally nauseous and ridiculous.

13. He says, "Bucer and Peter Martyr, being brought out Page 186.
"of Germany, did corrupt the universities; and entertained
"the youth with discourses of predestination, reprobation, and
"a fatal necessity of things."

This was so far from being much taught, that on the contrary, in one of the Articles of Religion, the curious inquiries into those abstruse points was by public authority forbid. Bucer and Martyr read for most part in the chairs, upon the mass, and the other corruptions of the popish worship. They also declared St. Austin's doctrine about grace; but I do not find they ever meddled with reprobation.

[2] [Gymnasiorum moderatores.]

[3] Day, provost of King's, was not turned out as has been said by Mr. Wharton, for he resigned; though perhaps not altogether voluntarily, though his resignation is said to be voluntary. But Rowland Swinburn, master of Clare-Hall, was certainly turned out by the king's visitors, as appears from a journal of the visitation MS. C.C.C. a copy whereof I have; nor can there be any doubt but Gardiner was turned out at Trinity Hall, where his successors Haddon and Mowse, &c. are styled masters *de facto*. [B.]

Page 190. 14. After a long invective, which is to pass as a piece of his wit and poetry, he says, "Bucer was inclined to become a "Jew, and was descended from Jewish parents; and that the "lord Paget had heard him say, that the corporal presence "was so clear in the scripture, that no man could deny it, who "believed the gospel; but, for his part, he did not believe "all that was said in the New Testament concerning our "Saviour."

This is as suitable to our author's honesty as can be: Bucer was never accused of this by any of his enemies as long as he lived. No man in that age writ with a greater sense of the kingdom of Christ than he did. And for the story of the lord Paget, we have nothing for it but the author's word; and poets must make circumstances, as well as more signal contrivances, to set off their fables. But there was no occasion for Bucer's saying this, since he never declared against the corporal presence; but was for taking up that controversy in some general expressions. So it was not suitable to his opinion 387
in that matter, for him to talk so loosely of the scriptures. And is it credible that a story of this nature should not have been published in queen Mary's time, and been made use of when he was condemned for an heretic, and his body raised and burnt? But our author, perhaps, did not think of that.

Page 191. 15. He says, "Peter Martyr was a while in suspense con- "cerning the eucharist, and stayed till he should see what the "parliament should appoint in that matter."

Peter Martyr argued and read in the chair against the corporal presence four years before the parliament meddled with it: for the second Common Prayer Book, which contained the first public declaration that the parliament made in this matter, was enacted in the fifth year of king Edward; and Peter Martyr, from his first coming to England, had appeared against it.

Page 192. 16. He said, "The first parliament under king Edward "appointed a new form to be used in ordaining priests and "bishops; who till that time had been ordained according "to the old rites, save only, that they did not swear obedience "to the pope."

This is a further evidence of our author's care in searching the printed statutes; since what was done in the fifth year of

this reign, he represents as done in the first. His design in this was clear; he had a mind to possess all his own party with an opinion, that the orders given in this church were of no force, and therefore he thought it a decent piece of his poem, to set down this change as done so early; since if he had mentioned it in its proper place, he knew not how to deny the validity of the orders that were given the first four years of this reign, which continued to be conferred according to the old forms.

17. He says, "The parliament did also at the same time Page 192.
"confirm a new Book of Common Prayer, and of the Ad-
"ministration of the Sacraments."

This is of a piece with the former; for the act confirming the Common Prayer Book, which is also among the printed statutes, passed not in this session of parliament, but in a second session, a year after this. These are indications sufficient to shew what an historian Sanders was, that did not so much as read the public acts of the time concerning which he writ.

18. He says, "They ordered all images to be removed,
"and sent some lewd men over England for that effect; who
"either brake or burnt the images of our Saviour, the blessed
"Virgin, and the saints; therein declaring against whom
"they made war; and they ordered the king's arms, three
"leopards, and three lilies, with the supporters, a dog and a
"serpent, to be set in the place where the cross of Christ
"stood; thereby owning that they were no longer to worship
"Jesus Christ, whose images they broke, but the king, whose
"arms they set up in the room of those images."

388 In this period there is an equal mixture of falsehood and malice. 1. The parliament did not order the removal of images; it was done by the king's visitors, before the parliament sat. 2. The total removal of images was not done the first year; only those images that were abused to superstition were taken down, and a year after the total removal followed. 3. They took care that this should be done regularly, not by the visitors, who only carried the king's injunctions about it, but by the curates themselves. 4. They did not order the king's arms to be put in the place where the cross had stood. It grew indeed to be a custom to set them up in all churches,

thereby expressing, that they acknowledged the king's authority reached even to their churches; but there was no order made about it. 5. I leave him to the correction of the heralds, for saying, the king's arms are three leopards, when every body knows they are three lions; and a lion, not a dog, is one supporter, and the other is a dragon, not a serpent. 6. By their setting up the king's arms, and not his picture, it is plain they had no thought of worshipping their king, but did only acknowledge his authority. 7. It was no less clear, that they had no design against the worship due to Jesus Christ, nor that inferior respect due to the blessed Virgin and saints; but intended only to wean the people from that which at best was but pageantry: but as it was practised, was manifest idolatry. And the painting on the walls of the churches the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, with many other passages of scripture that were of most general use, shewed, they intended only to cleanse their churches from those mixtures of heathenism that had been brought into the Christian religion.

Page 193. 19. He says, "They took away the sacrifice of the body "and blood of Christ, that they might thereby give some "colour to the converting of the sacred vessels to the king's "use."

They took away no part of the institution of Christ, for they set it down in the act passed about it, and recited all the words of the first institution of the sacrament; they only condemned private masses, as contrary to Christ's institution. They did not convert the holy vessels to the king's use, nor were they taken out of the churches till five years after this, that the necessities of the government, either real or pretended, were alleged to excuse the taking away the superfluous plate that was in churches: but this was not done by act of parliament, but by commissioners empowered by the king, who were ordered to leave in every church such vessels as were necessary for the administration of the sacraments.

Ibid. 20. He says, the parliament ordered the prayers to be in "the vulgar tongue; and upon that he infers, that the Irish, "the Welch, and the Cornish men, were now in a much worse "condition than before; since they understood no English, so "that the worship was to them in a tongue more unknown "than it had formerly been."

The parliament made no such order at this time; the Book of Common Prayer was set out first by the king's authority, and ratified by the subsequent session of parliament. There
389 was also a design, which though it was [not] then accomplished, yet it was done afterwards, of translating the Liturgy into these tongues: but still the English was much more understood by all sorts of men among them than the Latin had been.

21. He says, "The office of the Communion, appointed by Page 194.
"this parliament, differed very little from the mass, save that
"it was in English."

The error of the parliament's appointing the new offices runs through all he says on this subject. But in the new office of the Communion, the idolatry of worshipping, carrying about, or exposing the sacrament, was laid aside. The trade of particular masses for private occasions, the prayers to the saints, the denying the people the chalice, with a great many of the rites and gesticulations formerly used, were all laid aside; so that there were great changes made. Every thing was not done at once, but they began with the abuses that did most require a reformation, and went on afterwards to the changing of lesser things.

22. He says, "Sir Ralph Sadler took the wife of one Mat- Page 195.
"thew Barlow; so, upon pretence of his being dead, his wife
"married Sadler: but her first husband coming home, he
"sought to have his wife again. It was brought into the par-
"liament in king Henry's time, and now it was enacted, that
"she should be Sadler's wife, he being the richer and greater
"man. So against the laws of the gospel, a wife while her
"husband was yet alive was adjudged to a second husband."

This is, as far as I can learn, a forgery from the beginning to the end: and it seems Sadler, that was a privy counsellor in queen Elizabeth's time, did somewhat that so provoked Sanders, that he resolved to be revenged of him and his family, by casting such an aspersion on him. I find no footsteps of any such story; sure I am, there is nothing concerning it in the records of this parliament. And for the business of the dissolution of marriages for adultery, absence, or any other cause, there was so great, and so strict an inquiry made into it, after the parliament was ended, in the case of the marquis of Northampton, that it is clear it was the first of that

sort that was examined; and might perhaps, after it was confirmed in parliament, in the fifth year of this reign, have been made a precedent for other cases; but this of Sadler, in the first parliament, is a contrivance of our author's. It is not improbable, that when afterwards it was judged, that the marriage-bond was dissolved by adultery, they might likewise declare it dissolved, upon voluntary and long absence, since St. Paul had said, that *a brother or a sister were not under bondage in such cases.*

Page 196. 23. He says, "Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Heath, and "Day, were much grieved at the changes that were made: "yet they complied in many things, till being required to "deliver some blasphemous doctrines in their sermons, they, "refusing to give obedience in that, were deprived; but were "afterwards condemned to perpetual imprisonment under "queen Elizabeth; all which were the effects of God's dis-"pleasure on them, for complying with king Henry in his "schism."

I shall grow tedious, if I insist on all the falsities that do 390
occur in this period. First, only Gardiner and Bonner were questioned and deprived for their sermons: Tunstall was deprived for misprision of treason; Heath and Day were judged by lay-delegates; so it is like, their offences were also against the state. 2. There was nothing enjoined Bonner or Gardiner to preach, upon which they were censured, but that the king's authority was the same when he was under age that it was afterwards; which is a point that belongs only to the laws and constitution of this government: and so there was just reason to impute their silence in that particular, when they were commanded to touch upon it in their sermons, to an ill design against the state. 3. Three of these bishops did concur in all the changes that were made the first four years of this king's reign, and both preached and wrote for them; and even Bonner and Gardiner did not only give obedience to every law or injunction that came out, but recommended them much in their sermons. 4. These did not suffer perpetual imprisonment under queen Elizabeth; Gardiner and Day died before she reigned, and so were not imprisoned by her. Heath was never put in prison by her, but lived at his own country house; and Tunstall lived at Lambeth in as much ease, and was treated

with as much respect, as if it had been his own house: so that Bonner was the only man that was kept in prison; but that was believed to be done in kindness to him, to preserve him from the affronts, which otherwise he might have met with, from the friends of those he had butchered.

24. He says, "The lady Mary never departed[4] from her "mother's faith and constancy." Page 197.

It appears, by many of her letters, that she complied with every thing that had been done by her father; so it seems she was dispensed with from Rome, to dissemble in his time; for otherwise her constancy had very likely been fatal to her, but she presumed on the mildness of her brother's government, to be more refractory afterwards.

25. He says, "The king was sorry, when he understood "how hardly his sister had been used by the council." Page 198.

It was so far otherwise, that when the council, being much pressed by the emperor to connive at her having mass, were resolved to give way to it, the king himself was so averse to it, thinking it a sin in him to consent to the practice of idolatry, that the council employed the bishops to work on him, and they could hardly induce him to tolerate it.

26. He says, "The visitors carried with them over England "Bibles of a most corrupt translation, which they ordered to "be set up in all the churches of England." Page 200.

In king Henry's time, it had been ordered, that there should be a Bible in every church; so this was not done by the visitors in this reign, as may appear by the injunctions that were given them, which have been often printed.

391 27. He says, "The visitors did every where inquire, whether "all the images were broken down; and if the altars were "taken away, and communion tables were put in their rooms; "and if all the old Offices were destroyed." Ibid.

Here he confounds in one period what was done in several years. In the first year, the images that had been abused by pilgrimages were ordered to be removed. In the second year, all images were taken down without exception. In the third year, the old books of the former Offices were ordered to be destroyed. And in the fourth year, the altars were turned to

[4] [Sanctissimæ matris suæ Catharinæ fidem et constantiam secuta, non potuit . . . adduci &c.]

communion tables; so ignorantly did this author write of our affairs.

Page 201. 28. He says, "The visitors did every where encourage the "priests to marry, and looked on such as did not marry, as "inclined to popery."

The marriage of the clergy was not so much as permitted till near the beginning of the third year of this reign; and then it was declared, that an unmarried state was more honourable and decent; so that it was recommended, and the other was only tolerated; and so far were they from suspecting men to be firm to the reformation that were married, that Ridley and Latimer, the most esteemed next to Cranmer, were never married: nor was any ever vexed for his not being married, as he falsely insinuates.

Page 202. 28. He says, "The protector bore great hatred to Gardiner "and Tunstall, both because they opposed the heretics, and "because they had been made equals to him, if not preferred "before him by king Henry's will, in the government during "the king's being under age."

This is another of our author's figures. Gardiner was not mentioned in king Henry's will, neither as an executor, nor so much as a counsellor; and by it none were preferred to another, all being made equal. And for Tunstall, he continued still in a firm friendship with the protector, and was so well satisfied with the first changes that were made, that he was complained of as well as Cranmer, by Gardiner, in the letters which he writ to the protector.

Ibid. 29. He says, "The protector made a speech about religion "before the king; and thereafter he put, first Gardiner, then "Tunstall, and at another time the bishops of London, Chi-"chester, and Worcester, in prison."

Gardiner and Bonner were indeed imprisoned some time, during the protector's government; the latter was also deprived while he was protector. But Tunstall was not put in prison till two years after, and it was at the time of the duke of Somerset's total fall, and by the same persons' means that wrought his ruin: from which it appears, he was always a firm friend to the duke of Somerset. The bishops of Worcester and Chichester were also brought in trouble long after the government was taken out of the protector's hands.

30. He says, "They were all deposed from their degree." Page 201.
They were not deposed from their degree, but deprived of
392 their bishoprics; for they having accepted commissions, by which they held their sees only during the king's pleasure, they might well be deprived by a sentence of the delegates. But had they been to be deposed, and thrust from their order, it must have been done by a synod of bishops. They were deprived, as many bishops were under the Christian emperors, by selected synods that sat in the court, and judged of all complaints that were brought before the emperors.

31. "He reckons up the judgments of God upon the heretics; Page 204.
"and says, the protector made kill his brother, and Dudley
"took him away."

This is a way of writing familiar enough to our author, to represent things in such a manner as might fill the reader with horror; as if these persons had been secretly murdered, whereas the one was condemned in parliament, the other by a judgment of his peers.

32. He says, "King Edward died not without suspicion of Ibid.
"being poisoned by Dudley and the duke of Suffolk, who
"aspired to the crown."

It was never suspected that the duke of Suffolk had any hand in poisoning the king, nor could I ever see any reason to conclude that he was poisoned: but neither of these dukes aspired to the crown; the one resigned any pretension he could ever have, to his daughter; and the other intended only that his fourth son should reign.

33. He says, "The protector's lady claimed the precedence Page 205.
"of the queen dowager; and, upon the denial of it, conspired
"the ruin of the admiral."

All this is a contrivance of the enemies of that family; for as it had been absurd for the duchess of Somerset to have disputed precedence with the queen dowager; so in that whole matter it is plain the admiral began with his brother, and conspired his ruin: and the protector was often reconciled to him, and forgave him many faults, till it appeared that his ambition was incurable.

34. He says, "There being no ground of any accusation Ibid.
"against him, the duchess of Somerset got Latimer to accuse
"him of treason in a sermon."

The articles upon which he was condemned shew what matter there was against him. Latimer did never accuse him of treason, but being a man of great plainness of speech, he reflected on him as ambitious, and not sincere in the profession of religion: and when it was suspected that the duchess of Somerset had set him on to make these reflections, he did vindicate her in a most solemn manner. Nor is there any reason to think, that how indiscreet soever he might be in preaching in such a sort, that he did it to flatter or to aspire by such means, for he refused to accept of any preferment, though the house of commons interposed to have him repossessed of the see of Worcester.

Page 205. 35. He says, "At the same time that he was beheaded, the "queen dowager died."

She died in September 1548, and he was beheaded in March following: and one of the articles against him was, that after her death he intended to have married the king's sister Eliza- 393
beth; and it was suspected, that, to make for that, he had poisoned her.

Page 206. 36. He says, "The men of Devonshire and Cornwall did, "with one consent, take up arms for *the faith*."

In one thing he says true, that this rebellion was set on by the priests, and made on the account of religion: but the brutal cruelty of those rebels shewed it was not for *the faith*, but in compliance to their priests and leaders, that they rose.

Page 209. 37. He says, "The clergy finding that their being married "was generally an ingrateful thing, procured an act of parlia- "ment declaring that there was no human law against their "marriages; and this was all they were concerned in, for they "cared little for the law of God."

This is a genuine piece of our author's wit. If the parliament meddles in declaring what is the law of God, he accuses them for meddling in things without their sphere: and if they only declare what is the law of the land, he says, they have no regard to the law of God: so he is resolved, do what they will, they shall not escape his censure. But in this he shews his ignorance, as well as his malice. The lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy was inquired into with such exactness, that scarce any thing can be added since, to what was then written on that argument. It was made out, that there

was no law of God against it: it was also proved, that there was no general law made by the primitive church about it; but that it was a part of the yoke that the popes laid on the clergy, to engage them more zealously in their concerns. It was at first carried in the convocation, that they might lawfully marry; then an act of parliament passed permitting it; of all which our author takes no notice. Then three years after, some that were ill affected to them, taking advantage from the words of the statute, as if the permission had only been such a conniving at it, as had been formerly to the stews, a second act passed confirming those marriages, and the issue by them.

38. He says, "The catholic doctors in the universities grew "more courageous in the defence of the faith; and so desired "a public dispute concerning the corporal presence." Page 210.

They were so courageous, that as soon as any change was made, they all complied most obsequiously to it; as will appear both by Oglethorp and Smith's submissions. But while the changes were under consultation, they, seeing it could bring them into no trouble, were very stout; but as soon as they were to lose or suffer any thing for their consciences, then they grew as tractable as could be. In such a zeal, let him glory as much as he will.

39. He says, "Smith did often challenge Peter Martyr to a "public dispute at Oxford; but he declined it till Dr. Cox, a "man of a lewd life, was sent to moderate in the dispute; and "till Dr. Smith was banished the university." Ibid.

Smith did once challenge Peter Martyr to a dispute, to which he presently consented, upon two conditions: the one was, that a licence should first be obtained of the king and
394 council, and delegates be appointed by them to make a just report of the dispute; the other was, that it should be managed in the terms of scripture, and not in the school terms: they were both more proper for matters of divinity, and more easily understood by all people. Upon this, the council sent down delegates: and then Smith, who intended only to raise a tumult in the schools, withdrew himself, and fled beyond sea; but was never banished. His calling Dr. Cox a man of a *lewd life* is one of the flowers he stuck in to adorn the rest. All the writers of that age make honourable mention of him: he

was first set about this king by his father, and continued with him in all the turns of affairs, and did so faithfully discharge that high trust, that it appears he must have been a very extraordinary man. This was so well known to the whole nation, that in the beginning of queen Mary's reign he met with more than ordinary favour. This, considering the hatred which the popish party bore him, is a clear evidence of his great worth; and that they were afraid to be severe to a man so universally esteemed.

Page 210. 40. He says, "Cox saw he was so much pressed by the "doctors that disputed with him, and the hearers did so hiss "him down, that he broke off the dispute, giving Peter Martyr "a high commendation for his learning, and exhorting the "rest to live peaceably. Peter Martyr afterwards printed "the disputation falsely; but by the judgment of the univer- "sity he was doubly baffled; both that he refused to dispute "with Smith, and that he did acquit himself so ill with those "doctors that disputed with him."

It is probable the hearers might have been set on to hiss, but the printed disputation will decide this matter, and shew who argued both more nervously and more ingenuously. We have no reason to believe it was falsely printed, unless we will take it on this author's word: for I do not find the popish doctors did, either at this time, or afterwards in queen Mary's reign, when the presses were all in their hands, publish any thing to the contrary of what Peter Martyr printed; so that he neither refused to dispute with Smith, nor was he baffled by those that undertook it. Smith fled, and the rest were clearly worsted. And for the university, there was no judgment passed by them, unless he means the rudeness and clamours of some that might be set on to it.

Page 211. 41. He says, "The dispute with Bucer at Cambridge had "the same effect."

It had so indeed; the printed relation shews the weakness and disingenuity of the popish disputants, and that was never contradicted.

Ibid. 42. "He gives account of many other disputes, and of "Gardiner's book, under the name of Marcus Constantius; "which he says was a full confutation of all the books then

" written for the contrary opinion. He also mentions the " sermons and imprisonment of Crispine, Moreman, Cole, " Seaton, and Watson."

These other disputes could be no more than private conferences: but I can give no account of these, having met with
395 them in none of the writers of that time. As for Gardiner's book, such as will compare it with Cranmer's book, which it pretends to answer, will soon see in it the difference between plain simple reasoning on the one side, and sophistical cavilling on the other. But for the sufferings of that party, there is no great reason to boast of them; for they universally complied with every thing that was commanded: even the lady Mary's chaplains did it, in the churches where they were beneficed. Nor do I find any one man turned out of his cure for refusing to conform; but it was found, some of these did privately say mass, either in the lady Mary's chapel, or in private houses; and did secretly act against what they openly professed: and it was no wonder if such dissemblers were more severely handled. But there was no blood shed in the quarrel; so that if the popish party made such resistance, as our author pretends they did, it very much commends the gentleness of the government at that time, since they were so mercifully handled. It was far otherwise in queen Mary's time.

43. " He runs out in a discourse of the sufferings of his " party, of their zeal and constancy: and particularly men- " tions Story, who, he says, suffered martyrdom under queen " Elizabeth. He had said in the parliament, *Woe to thee, O " land, whose king is a child;* and this drew so much hatred " on him, that he was forced to fly out of England." Page 212.

What the zeal and constancy of the party was, may be gathered from what has been already said. This Story did say these words in the house of commons, and was, by order of the house, sent to the Tower: for though it was a text of scripture that he cited, yet the application carried with it so high a reflection on the government, that it well deserved such a censure: but upon his submission, the house of commons sent an address to the protector, that he and the council would forgive him; which was done, and he was again admitted to the house: so that he was not forced on this account to fly [March 2, 1548. Journals of Commons, vol. i. p. 9.]

out of England. And for his martyrdom under queen Elizabeth, the record of his trial shews the ground of that sentence: he had endeavoured all he could, to set on many in queen Mary's time to advise the cutting off queen Elizabeth: his ordinary phrase was, *It was a foolish thing to cut off the branches of heresy, and not to pluck it up by the root.* He knowing how faulty he had been, fled over to Flanders in the beginning of her reign: and when the duke of Alva was governor there, he pressed him much to invade England; and gave him a map of some of the roads and harbours, with a scheme of the way of conquering the nation. He had also consulted with magicians concerning the queen's life; and used always to curse the queen when he said grace after meat. These things being known in England, some got him to go aboard a ship in Flanders, on another pretence, and presently set sail for England; where yet the government was so gentle, that two years passed before he was brought to his trial: and then the defence he made was, that he was not accountable for what he had done in Flanders, it not being in the queen's dominions; and that he was not her subject, having sworn allegiance to the king of Spain. But this being contrary to his natural allegiance, which he could never shake off, he was 396
found guilty of treason, and was there executed. These are our author's *martyrs*, and are of a piece with his *faith*.

Page 216. 44. "In the room of the bishops that were turned out, he "says, there were put some apostate and lustful (that is, as he "explains it, *married*[5]) monks, Scory, Bird, Holgate, Barlow, "Harley, Coverdale, and Ridley; on whom he bestows many "such epithets, as may be expected from him."

This is such a piece of history, as one can hardly meet with any thing like it. 1. Bird was made bishop of Chester by king Henry, and was the first that sat in that see, it being of that king's foundation. 2. Holgate was put in the see of York by king Henry, when it was void by Lee's death. 3. Barlow was also put in Bath and Wells, by the same king, it being likewise void by the death of Knight. 4. Coverdale was put in the see of Exeter, upon Veysey's free resignation, he being then extreme old. 5. Harley was also put in Hereford, upon the former bishop's death. 6. Ridley and Harley

[5] [Dissoluti apostatæ, meretricibus combinati.]

were never married, nor Coverdale[6], for ought I can find; so exact is our author in delivering the history of that time.

45. He says, "Poynet, that was made bishop of Winchester "in Gardiner's room, besides one wife to whom he was mar- "ried, took a butcher's wife from him; but the butcher sued "for his wife, and recovered her out of his hands: and to "make this pass the better, he adds a jest of Gardiner's about "it, that he had said, why might not he hope to be restored "to his bishopric, as well as the butcher was to his wife?"

The falseness of this story is clearly evinced, by the answer that Dr. Martin set out in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, to a book that Poynet had writ in the defence of the married clergy. Martin's answer is writ with so much spite, and so many indecent reflections, that though it is not reasonable to believe all he says, yet it is almost a certain argument, that this story concerning Poynet is a forgery; since, if it was a thing so public as our author makes it, Martin must have heard of it, especially living in Gardiner's house: and it is not to be imagined, that if he did know it, he would have concealed it: so this, and the jest that hangs upon it, must pass as one of the flourishes of our author's pen. [Machyn's Diary, p. 8.]

46. He says, "Hooper, that used formerly to rail at the "luxury of the catholic bishops, being made a superintendent "himself, for so the Zuinglians called their bishops, enjoyed at "once two bishoprics, Worcester and Gloucester." Page 217.

The Zuinglians had no superintendants, for ought I can find; nor was Hooper ever called *superintendant*, but *bishop*. He was made bishop of Gloucester, which had been before king Henry the Eighth's time a part of the bishopric of Worcester. And now these sees came to be united; so that Hooper had not two bishoprics, but one that had been for some years divided into two: he only enjoyed the revenue of Gloucester, for Worcester was entirely suppressed[7].

[6] Coverdale was married; he and Machabeus married two sisters, Fox, vol. iii. p. 182. Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 1309, speaks of Coverdale's wife twice in one page. Eight of the protestant bishops in this reign were married. Parkhurst, Epigram. Juv. p. 56, 165, 6. [B.]

[7] Worcester was not entirely suppressed: for he was entitled Bishop of Worcester, and enjoyed a great part of the revenues of Gloucester and Worcester, and kept great hospitality with them. [S.]

Page 219. 47. He says, "On the 9th of July, the money was cried 397
"down one fourth part; and forty days after another fourth
"part; so that the whole nation was thereby robbed of the
"half of their stock."

This king's counsellors found the coin embased; and they were either to let it continue in that state, to the great prejudice of the state of the nation, or to reduce it to a just standard: so our author condemns them for correcting what they found amiss. But no wonder he that quarrels with them so much for reforming of religion, should be likewise offended with them for reforming the coin.

Page 222. 48. He says, "The duke of Somerset was condemned, be-
"cause he had come into the duke of Northumberland's
"chamber, with intention to have killed him, and was there-
"upon beheaded."

This was indeed said to be the cause of his death; but it is not mentioned in the record, in which it is only said, that he intended to have seized on the duke of Northumberland, without adding, that he designed to have killed him.

Page 223. 49. He says, "The two younger sisters of lady Jane Grey
"were married to the eldest sons of the earls of Pembroke
"and Huntingdon."

This error is of no great consequence, but it shews how much our author was a stranger, even to the most public actions, for the youngest sister to the lady Jane was married to one Keys that was groom-porter. The earl of Huntingdon's son married the duke of Northumberland's daughter.

Ibid. 50. He says, "Soon after the marriages, the king began to
"sicken, and to fall in decay."

The king had been ill four months before these marriages were made: and it is probable, his sickness made them be the more hastened.

Ibid. 51. He says, "Dudley was very desirous to have the lady
"Mary in his power, not being much concerned about the
"lady Elizabeth; for she being descended of Anne Boleyn, he
"did not much consider her."

It was natural for Dudley to desire rather to have the elder sister in his power, than the younger; who could not claim to the crown, but after the other: but it appeared by the submis-

sion of the whole nation to queen Elizabeth, though still professing popery, that she was every whit as much considered, as her sister had been formerly.

52. He says, "Lady Mary having been sent for by Dudley's Page 224.
"order, understood, when she was not far from London, that
"the king was expiring; and that she would be in great
"danger, if she came to court: upon which she turned
"back."

Queen Mary had not been sent for by Dudley's order; the council had writ to her, that the king being ill, desired her company: the news sent her from court was, that the king was
398 dead; so she was desired to stir no further: and upon that, retired to her house in the country.

53. He says, "Twenty days after that, she heard the king Ibid.
"was dead; whereupon she made proclaim herself queen."

The discovery of the former error clears this; for she immediately gathered the people of Suffolk about her, and gave them her royal word, that they should enjoy their religion, as it had been established in king Edward's time: but though they were the first that proclaimed her queen, and came about her to defend her right, they were among the first that felt the severities of her reign.

54. He says, "Mary queen of Scots was married to the Page 225.
"dauphin of France."

She was then but a little past ten years old, and was not married to the dauphin till five years after this.

55. He says, "Queen Mary, as soon as she came to the Page 229.
"crown, without staying for an act of parliament concerning
"it, laid aside the profane title of being *head of the church.*"

We may expect as true a history of this reign as we had of the former; when in the first period of it there is so notorious a falsehood. She held two parliaments before she laid aside that title; for in the writ of summons for both, she was styled *supreme head of the church;* and all the reformed bishops were turned out by virtue of commissions which she issued out as *supreme head.* There was also a visitation made over England by her authority; and none were suffered to preach, but upon licenses obtained under her great seal; so that she both retained the title and power of *supreme head* a year after she came to the crown.

Page 229. 56. He says, "She discharged the prisoners she found in "the Tower; recalled the sentence against cardinal Pole; and "discharged a tax due to her by the subjects."

The queen did free the prisoners of the Tower at her coming to the crown, and discharged the tax at her coronation: but for recalling the sentence against cardinal Pole, that being an act of parliament, she could not recall it; nor was it done, till almost a year and an half after her coming to the crown.

Ibid. 57. He says, "She took care of the coin, that her subjects "might suffer no more by the embasing it; so that they all "saw the difference between a catholic and heretical prince."

I do not find any care was taken of the coin all her reign[8]; and the bringing that to a just standard is universally ascribed to queen Elizabeth. If there was a public joy upon her coming to the crown, it did not last long; and it was a far greater when she died. This observation is much more proper to the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, who began and continued to reign with so great and so uninterrupted a felicity, that none but a writer like our author would have made such a remark on the beginnings of this reign.

Page 230. 58. He says, "She overcame Wiat's rebellion, rather by 399
"her own faith, than by any force she had about her."

This is to make the reader think, she defeated Wiat, as Gideon did the Amalekites; but Wiat brought up not above three thousand men, and she had thrice that number about her. It was a desperate attempt, and that which was rather the effect of a precipitated design, than of prudent counsel.

Ibid. 59. He says, "She put her sister in the Tower, when it "had appeared to the senate (which in his style is the parlia-"ment) that she had been engaged in Wiat's conspiracy."

This is said, to cover her barbarous cruelty towards her sister: the matter never came before the parliament, and there was no ground ever given to justify the suspicion. It is true, Wiat hoping to have saved his life, by so foul a calumny, accused her: but when he saw he must die, he vindicated her openly on the scaffold. It is certain, if they could have found any colours to have excused severe proceedings

[8] Queen Mary did set forth in August 1553, a proclamation for assigning the value of the coin. [S.]

against her, both the queen and the clergy who governed her were much inclined to have made use of them.

60. He says, "The queen was more ready to pardon crimes "against herself, than offences against Christ and religion." Page 231.

The more shame for those who governed her conscience, that made her so implacable to all whom she esteemed heretics; since the Christian religion came not into the world, as the author of it says of himself, *to destroy men's lives, but to save them:* yet she was not so merciful as he would represent her, witness her severities against her sister, and against Cranmer, even after he had signed the recantation of his former opinions.

61. He says, "Though some of the bishops were guilty of "treason, yet she would not have them to be tried by the "temporal laws; and referred even Cranmer himself to the "spiritual jurisdiction." Ibid.

Cranmer was tried for treason, by virtue of a commission issued out by the queen; and all the other reformed bishops were turned out by delegates, empowered for that end by the queen's commissions.

62. He says, "Cranmer was condemned of treason in the "parliament." Ibid.

He was found guilty of treason by a jury of commissioners, and thereupon condemned by a commission of oyer and terminer, and not by the parliament. It is true, the parliament did afterwards confirm the sentence.

63. He says, "Before he was condemned, he feigned himself "a catholic, and signed his retractation seventeen times with "his own hand: but the bishops, discovering his hypocrisy, "degraded him, and delivered him to the secular arm, upon "which he was burnt at Oxford." Ibid.

400 The popish party have but too great advantages against Cranmer, in this last part of his life; so it was needless for our author to have mixed so much falsehood with this account: but he must go on in his ordinary method, even though it is not necessary for any of the ends he had set before himself. Cranmer stood out above two years and an half, in all which time he expressed great constancy of mind, and a readiness to die for that faith, which he had before taught: nor would he fly beyond sea, though he had many opportunities to do it, and had reason enough to apprehend he could not escape at

home. Upon his constant adhering to his former doctrines, he was condemned, degraded, and appointed to be burnt; and then the fears of death wrought that effect on him, that he did recant, which he signed thrice; but the queen, being set on revenge, would needs have him burnt after all that: so there was no discovery made of his hypocrisy, nor was there a sentence passed upon it; but he, for all his recantation, was led out to be burnt: and then he returned back to his former doctrines, and expressed his repentance for his apostasy, with all the seriousness and horror that was possible.

Page 231. 64. He says, "The laws for burning heretics were again "revived, and by them not only Cranmer, but some hundreds "of the false teachers were burnt."

A man's inclinations do generally appear in the lies he makes: so it seems our author wished it had been as he relates it was: but so far it was from this number, that there was not above a quarter of an hundred of the ministers burnt; (there were some hundreds of others burnt;) so ignorant was he of our affairs.

Page 232. 65. He says, "The queen did at first command all the "strangers that were heretics to leave the kingdom; upon "which above thirty thousand, as was reckoned, went out of "England."

The greatest number of the strangers were the Germans, and of these not above two hundred went away, as themselves published it: but our author was generous and free-hearted, so that he would make the exiles to bear some proportion to the ministers that were burnt; and as he made some hundreds of the one, so thirty thousand was but a moderate number to be exiled; two hundred would have sounded pitifully in such an heroical work.

Ibid. 66. He says, "It was brought under debate, whether Peter "Martyr should be burnt; but because he came into England "upon the public faith, he was let go; yet his wife's body "was raised out of the churchyard, and cast into a dung-"hill: and Bucer and Fagius' bodies were burnt."

It could not be debated whether Peter Martyr should be burnt; for the laws of burning were not made till a year after he went out of England: and the raising his wife's body, and the burning the other bodies, was done almost four years

after this; though our author relates it as done at the same time.

401 67. He says, "The queen at first could not repeal the laws "then in force for heresy; but she suspended them all, and "exhorted her subjects to return to the catholic rites; upon "which the people did universally return to them." Page 232.

The queen could neither repeal nor suspend the laws then in force; and she did neither. When she was in Suffolk, she promised the religion established by law should not be changed: when she came to London, she declared she would force no consciences: but soon after she added a limitation to this, *till the parliament should order it.* After that, all people were encouraged to set up the mass everywhere, and it did spread into most parts of the kingdom: but this was done both against law and the queen's royal word.

68. He says, "All pulpits were opened to catholic preachers, "and the heretics were not suffered to preach." Ibid.

This he relates, as if it had been the effect of the people's zeal: but it flowed from a proclamation of the queen's, that none should preach unless he obtained a licence under the great seal, which was as high an act of supremacy as ever her father did.

69. He says, "She made first of all funeral rites to be per- "formed for her brother, after the form of the catholics, "though he had died in heresy: and intended to have had "such rites for her father; but being better instructed, she "found it could not be done for him that had been the chief "author of the schism, and of all the evil that followed it." Ibid.

King Edward was buried according to the rites of the English Liturgy; so that the funeral rites were not according to the old forms. It is true, the queen had in her own chapel such rites for him. As for her father, some of the writers of that time say, it was much pressed, to have his body at least raised and carried out of the consecrated ground, if not burnt: and in this she is said to have stood upon the dignity of a crowned head, and the decency of a daughter's duty to her father's ashes: so that she would not consent to so barbarous a thing.

70. "He condemns those who, having been defiled with "heresy, and thereby under censures, did, notwithstanding that, Page 233.

" administer the sacraments, and do the other offices of priest-
" hood, before they were reconciled to the see of Rome. This,
" he says, was such a sin, that it may be reckoned one of the
" causes of that queen's dying so soon: and he sets down as a
" caution for the future, that if we should come to be again
" reconciled to that see, we might not relapse into the like
" error."

This was indeed cardinal Pole's advice, that the whole kingdom ought to be put under an interdict, and that all holy offices were to cease, till they were reconciled to the see of Rome: but the whole clergy, not only many, as he says, being involved in those censures, if they had stayed for officiating till they had been reconciled to the see of Rome, perhaps it had not been done at all.

Page 233. 71. He says, " The queen, partly by her authority, partly 402
" by the concurrence of the parliament, got the ancient way
" of the service to be again restored, the heretics not daring
" to oppose it much."

All that was done in the first parliament, was the restoring things to the same state they had been in when king Henry died; which was indeed the setting up that they called *schism* by law. It was no wonder those he calls *heretics* could not oppose it much, when so many of their bishops had been turned out and imprisoned; others were violently thrust out of the house of lords, and the elections of the members of parliament had been so managed, that in many places force was used, and false returns were made in other places.

Page 234. 72. He says, " Only one, that was bolder than the rest,
" threw a dagger at him who preached the first catholic ser-
" mon at St. Paul's: and another discharged a pistol at another,
" preaching in the same place."

[Aug. 13, 1553. Machyn's Diary, pp. 41, 42.] This, one would think by his relation, was done after the parliament had set up the mass again; whereas it was soon after the queen came to the crown, long before the parliament; and that of the pistol was some months after the parliament. But if he had designed to deliver a true history to the world, he should have added, that upon the tumult that was raised against the preacher, he prayed Mr. Bradford and Mr. Rogers (two afterwards burnt for the reformed religion) to speak to the people, and persuade them to be quiet: upon which they both exhorted the people to behave themselves

more peaceably and reverently; and Bradford went into the pulpit that he might be the better heard; and so near was he to the danger, that the dagger pierced his sleeve: yet these two were had in such esteem, that the tumult was quieted; and they carried the preacher safe home. One of them being to preach in the afternoon, exhorted the people to be peaceable and quiet, and severely condemned the tumult that had been in the morning. But such was the gratitude and justice of the popish party, that it was pretended, because they had appeased the tumult, that therefore they had also raised it: so they were upon that pretence put in prison, where they lay a year and a half, till the laws for burning were revived, and were then burnt for *heresy*.

73. He says, "Commendone was sent by order from the "pope into England, who obtained a writing from the queen, "wherein she promised obedience to the see of Rome; upon "which Pole was appointed legate." Page 235.

It is no wonder our author understood not the affairs of the reformation aright, when he was so ill informed about the transactions of his own party. Commendone was not sent by the pope to England. The legate at Brussels sent him over from thence, without staying for orders from Rome.

74. He says, "William Thomas, clerk of the council, had "conspired to kill the queen; for which he justly suffered." Page 239. [Machyn's Diary, pp. 62, 63.]

403 Of this I find nothing on record; so it must depend on our author's credit, which is not infallible.

75. He says, "The imposture of Elizabeth Crofts was set "up by the persuasion of many of the heretics: and when it "was discovered, she confessed she had been set on to it by "others, and by one Drake in particular; but they all fled." Ibid.

In the account that was then published of that imposture, [Ibid. p. 66.] Drake only is accused for it: what he was, does not appear to me, for I have never found him mentioned but on this occasion; so there was no reason to transfer the private guilt of this conspiracy on a whole party, as our author does; though upon his credit, one of our writers has also done it.

76. He says, "Those in whose hands the church-lands "were, had great apprehensions of their being forced to re-"store them, because the queen had restored all the lands "that were in her hands, and had again converted the colle- Page 243.

" giate church of Westminster into an abbey; but to prevent " the ill effects that might have followed on this, the cardinal " did, in the pope's name, absolve them from all censures for " possessing those lands, and that was confirmed by letters " sent over from the pope."

He observes the order of time very exactly, when he sets the queen's restoring the church-lands, and founding the abbey of Westminster, as the occasions of the fears the laity were in, of being forced to restore the rest of the church-lands; and of the cardinal's absolving them from all censures for keeping them still in their hands. The order in which this was done, was thus: In November 1554, in the act of reconciliation with the see of Rome, there was a special proviso made for the church-lands, which the cardinal confirmed in the pope's name. In the year after that, the queen gave up into the cardinal's hands all the church-lands that belonged to the crown; and two years after she founded the abbey of Westminster: so little influence had these things on the other that were done before. But he was grossly mistaken, when he said the pope approved all: for he, in plain terms, refused to ratify what the cardinal had done; and soon after set out a severe bull, cursing and condemning all that held any church-lands.

Page 244. 77. He says, " All the bishops, being sensible of their schis- " matical way of entering into their sees, did desire and ob- " tain a confirmation from the pope; Kitchin, bishop of " Llandaff, only excepted, who afterwards relapsed into heresy " under queen Elizabeth; and says, it is likely the want of " this confirmation made him be more easily overcome."

This our author wrote, being a thing very probable; and seldom do his authorities for what he asserts rise higher. It was also a pretty strain of his wit, to make the omitting of it fall singly on the only bishop that conformed under queen Elizabeth. But it is certain there was no such thing done at all; for if any had done it, Bonner was as likely as any other; since as none had been more faulty in king Henry's time, so 404
none studied to redeem that with more servile compliances than he did; yet there is nothing of this recorded in his register, which continues entire to this day.

Page 246. 78. He says, " The state of the universities was restored " to what it had been, and Oxford in particular, by Petrus

" a Soto's means, who was, in the opinion of all, much pre-
" ferred to Peter Martyr."

He that gathered the antiquities of Oxford, though no partial writer on this occasion, represents the state of that university very differently; that there were almost no divines in it, and scarce any public lectures. But when Sanders writ his poem, the Spanish councils were so much depended on by him and his party, that it was fit to put that compliment on the nation concerning Petrus a Soto. Whether it was true or false, was a circumstance which he generously overlooked for most part.

79. He says, " Queen Elizabeth had done many things in Page 248.
" queen Mary's time, both against her person and govern-
" ment."

He knew this was so false, that there was never a circumstance or a presumption brought against her, but the information which Wiat gave, hoping thereby to save himself; and yet he denied that on the scaffold. If there had been any colour to have justified the taking away her life, both the queen and her counsellors were as much inclined to it as our author himself was.

80. He says, " King Henry said in parliament, she was not, Ibid.
" and could not be his daughter, for a secret reason which he
" had revealed to the archbishop of Canterbury."

This was aptly said by a writer, that had emancipated himself from the laws of truth and veracity, to appeal to such a story; yet to have made it pass the better, he should have named other circumstances; for such a thing cannot be easily believed, since after Anne Boleyn's death, the king continued to treat Elizabeth still as his daughter; so that when she writ to his next queen, she subscribed *daughter:* she was in all things educated with the care and state that became a king's child: and was, both by act of parliament, and by his will, declared to be so. Now to think that such a king would have done all this, after he had in parliament declared that she could not be his child, is a little too coarse to be believed, and so should have been supported with more than ordinary proofs. [Vide Part i. p. 209. Part iii. p. 133.]

81. He says, " She came to the crown, merely by virtue of Ibid.
" the act of parliament, without being legitimated."

In this, she and her sister were upon the same level; for neither of them were declared legitimate; so this was not to be objected to the one, more than to the other sister.

Page 249. 82. He says, "Queen Mary being declared, by act of par-
"liament, in the beginning of her reign, legitimate, and her
"mother's marriage being declared good, Elizabeth was thereby
"of new illegitimated; yet she never repealed the laws against
"her title: but kept the crown merely upon the authority of 405
"an act of parliament, without having any regard to her
"birth."

Queen Mary came to the crown, being in the same condition; and was either a lawful queen before that act was made, or else that act was of no force, if it had not the royal assent given by a lawful queen. So queen Elizabeth was as much queen before any such act could have passed, as afterwards: and therefore, since it was not necessary for the securing her title, it was a sign of her tenderness of her father's memory, to which queen Mary had no regard, not to revive the remembrance of things that must have turned so much to his dishonour as that would have done.

Page 250. 83. He says, "Queen Mary, not being able to prevent her
"sister's succession, sent a message to her on her deathbed,
"desiring her to pay her debts, and to preserve the catholic
"religion; both which she promised, but performed neither."

This is said without any proof, and is not at all probable; but is an ornament added to set off the one, and blemish the other. Queen Mary's sickness was concealed as much as was possible. A week before her death, they were burning heretics as busily as ever; and by the managing affairs in the parliament, it appears there was great care taken to conceal the desperate condition she was in: so it is not likely that any such message was sent by her to her sister.

And thus far have I traced our author in the history he gives of the reigns of king Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and queen Mary, and have discovered an equal measure of ignorance and malice in him; but he was the fitter to serve their ends who employed him, and were resolved to believe him, how false or improbable soever his relation might be. We see what use they have made of him ever since that time.

His friends were so sensible of the advantage their cause received from such a way of writing, that they resolved to continue down the history through queen Elizabeth's reign, in which, we are told, Sanders himself made some progress: but that not being done to such a perfection as Rishton and others intended to bring it, they undertook it; and have written so skilfully after the copy Sanders had given them, that, if it is possible, they have outdone him in these two particular excellencies of writing histories, in which he was so great a master, *impudence, and falsehood as to matter of fact.* In one thing they had manifestly the better of him, that they, writing of what fell out in their own time, could not be ignorant of the truth of things; whereas he, writing of what was done before he was born, or when he was but a child, might have said many things more innocently, delivering them as he had them by report. But this excuse cannot fit them, who did knowingly, and on design, prevaricate so grossly in matters of fact. A little taste of these I shall give, only so far as I have carried down the history of this queen; for to examine all the faults they have committed would require a new volume; but from the taste I shall give the reader, he will easily know what judgment to pass on the whole work.

406 As for the decency of the style, the first period gives an [Page 251.] essay of it, in which the author promises such a description of the queen's reign, that this *lioness shall be known by her claws;* and for his sincerity in writing, the whole preface is one indication of it, in which he accuses the queen for acting against the laws of nature and religion, in assuming the supremacy; and represents it so, that the reader must needs think she was the high priest of England, that ordained bishops and ministers, and performed all other holy offices: whereas she was so scrupulous in this point, that as she would not be called the *supreme head of the church*, so she made it be declared, both in one of the articles of religion set forth in the beginning of her reign, and afterwards in an act of parliament, what was the nature of that supremacy which she assumed; making it both a part of the religion and the law of the land. By these it was declared, that they gave her not *the ministry of God's word, or of the sacraments; but only that prerogative which was given by God himself in the*

scriptures to godly princes; that they should rule all committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers. If men were not past shame, they could not, after such an express and public declaration, put on the confidence of writing, as this author does. I shall follow him in some more steps, and doubt not but I shall convince the reader, that he was the fittest man that could be found, to have writ a continuation of Sanders' History.

Page 255. 1. He says, "Henry the Second of France, in a solemn assembly, did, after queen Mary's death, declare the queen "of Scotland, his daughter-in-law, queen of England and "Ireland."

[Vide Part ii. p. 375.] This was neither done in a solemn assembly, nor presently after queen Mary's death; nor was it done by Henry the Second. The queen of Scotland did, by her uncle's advice, assume that title, without any public act; and it was not done till they understood that Philip was moving for a dispensation in the court of Rome, for marrying queen Elizabeth; king Henry did only connive at it, but neither ordered it, nor justified it, when the queen's ambassador complained of it. An author that is so happy in his first period, as to make three such mistakes, is likely to give us an excellent history.

Ibid. 2. He says, "The archbishop of York, and all the other "bishops, one only excepted, refused to anoint her."

This was one of the most extraordinary things that ever was in any government; that the bishops refusing to crown the queen, were not only not punished for it, but continued to hold their bishoprics still: and the archbishop of York was continued a privy counsellor many months after this. This is none of the claws of the *lioness,* but rather a slackness and easiness of clemency, that deserves censure, if it had not been that the queen resolved to begin her reign with the most signal acts of mercy that were possible.

Page 256. 3. He says, "Cecil, and his friend Bacon, raised vast "estates to themselves, and involved the government into vast "difficulties, and brought the queen's revenue into great or 407
"rather inextricable confusion."

This may pass among foreigners, and perhaps be believed; but we at home, that when we wish for happy times, and ex-

cellent counsellors, do naturally reflect on the days of that glorious queen, and her wise councils, will not be much wrought on by it. The revenue was never better managed, the undertakings of the government were never greater, and the charge was never less. This gives a character of those ministers beyond all exception. Sir Nicholas Bacon never raised himself above that quality which he brought with him into the court: and Cecil was not advanced above the lowest rank of nobility, though he was in the chief ministry above thirty years; and though they both left good estates behind them, yet far short of what might have been expected after so long a course in such great and high employments.

4. He says, "There was an oath enacted in the parliament Page 257.
"for the queen's supremacy; and those who refused to swear
"it, for the first offence were to forfeit their benefices, and all
"their goods, and to be prisoners for life; the second offence
"was made treason."

Such a false recital of a printed act deserves a severer animadversion than I shall bestow on it. The refusing that oath did infer no other punishment but the forfeiture of benefices and offices; and the parties so refusing were subjected to no other danger, nor was the oath to be put to them a second time. It is true, if any did assert the authority of any foreign potentate, that was more penal; yet that was not as our author represents it: for the first offence, there was a forfeiture of one's goods; or in case of poverty, one year's imprisonment: the second offence brought the offender within a premunire: and the third was treason.

5. He says, "The change that was made of the title of Page 258.
"*supreme head* into that of *supreme governor*, deceived many;
"yet others thought that the queen might have thereby as-
"sumed an authority for administering the sacraments; but,
"to clear all scruples, she in the first visitation ordered it to
"be thus explained, that she thereby pretended to no more
"power than what her father and brother had exercised."

In the first visitation ordered by the queen, there was an injunction given explanatory to the oath of supremacy; declaring that she did not pretend to any authority for the ministry of divine service in the church, and challenged nothing but what had at all times belonged to the crown of

England; which was a sovereignty over all manner of persons under God: so that no foreign power had any rule over them; and so was willing to acquit such as took it in that sense, of all the penalties in the act. So that it is plain she assumed nothing but the royal authority, and was ready to accept of such explications as might clear all ambiguities.

Page 259. 6. "He reckons among the laws that were made, this for "one, that bishops should hold their sees only during the "queen's pleasure, and exercise no other authority, but only "as they derived it from her."

The laws he reckons were those made by king Henry now 408
revived; but this law is falsely recited in both the parts of it: for the bishops were to hold their sees, as all others do their freeholds, without any dependence on the queen's pleasure; and were to exercise their jurisdiction in their own names, and according to the ecclesiastical laws, and were not forced to take commissions to hold their bishoprics during the queen's pleasure, as had been done both in king Henry and king Edward's time.

Page 263. 7. After a long discourse against the queen's supremacy, he says, "The laws concerning it, and other points of religion, "did pass with great difficulty in the house of lords, all the "bishops opposing them; and those noblemen in particular, "who had gone to Rome upon the embassy queen Mary sent "thither, did very earnestly dissuade it."

It is true, all the bishops did oppose them, though both Tunstall, Heath, Thirlby, and some others had consented to, and written for, king Henry's supremacy; which was (at least as to the manner of expressing it) of a higher strain than that to which the queen did now pretend. They had also submitted to all the changes that had been made in king Edward's time. For the temporal lords, none dissented from the act of supremacy but the earl of Shrewsbury and the viscount Montague; so the opposition was small, where so few entered their dissents; and of these, only the viscount Montague had been at Rome, sent thither by queen Mary. It is true, the marquis of Winchester, and the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North, dissented from the bill for the book of Common-Prayer, and some other acts that related to the reformation; but these, being but few in number, were far

short of those that were for them: and it is clear the queen left the peers wholly to their freedom, since the marquis of Winchester, notwithstanding his dissent, continued to hold that great office of lord treasurer, in which he had been put in king Edward's time, and which he had kept all queen Mary's reign, till his death, fourteen years after this. This may perhaps be justly censured, as looking too like a remissness in the matters of religion, when he that dissented to the reformation was yet so long employed in the greatest trust in the kingdom: but certainly this is none of the *claws* to know the *lioness* by.

8. He says, "The queen gave the earl of Arundel some "hopes that she would marry him, and so persuaded him to "consent to the laws now made; but afterwards slighted him, "and declared *she would live and die a virgin.*" Page 263.

The journals of parliament shew how false this is; for the address was made to the queen, persuading her to marry; to which she made the answer set down by our author, on the 6th of February; and the act of supremacy, with the other acts concerning religion, passed in April thereafter: so that the queen, after so public a declaration of her unwillingness to marry, could not have deluded the earl of Arundel with the hopes of it.

9. He says, "She wrought on the duke of Norfolk, by pro- "mising him a dispensation in the business of his marriage "which he could not obtain of the pope." Ibid.

409 It is not like the duke of Norfolk was denied any such dispensation from Rome, nor are there any dispensations granted in England for marrying in the forbidden degrees: cousin germans are the nearest that may marry. The obtaining a licence for that at Rome is a matter of course, so the fees are but paid; and the law allows that to all in England. Nor are there any dispensations in matrimonial matters, except concerning the time, the place, or the asking of banns; and it is not likely these were ever denied to any at Rome. As for his long excursion concerning that duke's death, it not falling within the compass of my History, I shall not follow him in it.

10. He says, "The protestants desired a public disputation: "so the queen commanded the bishops to make ready for it; "they refused it a great while, since that seemed to make the "faith of the church subject to the judgment of the ignorant Page 266.

"laity: but at last they were forced to yield to it; and the "points were, communion in both kinds, prayer in a known "tongue, and the like."

The act of council has it otherwise: by it we see that the archbishop of York, being then a privy counsellor, did heartily agree to it, and undertook that the rest of his brethren should follow the orders that were made by the council concerning it; though it is not to be denied, but some of the bishops were secretly dissatisfied with it: as they had good reason; since a public disputation was like to lay open the weakness of their cause, which was never so safe, as when it was received in gross, without descending to troublesome inquiries concerning it. The communion in both kinds was not one of the articles.

Page 266. 11. He says, "Bacon a layman was judge, the archbishop "of York sitting next to him, only for form's sake."

Bacon was not judge; the whole privy-council were present to order the forms of the debate; and he, as the first of that board, did only give directions, according to the order that had been formerly agreed on.

Ibid. 12. He says, "On the 3rd of April they disputed; but "there was nothing done with order or justice, the time was "spent in declamations, while the profane judge directed all "things at his pleasure; so that it came to nothing."

It is true, the order was broken: but it had been unkindly done of our author to tell by whom. The papists refused the first day to give their reasons in writing, as had been agreed on before, and as was accordingly done by the reformed; and upon the second day they refused to proceed, unless, contrary to what had been concluded, the reformed should read their papers first: so the disputation broke up, it appearing evidently, that the one side were not afraid of a public hearing, but that the other were.

THE CONCLUSION.

I PURSUE these calumnies no further, because I cannot offer a confutation of them, without a larger digression; since I break off my History in the second year of this reign; so that I cannot refer the reader to those more copious accounts given by me, as I have done in the former remarks, where a short hint was sufficient. And I do not judge it worth the while to enter into such a full search of these matters, as a confutation would require, only to expose Rishton. These evidences, which I have given of his ignorance and injustice, will satisfy impartial readers; and I am out of hopes of convincing those that are so wedded to an interest, that they are resolved to believe all that is said of their side, how improbable soever it may appear, or how slender soever it may be proved.

And now I hope the reformation of this church appears in its true colours; and the calumnies, by which its adversaries have endeavoured so long to disgrace it, are so evidently confuted, that they will be no more supported by their own side, nor so tamely assented to, by any that in their hearts may perhaps love the reformation, and yet are too easily prevailed on to drink in the prejudices that are raised by the confidence with which those slanders have been vented. Now the matter is better understood, and though at this distance, and after the rasure of records made in queen Mary's reign, it must be acknowledged that there are many things, either quite passed over, or so defectively related by me, that this work wants that perfection which were to be desired; yet notwithstanding all these disadvantages, besides the faults of style, method, or way of expression, which may be more justly put to my account; though having done it in the best manner I could, I have little to answer for, but the presumption of undertaking a design too high for me to perform with that life and perfection that such a subject required; and even in that, I rather submitted to the authority of others, who engaged me in it, than vainly fancied myself able to accomplish it: but after all those allowances that are necessary, of which there can none be more sensible than myself, I am not out of hope but this work may have some good effect on such as shall read it im-

partially and with candour; and that those who are already of our church shall be induced to like it the better, when they see what the beginnings of our reformation were; and those who are not of our communion may the more easily be brought into it, when they see by what steps, and upon what reasons, the changes were made: and if this success follows my poor endeavours, I shall think my time and pains have been well employed.

I am apprehensive enough of the faults I may be guilty of, but I shall now give the reader such an assurance of my readiness to correct them, as soon as I am convinced of them, that I hope, if any thing occurs to any that deserves censure, they will communicate it first to myself; and if I do not, upon better information, retract what I have written, then I shall allow them to make it public in what manner they please. And it may be presumed I will not be for the future unwilling to do this, by the following account of the mistakes which I made in the former part, communicated to me by Mr. Fulman, of whom I made mention in the preface. With these I conclude this work.

Some mistakes in the first part of this History communicated to me by Mr. William Fulman, rector of Hampton Meysey in Gloucestershire.[34]

[34] These have been inserted in foot-notes to the passages in the text to which they refer.]

A Table of the Records and Papers that are in the Collection, with which the places in the History to which they relate are marked; the first number, with the letter C, *is the page of the* Collection; *the second, with the letter* H, *is the page of the* History.

[The pages referred to are those of the first and second folio editions, as printed in the inner margin of this edition.]

	C.	H.
THE Journal of king Edward's reign	1	1
1. His preface to some scriptures against idolatry	68	157
2. A discourse concerning the reformation of divers abuses	69	ibid.
3. A reformation of the order of the garter, translated into Latin by him	73	205
4. A paper concerning a free mart in England	78	208
5. The method in which the council represented matters of state to him	82	219
6. Articles for the regulation of the privy-council	84	213

THE FIRST BOOK.

1. The character of king Edward given by Cardan	89	2
2. The commission taken out by archbishop Cranmer	90	6
3. The council's letter to the justices of peace	92	13
4. The order for the coronation of king Edward	93	ibid.
5. The commission for which the lord chancellor was deprived of his office; with the opinion of the judges about it	96	17
6. The duke of Somerset's commission to be protector	98	18
7. The king's letter to the archbishop of York concerning the visitation	103	26
8. The form of bidding prayers before the reformation	104	30

	C.	H.
9. A letter of bishop Tunstall's, proving the subjection of the crown of Scotland to the king of England	106	32
10. A letter sent by the Scottish nobility to the pope, concerning their being an independent kingdom	109	ibid.
11. The oath given to the Scots, who submitted to the protector	111	35
12. Bonner's protestation, with his submission	112	36
13. Gardiner's letter concerning the injunctions	ibid.	ibid.
14. The conclusion of his letter to the protector against them	114	38
15. A letter of the protector's to the lady Mary, justifying the reformation	115	39
16. Petitions made by the lower house of convocation	117	47
17. A second petition to the same purpose	118	ibid.
18. Reasons for admitting the inferior clergy to sit in the house of commons	119	48
19. A letter of Martin Bucer's to Gropper	121	51
20. Questions and answers concerning the divorce of the marquis of Southampton	125	58
21. Injunctions given in king Henry's time to the deanery of Doncaster	126	59
22. A proclamation against innovations without the king's authority	128	ibid.
23. An order of council for the removing of images	129	60
24. A letter, with directions sent to all preachers	130	61
25. Questions concerning some abuses in the mass, with the answers made by some bishops and divines to them	133	62
26. A collection of the chief indulgences then in the English Offices	150	66
27. Injunctions for a visitation of chantries	152	67
28. The protector's letter to Gardiner, concerning the points that he was to handle in his sermon	154	70
29. Idolatrous Collects and Hymns in the Hours of Sarum	156	61
30. Dr. Redmayn's opinion of the marriage of the clergy	157	94
31. Articles of treason against the admiral	158	98
32. The warrant for the admiral's execution	164	100
33. Articles for the king's visitors	165	102
34. A paper of Luther concerning a reconciliation with the Zuinglians	166	105
35. The sentence against Joan of Kent	167	111
36. A letter of the protector's to sir Philip Hobby, of the rebellions at home	169	120
37. A letter of Bonner's after his deprivation	170	128
38. Instructions to sir W. Paget, sent to the emperor	171	131
39. A letter of Paget's to the protector	173	132
40. Another letter of his to the protector	177	133
41. The council's letter to the king against the protector	183	136
42. The protector's submission	184	ibid.

	C.	H.
43. A letter from the council to the king	185	137
44. A letter writ by the council to Cranmer and Paget	187	ibid.
45. Cranmer and Paget's answer	188	ibid.
46. Articles objected to the duke of Somerset	189	138
47. A letter of the council's to the bishops, assuring them that the king intended to go forward in the reformation	191	143
48. Cardinal Wolsey's letter for procuring the popedom to himself, upon pope Adrian's death	192	147
49. Instructions given to the lord Russell, and others, concerning the delivery of Boulogne to the French	198	148
50. Other instructions sent to them	201	ibid.
51. The patents for the German congregation	202	154
52. Injunctions given by bishop Ridley	205	158
53. Oglethorp's submission and profession of his faith	207	161
54. Dr. Smith's letter to Cranmer	208	ibid.
55. Articles of religion set out by the king's authority	209	166
56. Instructions to the president of the north	221	217
57. Instructions to sir Richard Morison, sent to the emperor	229	220
58. A letter of Ridley's, setting out the sins of that time	231	227
59. Ridley's letters to the protector, concerning the visitation of the university of Cambridge	232	120
60. The protector's answer to the former letter	234	ibid.
61. A letter of Cranmer's to king Henry, concerning a further reformation, and against sacrilege	236	196

The Second Book.

1. The proclamation of lady Jane Grey's title to the crown	239	235
2. A letter writ by queen Catharine to her daughter	242	240
3. A humble submission made by queen Mary to her father	243	241
4. Another of the same strain confirming the former	245	ibid.
5. Another to the same purpose	246	ibid.
6. A letter written by her to Cromwell, containing a full submission in all points of religion to her father's pleasure	247	ibid.
7. A letter of Bonner's upon his being restored to his bishopric	248	248
8. Cranmer's manifesto against the mass	249	ibid.
9. The conclusions of instructions sent by card. Pole to the queen	250	260
10. Injunctions sent from the queen to the bishops	252	274
11. A commission to turn out some of the reformed bishops	256	ibid.
12. Another commission for turning out the rest of them	257	ibid
13. Bonner's certificate that bishop Scory had put away his wife	258	275
14. The queen's letter to the justices of peace in Norfolk	259	288
15. The articles of Bonner's visitation	260	289
16. Address made by the lower to the upper house of convocation	266	295

	C.	H.
17. A bull, making cardinal Beaton legate a latere in Scotland ..	271	292
18. A letter of the queen's, recommending cardinal Pole to the popedom	282	311
19. Directions sent to the justices of peace in Norfolk	283	ibid.
20. A letter from the king and queen, requiring Bonner to go on in the prosecution of heretics	285	312
21. Sir T. More's letter to Cromwell concerning the Nun of Kent	286	316
22. Directions of the queen's to the council, touching the reformation of the church	292	317
23. Injunctions given by Latimer to the prior of St. Mary's	293	319
24. A letter of Anne Boleyn's to Gardiner	294	321
25. The office of consecrating the cramp-rings	295	ibid.
26. Letter of Gardiner's to king Henry, concerning his divorce ..	297	ibid.
27. The writ for the burning of Cranmer	300	334
28. A commission to Bonner, and others, to rase records	301	341
29. Cromwell's commission to be the king's vicegerent	303	ibid.
30. A letter of the monks of Glastonbury, for rasing that abbey..	306	342
31. A letter of Carne's from Rome	307	344
32. A commission for a severe way of proceeding against all suspect of heresy	311	347
33. A letter of the council's, expressing their jealousies of the lady Elizabeth	314	351
34. Letter from Carne, concerning the suspension of Pole's legation	315	353
35. The appeal of archbishop Chichely to a general council, from the pope's sentence	321	ibid.
36. Instructions representing the state of the nation to king Philip, after the loss of Calais	324	360
37. Sir T. Pope's letter concerning the lady Elizabeth's answer to the proposition of marriage sent to her by the king of Sweden	325	361

The Third Book.

1. The device for alteration of religion in the first year of queen Elizabeth's reign, offered to secretary Cecil	327	377
2. Dr. Sandys' letter to Dr. Parker, concerning the proceedings in parliament	332	386
3. The first proposition upon which the papists and protestants disputed in Westminster abbey; with the arguments which the reformed divines made upon it	333	390
4. The answer which Dr. Cole made to the former proposition ..	338	389
5. A declaration made by the council concerning the conference	345	392
6. An address made by some bishops and divines to the queen, against the use of images	348	397

	C.	H.
7. The high commission for the province of York	350	400
8. Ten letters written to, and by, Dr. Parker, concerning his promotion to the see of Canterbury	353	401
9. The instrument of his consecration	363	404
10. An order for the translating of the Bible	366	406
11. A profession of religion made in all churches by the clergy	365	405
12. Sir Walter Mildmay's opinion concerning the keeping of the queen of Scots	369	417
*12. A letter of the earl of Leicester's touching the same thing	373	ibid.
13. The bull of pope Pius the Vth, deposing queen Elizabeth	377	418
An Appendix concerning some of the errors and falsehoods in Sanders' book of the English Schism	383	
Some mistakes in the former volume	410	

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